

Vickers Jacob.







**COBBETT'S**

**POLITICAL REGISTER.**

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**VOL. XXVI.**

*FROM JULY TO DECEMBER,*

**1814.**

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**1814.**

# LIST OF HIS MAJESTY'S MINISTERS.

1814.

## CABINET MINISTERS.

Lord Harrowby .....	Lord President of the Council.
Lord Eldon .....	Lord High Chancellor
Lord Westmoreland .....	Lord Privy Seal.
Lord Clancaity .....	President of the Board of Trade.
Lord Liverpool .....	First Lord of the Treasury (Prime Minister) -
Right Hon. N. Vansittart .....	{ Chancellor and Under-Treasurer of the Exchequer
Right Hon. Charles Bathurst .....	Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster.
Lord Viscount Melville .....	First Lord of the Admiralty
Lord Mulgrave .....	Master General of the Ordnance.
Lord Sidmouth .....	Secretary of State for the Home Department.
Lord Castlereagh .....	Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs.
Lord Bathurst .....	{ Secretary of State for the Department of War and Colonies.
Lord Buckinghamshire .....	{ President of the Board of Control for the Affairs in India.

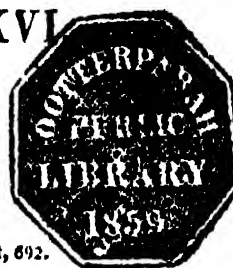
## NOT OF THE CABINET.

Right Hon. George Rose .....	{ Vice President of the Board of Trade, and Treasurer of the Navy.
Lord Palmerston .....	Secretary at War
Lord C. Somerset .....	{ Joint Paymasters-General of the Forces
Right Hon. C. Long .....	{
Earl of Chichester .....	{ Joint Postmasters-General.
Earl of Sandwich .....	{
Richard Wharton .....	{ Secretaries of the Treasury.
Right Hon. C. Arbuthnot .....	{
Sir Wm. Grant .....	Master of the Rolls.
Sir Wm. Garrow .....	Attorney-General.
Sir R. Dallas .....	Solicitor-General.

## PERSONS OF THE MINISTRY OF IRELAND.

Lord Whitworth .....	Lord Lieutenant.
Lord Manners .....	Lord High Chancellor.
Right Hon. Robt. Peele .....	Chief Secretary.
Right Hon. W. Fitzgerald .....	Chancellor of the Exchequer.

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## PRICES AND BANKRUPTS.

*Record of the Prices of Bread, Wheat, Meat, Labour, Bullion, and Funds, in England, during the time that this Volume was publishing, and also of the number of Bankrupts, during the same period, that is, from July to December, 1814, both months inclusive.*

**BREAD** — The average price of the Quarter Loaf, weighing 4lb. 10z. 8dms. in London, which is nearly the same as in other parts of the country, 1s. 1d.

**Wheat** — The average price for the above period, through all England, per Winchester Bushel of 8 gallons, 9s. 1d.

**MEAT**. — Per pound, on an average for the time above stated, as sold wholesale at Smithfield Market, not including the value of skin or offal: Beef, 7½d., Mutton, 8½d., Veal, 9½d., Pork, 10½d. — **N.B.** This is nearly the retail price all over the country, the Butcher's profit consisting of the skin and offal.

**LABOUR** — The average pay per day of a labouring man employed in farming work, at Botley, in Hampshire, being about a fifth higher than the wages throughout the whole country, 2s.

**BULLION** — Standard Gold in Bars, per Oz. £4 7s. 1d. — Standard Silver do. 5s. 8½d. — **N.B.** These are the average prices, during the above period, in Bank of England Notes. The prices in Gold and Silver Coin are for an ounce of Gold £9. 17s. 10½d., for an ounce of Silver, 5s. 2d.

**FUNDS** — Average price of the Three Per Cent. Consolidated Annuities, during the above period, 60

**BANKRUPTS**. — Number of Bankrupts, declared in the London Gazette, during the above period, 494.

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SUMMARY OF POLITICS.

[2

MR. COCHRANE JOHNSTONE.—It is always an act that an honourable mind will, if possible, shun to make accusation against a man, when he is not present to answer for himself.—The public now begin to be staggered with regard to my Lord Cochrane, and, happily *he* has the means of yet (I write on Wednesday) obtaining a hearing, in a place where he will dare to SPEAK OUT. It is said, in the newspapers, that the *pulvery* part of his sentence has been *remitted by the Regent*, who has contented himself with ordering him to be *struck off the list of Post Captains*. This must be false, I suppose, as the time is not yet come, in the usual course, for the remitting of the part of the sentence alluded to, and I am very much deceived in my mind, if my Lord Cochrane ever asks for, or thanks any body for, any sort of *pardon*. He cannot compel the infliction of the whole of the sentence, but, I am sure, that he will always openly protest against receiving any thing in the way of pardon. He is now placed in a situation to shew his true character. Before this reaches the public eye, he will have laid his case and his defence before Parliament. If the mere record of the Court be thought sufficient for his expulsion, he will be expelled, of course. But his efforts to maintain his character need not cease there. There are other modes, and to those other modes he will, doubtless, resort.—But, at present, it is of his *unch*, that I am about to speak.—It is said, that, at any rate, *he* must be guilty, why else has he gone to France, and I have perceived in the *Moniteur* *Cher*—wherein the name of Mr. BERNARD HALL is mentioned, that it is the intention of my Lord Cochrane's friends to shew, that his Lordship has been misled by a designing individual who has absconded.—I will soon dismiss this last assertion. I always understood, that Mr. Cochrane Johnstone never had any thing to do with dealings in the funds, till some months after my Lord Cochrane had. I

never heard even a hint at the former having involved the latter in any way whatever. Both Mr. Cochrane Johnstone and Mr. Butt also always protested their innocence to me. They *all* spoke alike as to the calumnies which had been published against them. I can discover no motive for their having kept fast a secret from me, seeing that I always laughed at the idea of its being a *legal* offence; and that, before I saw either of them, I had said in print, that it was a *moral* offence no more than *all other gaming* was immoral.—Therefore, I am sure, that my Lord Cochrane, though he very prudently and justly keeps his case distinct from that of the other gentlemen, will never be induced to become the accuser of his uncle.—The absconding of this latter is, I see, held to be a *proof* of his guilt. What a perversion of reason, what an abandonment of common sense, what an ungovernable eagerness to discover guilt, what a rage for vengeance must exist, before the mind can be hurried on to such a conclusion! To abscond after a verdict of "*guilty*," was certainly a proof of a desire to escape *fine, imprisonment, and pillory*; it was a complete proof of *that*, but how could it be a proof of guilt? If SIDNEY had escaped from the Tower, after the verdict against him, would he have been guilty, for that of the crime laid to his charge? If he had saved his life, so valuable to mankind, by fleeing from the fangs of judicial, cold-blooded murderers, would his memory have deserved execration? That he and Russell *too* would have escaped if they could, there is no doubt; but would they have been guilty being *alive*, when they were innocent being *dead*?—It is, then, perfect nonsense to suppose, that the mere *evasion of punishment* is a proof of guilt. But, if it be so, why should not the remaining to receive punishment be a *proof of innocence*? If the absconding of Mr. Cochrane Johnstone be a *proof of his guilt*, the not absconding of his nephew must be a *proof of his innocence*.—I grant, that Mr. Cochrane Johnstone might, like his nephew,

have remained to make, at every stage, a stand in defence of his character. But (and the public should know the fact), Mr. Cochrane Johnstone was, in other respects, very differently situated. He had had a long *law-suit with the Government*, that suit had produced a Bill in Chancery, which he was called upon to answer; he had not, and would not, answer that Bill, his being *in parliament* protected his *person* from the effect of that refusal; he was pretty sure of *expulsion* after the verdict, and, as it was utterly impossible for him to satisfy the demands of the Government, a *jail for life* was, in all human probability, the consequence of his remaining to receive his senten— His situation, therefore, was very different indeed, from that of my Lord Cockburn or Mr. Butt. There was, independent of all considerations of guilt, or of the dread of his sentence, a motive quite sufficient to induce him to get out of the kingdom. With regard to the transaction with the Government, the thing is too long and too complicated for me here to enter into it, and it is, too, more than *four years* since I have seen any paper relative to the subject, which has been what is called *largely* in Chancery. It is very true, that Mr. Cochrane Johnstone did enter into speculations, that he did draw on, that he did make bargains, unknown to the Government, and, of course, unauthorised by it. But if the settlement which he contended for, if the appointment of profits which he claimed, at the time when I was acquainted with the matter, had been accorded to, the public would have *lost nothing* by the transaction, and I would have seen no pecuniary ruin. And, if *all the speculations* were with the Treasury upon this subject were now laid before Parliament, I am convinced, that what I here say would be proved to be true.—I do not pretend to say that he had *lain* on his side. He himself was aware that he had not. But, unless he could obtain what he deemed, and what appeared to me and to others to be an equitable settlement, he was *ruined*, and the public was the *gainer*.—Mr. Cochrane Johnstone absconds with none of the *public money*. The millions of reimbursement (without *loss*) the Government has, in a state of sequestration, in dollars, and in gold. But the Government demand *more* than he had to pay with, and, therefore, he refused to pay the Bill, knowing that the *law* was

against him, and that his refusal could not be punished by a seizure of his person, *while he was in Parliament*.—The dispute between him and the Government has been going on *nearly five years*, the divers papers relating to it have been submitted to diligent men eminent in the law and in commerce; an *arbitration* was several times proposed by him, and I do not now recollect the reasons of its not taking place. I believe that Mr. Johnstone told me, that Mr. Marriott, the Member of Parliament, had had the whole case laid before him, and, I dare say, he will have the justice publicly to declare his opinion on the subject.—Thus, then, was the situation of Mr. Cochrane Johnstone, at the moment when a verdict of “guilty” exposed him to the loss of his seat in Parliament, and to the endless consequences above pointed out. His conduct in Parliament had not been such as to lead him to expect any very extraordinary degree of favour at the hands of those, who would have had the power of punishing him for the debt. He knew all this well; and, in a word, his choice lay between quitting the country and the great probability of a prison for life.—Therefore, his quitting the country, “his fleeing from justice,” as the newspapers term it, is perfectly well accounted for, independent of any dread of the punishment that he was to receive for the thing for which he had been tried.—If, indeed, he had fled *before* the trial, *then* might his fleeing have been reasonably supposed to be a *proof of conscious guilt*. There may be supposed cases, in which fleeing *even at that stage* ought not to be looked upon as a proof of conscious guilt. I can easily suppose such case. I can suppose motives for inducing a man perfectly innocent to flee even from *truth*.—But we are not now speaking of such a case. We are speaking of a gentleman, who, so far from fleeing from trial, went unnecessarily and appeared at the trial in person.—This was the stage when he would have acted upon the feelings of *conscious guilt*, this was the stage when *conscious guilt* would naturally have induced him to flee, if, in any stage, it was to have that effect.—If consciousness of guilt induced him to abscond, why did he not do it *before* the trial? He made no effort to *put off* the trial, he did not remove the indictment; he, on the contrary, wished it to come on; he, if guilt induced him to flee, acted directly against himself, he foolishly threw

away his money upon lawyers and attorneys; a guinea laid out in boat hire would have saved him a month's toil, and, perhaps, a thousand pound in law-expences. So that, if it were "conscious guilt," which, at last, set him in motion, he acted the part of any thing but that of an adroit and enterprising man.—As to the *fact* of his guilt, he has been *found guilty*, and I shall not attempt to arraign the verdict. But though his situation cannot be altered by any thing that I say, there is one circumstance which I feel myself impelled to state.—As far as I can collect, the chief circumstance against him was, that De Berenger had, in his possession, bank notes, which had passed through the hands of Mr. Cochrane Johnstone and Mr. Butt. It was alleged, in defence, that Mr. Cochrane Johnstone had paid De Berenger a sum of money for certain *drawings*, and *plans*, and that, thus, the transit of the notes was accounted for.—Now, I recollect, that, LONG BEFORE the indictment was either preferred, or *talked of*, Mr. Cochrane Johnstone shewed me some drawings and plans, very beautifully and most ingeniously executed, which he told me were the work of the Baron. The occasion of his shewing them to me was my telling him that my son, who was with me, was learning to make plans, and I remember his telling me, that he had paid the Baron several hundred pounds for his trouble in executing those plans, and also for drawings of birds, I think it was, and some other things: so that, at any rate, this account of the transit of the notes might not be wholly an invention, as it has been represented to have been. I had forgotten this conversation, at which my son was present, till I saw that the plans had been produced at the trial, or I and my son should certainly have been witnesses upon the occasion.—This was some time about the 20th of March *long before* the indictment was even talked of; long before De Berenger was *taken*; and at a time when it was thought by every one that he had gone out of the country.—Now, it is not only improbable, but it is next to impossible, if not quite impossible, that Mr. Cochrane Johnstone should have told me this story about paying De Berenger money with a view to any future disclosure, and, therefore, I am thoroughly convinced, that he did pay De Berenger a considerable sum of money for those services. The mention of the *payment* was

drawn forth by an observation of mine. For, I was so stricken with the ingenuity and beauty of the performance, that I observed to Mr. Johnstone, that he must certainly have paid a great deal of money for it. He then told me what he had paid, and I observed that it was very cheap, and that I did not believe that there was another man in the kingdom capable of doing such a thing.—There is another circumstance, on which I cannot help observing. It has been made matter of suspicion, co-incidence, that Mr. *Tahourdin* should be, at the same time, the attorney of Mr. Johnstone and of Mr. De Berenger. Now, I remember seeing Mr. *Tahourdin* at Mr. Johnstone's on business in the month of May or June, 1813; and I believe, that the latter never had any thing to do with stock-jobbing till a long while after that. I never saw Mr. Johnstone, except for an hour in passing through Botley, from June, 1813, to very early in February, 1814, when I saw him at a friend's house in Westminster, for about ten minutes, I being about to come home, and not having time to go to his house. I then, for the first time, learnt, that he was engaged in stock dealings; he, with his usual unreserve, told me about his transactions, but never did I hear even a hint from him that he had any other means of securing profit than those possessed by other well-informed people. Nay, I *know* that, at that time, only about three weeks previously to the hoax, *his intention was to go to Dominica*, in March or April, to do something about his property there, which had suffered greatly from tempests. And, therefore, at that time, he could not have had any hoaxing system in contemplation.—As to the *risk* he ran in holding such a quantity of Stock as was sold out for him on the day of the Hoax, and which risk has been, by many, regarded as too great to be run by any man not *sure* of his mark, I appeal to all those, who have ever known him even for a week, whether *thus* be any presumption against him. With him risks are nothing. *Consequences* make no part of his calculations. It has been very ably contended, that his conduct, in this instance, was *prudent*, but, whether it was or not, those who are acquainted with his spirit of adventure, will never infer deliberate guilt from the circumstance of *his having exposed himself to danger*.—Thus much it has occurred to me to say at present with regard to a gentleman, now not here to speak for himself.



I have had the pleasure to know him for about eleven years. He was the last man in the world to reserve any thing from any body; and his character must have undergone a very great and sudden change, if he reserved any thing from me. Yet he never did, from first to last, give me the smallest ground for believing, that he had any hand in the transaction in which he was accused of being a party. It is impossible for me to produce, by any thing that I can say or do, any change in his situation. But every thing that I do know, or that I may hereafter learn; every thing that a strict adherence to *truth* will enable to say in his favour, I shall always seek occasions for saying. It is very likely that we shall never meet again, but, in whatever part of the world he may be, I shall always be anxious to hear from him, and learn that prosperity and happiness attend him; and, as long as I am able to hold a pen, and have senses left to guide it, no man shall, in this country, through the channel of the press, *unjustly* assail him with impunity. To be sure Mr. Cochrane Johnstone is justly chargeable with many acts of indiscretion, but, who is not? I am not setting myself up as the defender of his follies or his vices, having, like my neighbours, enough to do to keep in check, or repair the effects of, my own. There are few men who have been exposed to so many and such great temptations as the gentleman of whom I am speaking; and those amongst us who have, either from natural disposition or extraneous causes, not been so exposed, ought not to pass too hasty a judgment upon any part of his conduct.—Mr. Cochrane Johnstone has been reproached with being the instigator of the actions, or informations, against the people of the Stock Exchange for Stock-Jobbing. If *true*, is it a *crime*, then, to endeavour to enforce the law against offenders? But, is this a proof, too, of "*conscious guilt*?" Was it likely for a man to do this, who knew that it was, or, who thought that it was, in the power of the Stock Exchange to punish him? Would not conscious guilt have taken special care to commit no new offence; to do nothing to add to the sharpness of the prosecutors' anger?—Here I close what I have to say upon this subject, at present, with referring the reader to the statement of my Lord Cochrane, published in the last *Register*, and also to that defence, which I suppose he will have made in Parliament, before this will go from the press.—Since writing

the above I observe, that the consideration of my Lord Cochrane's case is put off till Tuesday. I have also ascertained, what I suspected to be the case, that his Lordship's name has *not* been struck off the list of Post Captains, and that no part of the sentence has been remitted. So far from this, an *official* notice has been sent his Lordship to prepare for the pillory on the 10th day of August next!

DENMARK.—The advocates of interminable war, those sanguinary wretches who have assumed to themselves the appellation of the "War Faction," and who boldly avow that they see nothing inhuman in spilling the blood of their fellow men "in the cause of kings, of religion, and of social order," finding that they were unable to provoke a new war with France; that the war with America and with Norway was insufficient to occupy the whole of our immense fleet and armies; and that their friends, who depend for support upon, and who look to, a state of warfare as a source of enriching themselves; finding, I say, that what they call the enemies of Great Britain, were too few in number to justify long the continuance of the war taxes, whence so many advantages were derived by their party, they have, from day to day, been labouring to embroil this country with other nations, they have been unceasing in their recommendations to Ministers not to fulfil the terms of treaties solemnly entered into, and, in order to afford some plausible pretence for what, on our part, would be a gross violation of all honourable principles, these men endeavour, by the basest calumnies, and the foulest abuse, to provoke the rulers of other countries to some imprudent act, which they would not fail immediately to plead as a justification of the hostile measures they had been successful in occasioning.—In no instance does this infamous mode of proceeding appear more conspicuous than in the case of Denmark. The people of that country have, no doubt, all along evinced a decided partiality for the French nation. But who that recollects the attack upon Copenhagen can blame them for this?—I am not here insinuating any thing about the injustice of that act: what I mean is, that it is impossible for any people, whatever may be their state of civilization, to regard with a favourable eye that nation which could burn and destroy their capital, even though such a

measure were attempted to be justified upon the common plea, that every thing is fair in a state of war. It is impossible for human nature to look upon that country as its friend who could thus annoy it. On the contrary, such an act of violence must give birth to inimical feelings, and lead the injured party to seek his revenge whenever, and wherever, he can find it.—Without, therefore, seeking a cause for the hostile dispositions of Denmark towards this country in what is called State policy, we need only confine ourselves to the vital sufferings which we compelled her to endure, to be convinced that her alliance with France was a natural step, dictated on her part by uncontrollable circumstances, and which, had we been placed in a similar situation, would have been regarded as a proof of the most disgraceful subjugation, had we not, as Denmark did, sought the best and earliest means of rescuing ourselves from it.—But supposing we mistaken in this view of the matter, and that she was the first aggressor, Denmark, by the late treaty of amity with this country, denominated the Treaty of Kiel, had made her peace with us. All cause of animosity was extinguished by this compact. She, therefore, was entitled to the same respect from us which we professed to shew to other friendly nations, and which we claimed as a reciprocal return.—Our public press, in particular, ought to have been extremely circumspect in its treatment of a people with which we were no longer on a hostile footing, and with which there were so many powerful reasons we should continue to cultivate a good understanding. Very different, however, has been the way in which we have conducted ourselves towards our new Ally. Instead of shewing, by conciliatory language, that we were sincere in the alliance we had sought for, instead of giving a proof that we were desirous to bury the past in oblivion, our newspapers, evidently from the motives which I have stated, have been carried on a system of hostile rancour and malicious attacks upon the Court at Copenhagen, which could scarcely find even the semblance of an excuse, had war existed in all its vigour between the two countries. The *Courier*, which pretends to speak the language of our Government (whether truly or not is best known to its conductor), has, as is usual in such cases, taken the lead in this very creditable business.—It was first insinuated, and after-

wards broadly stated in that journal, that Denmark, so far from being sincere in her cessation of Norway to Sweden, had merely concluded a hallow truce; for, while she was openly pretending to have given up all interference with the internal affairs of the Norwegians, she was privately abetting the cause of Christian I. and his adherents, who had avowed a determination to maintain the independence of Norway. Finding, however, that this *general* charge was likely to render his motives questionable, the *Courier* writer proceeds to matter of a more specific nature. A Norwegian by birth, formerly in the Danish service, having been dismissed therefrom, appears to have been engaged in conducting, what was called, a treasonable correspondence between a few *private* individuals in Denmark, and some of the natives of his own country. He was discovered, and apprehended by the Swedish Government, who, in order to put it in the power of the Danish ministers to punish the alledged treason, transmitted the letters found upon him to Copenhagen, in consequence of which the parties who wrote these letters were punished. In the whole of this business, there was not the least ground to suppose that Sweden entertained any suspicion of the Court of Denmark participating in the affair, or even knowing any thing of its existence. It was apparent, indeed, from the whole transaction, that it was the act of private parties alone. Yet, in the perfect knowledge of this fact, and knowing also that the Danish Government had punished the treason, thereby completely exonerating themselves from all idea of encouraging it, does the *Courier* accuse them of compromising their honour by being a party to it; and upon this disgraceful and false accusation does this same journal found a plea for renewing hostilities with Denmark, and punishing her for what they called in her, instead of in themselves, “a dereliction from all principle, from all truth, and from all justice.”—Next came the charge of Denmark allowing Danish officers to volunteer into the service of Norway, and of sending Norwegians home to their own country to be employed against Sweden. As to the former part of this charge, it is well known to every one, that it is beyond the power of any Government to prevent its subjects from enlisting, if they incline, into the service of other States. Are we not every day complaining of this in the case of

America? And are we to be told it is the fault of our Ministers that so many of our seamen enter with the American navy?—So long as the encouragement held out by America is so far superior, as it is, to our own, so long will our seamen prefer that service to ours, notwithstanding all that may be said about “instinctive patriotism.”—Why, then, should not the Danes act upon the same feeling?—Then again, in fact, is much less culpable (if there is any culpability in it) than that of our seamen, for Denmark is not at war with Sweden, whereas we are at war with America. But the truth is, and the *Courier* was fully aware of it, the Danish Government never, in any form, sanctioned the volunteering complained of. All it did was to permit the natives of Norway to return to their own country, and this was expressly provided for in the late treaty with this country, which was lying before this base writer of the *Courier*, when he brought forward his impudent accusation. Respecting the sending of Norwegians home, for the avowed purpose of fighting against Sweden, this part of the charge is equally falsified by the treaty of Kiel, which expressly stipulates, that no interruption of the commercial intercourse then subsisting between Denmark and Norway should take place, until after the lapse of one year from the day of its signature. This communication, therefore, being kept open by an express agreement, it required no farther interference on the part of Denmark, to induce the natives of the ceded country to make their election. But how this could be magnified into a crime committed by that Government, and urged as a ground for going to war with it, the more especially when it is kept in view that we were parties to the treaty which permitted the intercourse, is what no man, who is not tainted with the *Courier* mania, or totally deprived of his senses, will ever presume to assert.—But the most daring part of the conduct of these malignant writers (if any thing can be considered more daring than what I have already noticed) is what they have put forth respecting the part taken by the King of Denmark in ceding Norway. —The following paragraph appeared in the Paris papers of the 21st ultimo, where it was copied into the *Courier* of yesterday last.—“*Copenhagen*, “*Dec 3*.—It is strongly believed that “this kingdom will receive a new Constitution, or form of Government,—

“The law, called Royal, prohibits the “Monarch, under pain of dethronement, “from ceding any portion of the territory. “But the King has ceded Norway, and so “for violated the Constitution. On the “other hand, the succession to the throne “has been changed, by the solemn abdication of Prince Christian. It is imagined, that, by the means of a new Constitution, the Crown may be given to the “Princess Royal, daughter of the reigning “Sovereign. The States of the realm will “guarantee the public debts, which, for a “country like this, are immense.”—Now, though this paragraph is dated *Copenhagen*, no one can believe that an article so indecent, and so outrageous against the existing Government, would have been inserted into any journal published in the Danish territory. It is not necessary, indeed, to argue upon this point, for the ready manner in which insertion was given to it in the *Courier*, without any express disapprobation of its contents, shews it once its origin. This is sufficient to identify it with those who influence that paper. We have seen the dethronement of the Emperor Napoleon accomplished—we have heard of a design to overthrow the American President by similar means. But however reprehensible the one may be considered, they come far short, in my opinion, of the villainous attempt which has been made, as appears from the above article, to deprive the King of Denmark of his Crown. It is said, that “the law, called Royal, prohibits “the Monarch, under pain of dethronement, from ceding any portion of the territory. But the King has ceded Norway, and so far violated the Constitution.”—Now it will be observed, that the laws of Sweden, like the laws of all other European countries, are public laws. Consequently the Royal law here spoken of, which I understand does exist, and which declares it to be a forfeiture of the Crown, in any Sovereign of Denmark, to give away a part of the territory over which his predecessors reigned, must have been sufficiently known to all the Allied Powers, when they so strenuously urged the cessation of Norway to Sweden.—Was not this, then, in effect requiring of the King of Denmark to renounce his Crown?—I know it will be contended, that his Danish Majesty was compelled to relinquish this portion of his kingdom, for which an equivalent was given by this country, in money and otherwise, and also an assurance by

the Allies that they would guarantee his title to the remainder. Such statements the *Times* and the *Times*, when it served their purpose to justify the cessation. But upon what principle, then, do these journals (for both of them have published the article in an *approbatory* way) now come forward and say, that the King of Denmark forfeited all right to the Danish Crown, because he has ceded Norway to Sweden? Either these journalists were right in justifying the measure upon their former grounds, or they were wrong in doing this. If right, how can they clear themselves from inconsistency and barefaced deception, in now giving countenance to a proposition which completely subverts all their former reasoning? If wrong, what must their present sentiments be of the justice and of the morality of a deed, which the Sovereign of Denmark was imperiously called upon to perform, though at the cost of being expelled from his throne?—absurd, with want, and contradictions, promulgated by journals of this country, which I have noticed above, having attracted the attention of the Danish Government, it has been thought fit to publish a Declaration (which I have given below), in which the observations are most ably refuted, and the language said to have been publicly made use of by Ministers respecting Norway, censured in unqualified manner. This document is a compliance of the non-fulfilment, on our part, of one of the articles of the Treaty of Kiel, respecting the restoration of the Danish crown. It appeared in the *Copenhagen Gazette* on the 14th inst., but is been made to it by our Government.

#### DANISH DECLARATION.

The progress of military events required a great and unavoidable sacrifice. The Treaty of Kiel was concluded, and from that moment the political connection between Denmark and Norway was entirely at an end; but the innumerable bonds of affinity and friendship, the political connection of various Islands which existed between the inhabitants of the two countries could not be so speedily dissolved, and the treaty itself therefore prescribed the term of a year for the continuation of the commercial connections on the same footing. Private communications might therefore continue for some time, and even opinions be freely expressed between individuals rela-

tive to the fate of the country, but the King would have thought it derogatory to his honour and the ancient dynasty of his Crown, if, after a treaty had been ratified by him, he should have permitted himself to take any step which would render its fulfilment difficult. The most positive orders were therefore issued. The King required and expected obedience, but affairs in Norway took a turn which entirely frustrated the King's sincere endeavour to obtain the peace of the North. The people of Norway went to meet their fate at their own discretion and their own risk. The King had done all that could be justly expected from him according to the treaty, and the cause of Norway ought now to have been wholly foreign to Denmark. Under these circumstances, it could not but appear very strange, that foreign statesmen, in public deliberations, held a language as if Denmark could be answerable for the actions of Norway; as little can it escape attention, that the expressions of the Ministers in the English Parliament respecting Norway marked by a want of propriety, and contained contradictions which are difficult to be explained—For this reason the following observations are made—The Treaty of Peace concluded at Kiel with Great Britain was ratified at Lige. On the 7th April after, the English Government had proposed an addition to the 4th article, relative to the giving back of the Danish Colonies. These additional articles were also signed at Lige by the Plenipotentiaries of the two States, and the ratification of them has been given by the King of Denmark, but it is still withheld by Great Britain, for reasons which are not known. The English Government has, however, signified to the Danish Government-General, by commission to take possession of the West India Islands, that he may cease to have no objection when the necessary preparations have taken place. Misled by some who are ill disposed towards Denmark, people dwell on every circumstance from which suspicion may be derived, rather than attend to the voice of truth and justice, which speak loudly in favour of the King of Denmark; and at a time when, by the exertions of generous Princes, justice, happiness, and peace, are restored to Europe, it is to be got in that Denmark is a part of it, and that she, as well as Prussia, has a right to rejoice, after an eventful

ings. Less attention is due to the expressions of foreign, particularly English newspapers, respecting the conduct of Denmark towards Norway. These papers are, as every one knows, the medium through which every body may venture, protected by the concealment of his name, to influence public opinion, to adduce ill-founded facts, say that they may have their effect on some credulous readers. Thus the *Comet* says, 'that the Danish Government is greatly compromised by the letters found upon a Danish Chamberlain,' though it was announced in No. 41, of the State Gazette, that this Government, far from being compromised by the private letters which this man, by birth a Norwegian, and dismissed from the service of His Danish Majesty, had undertaken to convey, found, on the contrary, in the communications of the Swedish Government, means to reprimand and to punish the illegal acts of individual citizens.—'That the Danish Government allowed Danish officers to go into the service of Norway,' though only such as are born in Norway could, according to the Treaty of Kiel, demand and obtain leave to go out of the King's service, and return to Norway, just as his Majesty expects, on his side, that Danish subjects in Norway will demand and obtain leave to return to Denmark. The same is this case with 'a number of Norwegian seamen,' who, as a London paper says, 'are sent by sea to Norway, to be employed against Sweden.' That Norwegian seamen returned home by the most convenient way, as long as no prohibition was published, is natural, but that they were sent thither is false. And that they were sent to be employed against Sweden, is an addition which has doubtless found a place by accident in an article the malicious object of which is not to be mistaken. Lastly, it is said, 'That a Danish squadron is now cruising on the coast of Norway against Swedish ships.'—Though it is known that since 1807, Denmark had no squadron, and that the frigates which have met and stopped English cruisers on the coast of Norway are, indeed, the property of the King of Denmark, but that they have been forcibly detained in Norway against his will, manned with Norwegian officers and sailors, and employed for purposes with which the King of Denmark has no concern. This is sufficient reply to attacks and accusations which, if even the voice of justice is over-

powered by them for a time, will soon be appreciated at their true worth, and can never fix blame upon a Government which, unused to the evasions of an illiberal policy, places its glory in sincerity, may claim from other countries that respect which it thinks itself bound to shew to them.

**CORN LAWS.**—Although the Bill has been thrown out of Parliament, which was intended to regulate the price of corn, the subject is not to be abandoned.—I have given below the Report of the Committee, which was laid before both Houses of Parliament in the course of the week. From this it appears, that the number of petitions presented against the measure did not exceed eighty. The great noise, clamour and bustle, that was made in all parts of the kingdom, to procure subscriptions, made me think that they would have amounted, to eight hundred, at least. They were represented to be so numerous as absolutely to cover the tables of both Houses, and the opposition to the Bill was said to resemble that of the Dissenters, when, we were told, it took several hackney coaches to hold the petitions that poured in from all quarters against Lord Sidmouth's Bill. The Committee complain, that they have "examined several witnesses on the subject matter referred to them," but that "none of the petitioners have hitherto come forward to support any of the allegations therein contained"—Does not this shew, beyond all contradiction, that the cry raised against the proposed measure, proceeded altogether from a quarter where its merits had not been, and probably could not be, examined, from want of capacity in the individuals who made the greatest noise and stir about it, and who, forsooth, notwithstanding their ignorance, pretended to dictate to the Legislature, without, as it now appears, being able to support, by evidence, a single charge which they had, in so bold and so unequalled a manner, brought against the farmer and the land proprietor,—particularly the former. Let it be kept in view, that I have never justified the interference of Parliament on this, or on any former occasion, as to the corn trade, my decided opinion being that all meddling of this sort is calculated to do harm rather than good, and that corn, like every other commodity, ought to be left to find its own natural level. This would be doing justice to all parties, to the public as well as to the farmer, and would be the true way of en-

construing agriculture.—My object has always been, to expose the folly and stupidity of those who are influenced by a hungry belly rather than by the voice of reason, and who seek for causes of high prices where they cannot possibly exist, while they overlook the true causes, and pass by the men who have occasioned them, to wreak their vengeance on those who have been uniform in their opposition to war, and to all its ruinous attendants.

*Report of the Committee appointed to enquire into the state of the Corn Laws.*

That the Committee have met, and have examined several witnesses on the subject: matter referred to them, but that notwithstanding a great number of Petitions, to the extent of from 70 to 80, very numerous signed, have been referred to the consideration of the Committee, none of the Petitioners have hitherto come forward to support any of the allegations therein contained.—That your Committee, anxious to lay before the House, as full information as they can obtain upon every branch, and under every view of the important subject referred to their consideration, and apprehensive that the Petitioners may have hitherto abstained from supporting the allegations of their Petitions, from an opinion that the Committee are not empowered to receive such evidence, the Committee submit to the consideration of the House the propriety of giving them direct instructions to examine all evidence the Petitioners may think fit to offer, in support of the numerous Petitions which have been presented to the House, in the course of the present Session, on the subject of the Corn Laws.

THE GOOD AND PIOUS MR. WILBERFORCE, THE FATHER OF THE ABOLITION OF THE SLAVE TRADE.

MR. COBBETT.—It is generally understood, that to be good, we must be consistent; to be pious, we must not act contrary to the laws of God, but before we should allow any person the above title we should examine into his claims. The conduct of Mr. Wilberforce has been most singular, unaccountable, and inconsistent; one time pleading the cause of humanity, and calling out for justice, at another shutting his heart; yea, *opening his mouth against humanity* and trampling upon justice; one time *willing to break a treaty for humanity's sake*; at another *would not, for it would be dishonourable to*

*break it*, although, if performed, we should assist in the starvation of a million of our fellow-creatures. Mr. W. has made an admirable speech, at the Free Mason's Tavern, on the Slave Trade.—“The friends of the abolition,” (says Mr. W.) “had flattered themselves that their cause being the cause of justice and humanity, would have met the support of all nations;” and proceeds to state, that this country had in some degree given a sanction to robbery and murder; that it was upon the religious and moral feeling of this country he had planted his foot; and that the Slave Trade was contrary to the laws of God and the dictates of humanity. I agree with Mr. Wilberforce here; but I wish to know of him why God's laws may be broken *one day more* than another? for, have not the *Norwegians* any claim on justice? Has their cause no claim to humanity? Would it not be murder to starve a nation? Would it not be robbery to deprive them of their independence? Would to God Mr. W. had, in this cause, planted his foot on the *religious and moral feeling* of this country; for, can he deny, that the oppression of Norway is contrary to the laws of God and the dictates of humanity? I appeal to the public, if Mr. W. has not always supported the party which were *unfavourable* to the abolition? and has not Mr. W., and does not Mr. W. detest the very party which brought it about? Mr. W. is, of course, much mortified at not being Castlereagh not having stipulated with France for the abolition of the Slave Trade, but it serves Lamington. I cannot pity him, I cannot sympathise with him, but I can with the slaves, for whom humanity pleads; I can with a Grey, a Grenville, and a Whitbread, because I know them to be consistent.—But, Mr. Cobbett, what *land of a father* is Mr. W.? has he deserted his child? No—but he has partly destroyed it by encouraging persons who dislike it, who would murder it, if they could, and who have injured it. If Mr. W. likes such company, he must take the consequence, he *must* sacrifice his *eldest son, Abolition*. Mr. W. take warning, the country will not respect you if you are inconsistent: the country will not come to the aid of *Abolition* at your call, if you will pull it down when it has almost been at its height.—I will not trespass on your hour at this time, but appeal to Mr. Cobbett and the most thinking people of England, if Mr. Wilberforce ought to be called

the *good end* ; Father he may be, although a very bad one—I am

A FRIEND TO SLAVERY.

Hartford, Jan 1811

SPANISH AFFAIRS.—Another Declaration, in favour of the Spanish Monarch, has made its appearance. This, I confess, does not look well; for if the *Fei* Ferdinand was so happy with his people, as it is said he is, why all this anxiety to stand fast in their estimation? Or, if his Spanish Majesty has done nothing censurable in the eyes of Europe, where was the necessity of these reiterated appeals to foreign States? Besides, we have only one side of the question, and special care has been taken that the party accused should not be heard, by consigning him to a dungeon. Lastly, therefore, the Cortes have liberty to invent for themselves, it would be unjust to credit all, or even any part of, the accusations which Ferdinand brings against them. But there is another reason, of still greater importance to me, why we should suspend our judgment respecting the conduct of the Cortes until they be heard, and it is this, that the Spanish Monarch has not only unequivocally declared in favour of the ancient establishments of Spain, which, it is well known, constituted an absolute sovereignty in one person, but he has actually restored these institutions, not even excepting that diabolical engine of papal tyranny—the *Inquisition*. The new Declaration sets out with a sentence, that the Constitution adopted by the Cortes, to which the Spanish nation had assented and heretofore, and which they wished Ferdinand to accept of, “was, without contradiction, the *worst* of all the political creations of our time.”—I have annexed the Declaration, and, once I perused it, I have obtained a Copy of the Constitution which it stigmatizes so severely, and, in order that my readers may judge how far it deserves the epithet, so lavishly bestowed upon it, I shall now extract, from the principal articles of it, which appear to be calculated to elucidate the subject, and to put the reader in a better capacity of Spain and the Cortes in its proper light.

#### SPANISH DECLARATION

VERBA, JUNE 18.—The *Cortes*, &c. &c. has published the following Declaration. —“It is not without inquietude that King Ferdinand has returned into Spain. This Monarch was chosen as the his most contented counsellors, but he could not take

in hand the reins of Government upon the conditions prescribed by the Constitution of 1812, without preparing for himself a clouded future, and for the nation new troubles, for that Constitution was, without contradiction, the worst of all the political creations of our time. It was made by men, who did not want sense or talent, but who were without experience—with no knowledge of men or of business, and who sacrificed the general interest to their private views and passions, so much so, that it would be injustice to the authors of the French Constitution of 1791, however bad the order we might censure of them, to compare them with their Spanish imitators.—But how to find the means, and the necessary strength to deliver the Monarch and the people from the shackles of this Constitution, the Cortes having inherited from their predecessors the constituent all the branches of the public authority, keeping them with a pious vigilance, and, far from wishing any change, proscribing beforehand, as a crime of high treason, every attempt to introduce any. The good sense of the nation, the loyal dispositions of the troops, the reprehensible conduct of the moderate party, have enabled to resolve this problem happily and sooner than one could have hoped.—The King arrived at Valencia the 21th March with his brother, the Infant Don Antonio, and set out the 28th for Valencia. His Majesty, on his route, received a proclamation from the Aragonese to honour their provinces with his presence. He accepted, and, in the bigamous of April proceeded from Pons to Zaragoza, where he was received with transports of joy difficult to describe. During the six days the King passed in that city, the people and the troops manifested in every possible manner the most lively enthusiasm for his person, and the wish to establish a second throne of his father, with all the plenitude of the royal authority.—A detachment of the army of reserve, under the command of General O'Donnell, spontaneously renewing the oath taken to the King in 1808, and offering its arms and its blood to maintain his rights, gave increased force to the voice of the people. This was the first ray of hope for the King.—The army of Catalonia, it is true, is equally well disposed, but had not expressed its sentiments in so precise a manner as General O'Donnell. On the 16th Ferdinand made solemn entry into Valencia. The joy and enthusiasm less vehement than at Zaragoza. His Majesty was received in the first of this cities by General Elío, Commander of the secondary, with his Staff, and a great number of officers and soldiers. Evidences have described this scene as extremely affecting. The General said, among other things to the King, “The brave army which I command, after having for years shed its blood for the independence of the country, is now neglected, exposed to want and humiliation; it expects a better destiny from the justice of your Majesty.” The

officers of all ranks then took the oath of allegiance, and thronged round the King to kiss his hand. They repeated a thousand times the vow to maintain the throne and its rights in their full integrity, and when they left the palace all the streets resounded with shouts of "*Long live the King, and down with those who are of a different way of thinking*." The Duke of Saint Lorenzo, in the name of the third army, and Brigadier Don Alexander Ota, in the name of the army of reserve of Andalusia, took the same oath. Meanwhile the Cardinal de Bourbon, chief of the Regency (cousin of the King, and brother-in-law to the Prince of the Peace), arrived at Valencia, with Luyando, Secretary of State, to communicate to the King the Decrees of the Cortes, and in particular that of the 2d of February, purporting, that obedience should not be paid him till he had sworn, in the midst of the Cortes, to adhere to the Constitution. They inquired, the day after his arrival, when he intended to proceed to Madrid, and to conform to the Decree. The King replied, that he had not yet come to any determination on the subject. From that moment, though these two members of the Cortes remained at Valencia, they had no further interview with the King.—This Monarch held frequent councils with the Grandees of the Kingdom, and the Generals, who had by degrees collected around him, and deliberated upon the measures to be adopted in the critical situation in which he found himself.—The most favourable intelligence was duly received from the Provinces. Every doubt had long been removed, respecting the dispositions which prevailed in Navarre, Biscay, Catalonia, and Aragon. It was then learned, that the Cortes had likewise lost their influence in Galicia, great part of Castile, and Andalusia, at Valladolid, Toledo, Seville, Cordova, &c. and that the wish to see the King invested with all the power conferred by the ancient laws was more and more decisively expressed. At Madrid, and even at Cadix, the two cities where the party of the Cortes was considered as the strongest and most numerous, all the military and a considerable number of persons of other classes were for the King. About the 20th of April, a corps of 25 to 30,000 men, set out from the kingdoms of Aragon and Valencia, for the capital. The King still continued at Valencia, whither the English Minister and the Charges d'Affaires of Austria and Portugal, also repaired, in 1796. On the 28th April, they received intelligence of Lord Wellington's last victory near Toulouse, and a few hours afterwards, that of the deposition of Napoleon.—All the Members of the King's Council were convinced that his Majesty could not adopt the Constitution, but they were divided in opinion on the question whether it would be safer, all circumstances considered, to reject it altogether, and thus break entirely with the Cortes, or to propose certain modifications and terms of accommodation.

General Castanos, and the Ex-Minister Cevallos, appear to have leaned, at least in principle, to mild measures: and their opinion would perhaps have prevailed, had not the Cortes and their adherents at Madrid, by an ill judged haughtiness, dispelled every prospect of accommodation, and by their words and actions given a signal for hostilities. The addresses by which they invited the King to accelerate his journey to Madrid, though extremely pressing, and even accompanied with threats, yet retained the appearance of respect, but in the sittings of the Cortes in the journals, and pamphlets of their party, all the bounds of decency and moderation were exceeded. Those who would not receive the Constitution without reserve, and with a kind of veneration, were spoken of in the most abusive language, at the same time the arms and their Commanders were not spared, any more than the person of the King, or those immediately about him. He was menaced with a criminal trial, imprisonment, and the scaffold. The Cortes, and the Members of the Regency who were devoted to them, were engaged in the organization of a national guard; they were preparing a general insurrection, which would have led to a most sanguinary civil war. Had they begun earlier, they would probably not have wanted the means of defence, but their slow and languid measures tended only to accelerate their fall. At this juncture, the King, on the 4th of May, came to the resolution of signing that remarkable Manifesto, by which he declared the Constitution, and all the acts of the Cortes relative to it, null and void. On the 5th he left Valencia, after having appointed the Duke de San Carlos, Minister for Foreign Affairs, Don Pedro de Maraz, Minister of Justice, Don Eusebio, Minister of War, M. St. Leger, Minister of the Finances, and M. Landerbell, Minister of the Indies. The first two, and the Counsellor of State, Labrion, are his most confidential advisers. The troops at Madrid were under the command of General Villacampa. As it was thought that he could not be relied on, the King gave the general command of the capital, and the New Castle, to General Espoz; and the garrison of Madrid though chosen by the Regency itself, immediately obeyed the King's orders and submitted to the new governor. This circumstance decided the success of the result. On the 10th, the King's decree was published at Madrid.—Troops were sent to occupy the hill of the Cortes and the Regency and the Cortes bodies were declared to be dissolved. About fifty members or principal agents of the Cortes, were imprisoned, the Ministers of Justice and of the Interior shared the same fate and others were merely dismissed. The Secretary of State, Luyando, was obliged to repair to nothingna, as well as one of the Members of the Regency, but his colleague, Cevallos, was exiled to San Sebastian. Don Juan Cardinal, the President of the



Regency, who had particularly incurred the displeasure of the Court, was sent provisionally to Toledo, there to await the ulterior decision of his fate—Soldado his political revolution terminated so speedily, and in so decisive a manner as this. Not one stone has been left upon the other of the edifice upon which the republican party had for a year been incessantly engaged—the work, the principal workmen, the assistants, vanished in a moment, and without any resistance, not an arm raised, or a mouth opened, in behalf of those who, some days before, surrounded with all the pomp of the sovereignty of the people, which they had usurped, and even invested with the title of Majesty, had prescribed the most rigid laws to the King and the Nation. His Majesty's Decree was received at Madrid as a decision of Heaven, and executed with demonstrations of the most sincere and general joy. All the streets rung with shouts of "*Down with the Liberal!*" for that is the appellation assumed by the partisans of the Constitution. Thus it is that those deceive themselves, who, impelled by ambition or fanaticism, consider the people as their natural ally, whilst they are vehemently attacking the established principles of social order. Those who feel interested in the lot of the Spaniards, who are desirous that the unshaken fortitude with which they have maintained a glorious struggle and the numerous sacrifices they have made to preserve their liberty under paternal laws, should receive their reward, must sincerely rejoice to see their destiny decided in this manner. In truth, the Monarchical Government could not subsist in any manner with the Constitution of 1812, but to attempt to force a country like Spain to accept such a Constitution, was an extraordinary error—and it may be asserted, without being too severe, an error which deserved punishment. Litter that Constitution would soon have completely destroyed the Royal authority—or, if it had not accomplished this object, it would at least have produced internal commotions, anarchy, and ages of debility. It cannot be denied that the future prospects are wholly free from apprehension, that nothing is yet decided or secured, that there will yet be great difficulties to surmount, and even violent storms to undergo. But if, as we are justified in believing, the present reaction perfectly harmonises with the sentiments and wishes of the people, if, on the other hand, the promises contained in the King's Manifesto are punctually fulfilled, Spain may thereby recover her tranquillity and prosperity more certainly and speedily than by any other means and regain her rank among the powers of Europe. Nothing, moreover, but such an event as this, could effect a reconciliation between the mother country and the colonies, as far as this is still possible. Without this reconciliation, things might have turned out as they might, America would have been lost to Spain."

**THE POLITICAL CONSTITUTION OF THE SPANISH MONARCHY. PROMULGATED IN CADIZ, THE NINETEENTH DAY OF MARCH, 1812.**

The General and Extraordinary Cortes of the Spanish Nation, well convinced, after the most minute examination and mature deliberation, that the ancient fundamental laws of this Monarchy, aided by every precaution and authority, which can enable and insure their being permanently established and thoroughly carried into effect, are perfectly calculated to fulfil the grand object of promoting the glory, prosperity, and welfare of the Spanish Nation; decreed the following Political Constitution for the well governing and right administration of the State.

*Chap. I. Of the Spanish Nation and Spaniards.*—Art. 1. The Spanish nation is the re-union of all the Spaniards of both hemispheres.—2. The Spanish nation is free and independent, and neither is nor can be the property of any family or person.—3. Sovereignty belongs to the nation, consequently it exclusively possesses the right of establishing its fundamental laws.—4. The nation is obliged, by wise and just laws, to protect the liberty, property, and all other legitimate rights, of every individual which composes it.—5. Of those who are Spaniards, and lawfully considered as such—1st, All free-men, born and bred up in the Spanish dominions, and their sons, 2dly, Foreigners who may have obtained letters of naturalization from the Courts, 3dly, Those who, without it, have resided ten years in any village in Spain, and acquired thereby a right of vicinity.—4thly, The slaves who receive their freedom in the Spanish dominions.—6. The love of their country, as well as to be just and honest, are the first and absolute duties of every Spaniard.—7. Every Spaniard is obliged to be faithful to the Constitution, to obey the laws, and to respect the established authorities.—8. It is also the duty of every Spaniard, without exception, to bear arms in defence of the country, when called on by the laws.—9. Also, every Spaniard, without exception, is obliged to contribute, in proportion to his means, to the finances of the State.

*Chap. II. Of the Spanish Territory, Religion, Government, and Rights of Citizenship.*—Art. 12. The religion of the Spanish nation is, and ever shall be, the Catholic Apostolic Roman and only true faith, the State shall, by wise and just laws, protect it, and prevent the exercise

of any other.—13. The object of Governments is the welfare of nations, as is the happiness of the individuals who compose them, that of all political societies.—14. The Government of the Spanish nation is a moderate, hereditary monarchy.—15. The power of making laws is in the Cortes, with the King.—16. The power of executing the laws is in the King.—17. The power of applying the laws, in civil and criminal causes, exists in the tribunals established by law.—18. Those who, by both lines, are of Spanish parents, of either hemisphere, and have resided ten years in some village in the Spanish dominions.—19. Also any foreigner, who, according to the form prescribed, has become a Spaniard, may be made a citizen, by special letter of citizenship from the Cortes.—21. The legitimate children of foreigners settled in the Spanish dominions, who are born in them, and have never gone to other countries without permission of the Government, are citizens; provided they are 21 years of age, residents in some village in the dominions, and are of some profession, office, or useful trade.—23. Only those who are citizens can obtain municipal employments, and elect for them, in the cases pointed out by law.—24. The right of Spanish citizenship is forfeited for ever 1st, By naturalization in another country; 2dly, By accepting an employment or situation from another Government; 3dly, By being sentenced to receive a corporal or infamous punishment (unless it be remitted); 4thly, By residing abroad five years successively, without commission or leave from the Government.—25. The exercise of the same right is suspended 1st, In consequence of judicial interdiction for physical or moral incapacity; 2dly, By becoming a bankrupt in any trade, or debtor to the public treasury; 3dly, By being in the situation of a domestic servant; 4thly, For holding no office, or having no employ, nor known means of living; 5thly, By being under trial for a criminal offence; 6thly, From the year 1830, those who enter on the exercise of the rights of citizenship, must have learned to read and write.—26. Only for the causes expressed in the two preceding Articles, and none others, can the rights of a citizen be lost or suspended.

*Chap. III. Of the Cortes.*—Art. 27. The Cortes is the junction of all the deputies who represent the nation, named by the citizens in the manner hereafter to be explained.—28. The basis of national repre-

sentation is the same in both hemispheres.—29. This basis is, the people composed of those inhabitants who, by both lines, are natives of the Spanish dominions; of those who have letters of citizenship from the Cortes; as also those who are comprehended in Art. 21.—31. For every seventy thousand souls of population, consisting of those expressed in Art. 29, shall be sent one deputy to the Cortes.—34. For the election of deputies to the Cortes, juntas shall be held in the parishes, cities, and provinces.—35. The parish electoral juntas shall be composed of all the citizens, residents within the bounds of the respective parishes, among whom shall be included the secular clergy.—36. These juntas shall meet, in the Peninsula, islands, and possessions adjacent, the first Sunday in the month of October, the year preceding that in which the Cortes is to meet.—37. In the provinces beyond the seas, the first Sunday of December, fifteen months preceding the meeting of the Cortes, in order to insure time sufficient for both to send their returns previously.—38. In the parish juntas, for every two hundred resident citizens or electors, shall be chosen one parochial elector.—45. To be named a parochial elector, it is necessary it should be a citizen of above twenty-one years of age, a vecino, and resident in the parish.—55. No citizen shall be excused this duty, under any pretext or motive whatsoever.—56. No citizen shall appear armed at the parochial junta.—57. Immediately on the conclusion of the election, the junta shall dissolve, any other business, which it may attempt to transact, shall be null, void, and illegal.—59. The electoral juntas of hundreds shall be composed of the parochial electors, who shall unite, in the principal town of the hundred, to nominate the elector or electors; who are to resort to the capital of the province, to elect the deputies to the Cortes.—78. The electoral juntas of provinces shall be composed of all the electors *do partido* (of hundreds) within it, who shall assemble in the capital, to elect the proportion of deputies who are to assist at the Cortes, as representatives of the nation.—91. The following are the qualifications requisite for a deputy of the Cortes. He must be a citizen, of above twenty-five years of age, in the full exercise of his rights; either a layman or secular priest, a native of the province, or one at least who possesses property, and has resided in it above seven years; but

he may belong to the junta or not.—92. To be a member of the Cortes, it is also necessary to possess a sufficient real and personal property.—95. The secretaries of State, counsellors, and officers of the royal household, cannot be elected deputies of the Cortes.—96. No foreigner, although he may have obtained from the Cortes a letter of citizenship, can be elected a deputy.—97. No person in a public office can be elected a deputy of the Cortes, for the province in which he is employed, if he be appointed by the Government.—106. The sessions of the Cortes shall be of three months continuance, each year, beginning on the 1st of March, and continuing the three months succeeding.—107. On two occasions, alone, the Cortes may prorogue their meeting for one month: first, on petition from the King; secondly, if it should appear requisite to themselves, by a majority of two thirds of the deputies.—108. An extraordinary deputation shall be chosen every two years.—121. The King shall assist at the opening of the Cortes; and, should any impediment occur, the president shall open it himself, on the day appointed, without any circumstance whatever being allowed to defer it to another period. The same forms shall be observed in closing the session.—122. The King shall enter the hall of the Cortes without a guard, and accompanied only by the persons appointed for receiving and accompanying him on his return, by the rules formed for the interior government of the Cortes.—123. The King shall publicly address the Cortes, proposing such things as shall appear to him necessary, to which the president shall answer in general terms. If the King does not attend, he shall send his speech to the president, that it may be read.—124. The Cortes cannot deliberate in the presence of the King.—125. When the secretaries of State may have to make propositions to the Cortes, on behalf of the King, they shall assist at the discussion, at the time and in the manner the Cortes may determine, and deliver their sentiments, but they shall not be present at the division.—126. The sessions of the Cortes shall be public; and only under circumstances which particularly require it, shall a secret sitting be held.—128. The deputies shall be inviolable for their opinions; and in no time, circumstance, nor by any authority, made responsible for the same. In any criminal causes, which may be formed against them, they shall be judged by the

tribunal of the Cortes, in the manner and form directed by the laws for its interior government.—129. During the sessions of the Cortes, and one month after, no deputy can be arrested by the civil power, nor his property be subject to execution for debt.—130. During the period of their deputation, commencing on the day, in this respect, of their nomination being made known to the permanent deputation, the deputies cannot accept themselves, or solicit for others, any lucrative employ or place from the King, or even advancement, unless it be in the due course of service, in their respective situations.—131. In the same manner, during their deputation, and one year after the last act of their official functions, they cannot accept themselves, or solicit for others, any pension, honour, place, or order, which is in the gift of the King.—131. The powers and duties of the Cortes are: 1st, To propose and decree the laws, and interpret and repeal them, when it shall be necessary; 2dly, To administer the oath to the King, and Prince of Asturias, and to the Regency, according to the forms directed in their proper places; 3dly, To resolve any doubt which may occur as to the act or right of succession to the Crown; 4thly, To elect a Regency, or Regent, in the case pointed out by the Constitution, and prescribe the restrictions with which the Regency or Regent are to exercise the royal authority; 5thly, Publicly to acknowledge the Prince of Asturias, 6thly, To appoint a tutor to a minor King, when it may be directed by the Constitution; 7thly, To approve, before their ratification, the treaties of offensive, alliance, subsidy, and particularly those of commerce; 8thly, To grant or deny the admission of foreign troops into the kingdom; 9thly, To decree the creation or suppression of places in the tribunals established by the Constitution; and also the creation or suppression of public offices; 10thly, To fix, by proposals from the King, the proportion of sea and land forces for the year; determining the standing force in time of peace, and augmentation in war; 11th, To issue codes of established instructions to the army, navy, and national militia, for their direction, under all circumstances; 12th, To fix the expences of the public service; 13th, To establish the annual contributions and imposts; 14th, To borrow money, in cases of emergency, on the credit of the nation; 15th, To approve the division of the proportion of contributions to be levied on

each province; 16th, To examine and approve the returns of the receipts of the public monies; 17th, To establish custom-houses, and the rates of duties; 18th, To make the necessary dispositions for the administration, preservation, and expenditure of the public funds; 19th, To determine the value, weight, standard, impression, and denomination of the circulating medium; 20th, To adopt the system of weights and measures, which may appear to them most just and convenient; 21st, To promote and encourage all descriptions of industry, and remove the obstacles which may check them; 22d, To establish a general plan of public education throughout the whole monarchy, and approve that which is pursued for the instruction of the Prince of Asturias; 23d, To approve the regulations for the general health and police of the kingdom; 24th, To protect the political liberty of the press; 25th, To make the responsibility of the secretary of state, and other public officers, effective; 26th, Lastly, it belongs to the Cortes to give or refuse its consent to all those acts and circumstances, in which, according to the Constitution, it may be necessary.—132. Every deputy possesses authority to propose new laws, doing it in writing, and explaining to the Cortes the reasons upon which he founds their necessity.—138. Having determined to come to a division, it shall be proceeded to immediately, admitting or negating the whole, or any part of the Bill, varying or modifying it, according to the observations which may have been made in the discussion.—139. No division of the Cortes can take place unless there be present, at least, half, and one more, of its deputies, and the question must be carried by the absolute plurality of votes.—140. If, during any stage, a Bill should be negatived, it shall be considered as thrown out, and cannot be brought forward again in the same year.—141. If it should regularly pass into a law, a duplicate shall be formed, and officially read in the Cortes, and both, being duly signed by the president and two secretaries, shall, by a deputation, be presented to his Majesty.—142. The King possesses authority to sanction or reject the laws.—143. The King shall give his assent according to this form, under his sign manual "This may be published."—144. The King shall refuse his consent in the following manner, under his sign manual: "It may be returned to

the Cortes;" accompanied by an exposition of the reasons which induced his dissent.—145. The King shall be allowed thirty days for the exercise of this prerogative; and if, at the expiration of that period, he shall have neither sanctioned nor rejected it, assent shall be understood as given, and granted accordingly.—146. One of these Bills, whether sanctioned or not, shall be returned to the Cortes for their information, and be preserved in their archives, the other shall remain in the possession of the King.—147. If the King refuse his consent, the same question shall not be agitated in the Cortes that year, but may be in the year succeeding.—148. If the same Bill shall be brought before the Cortes, and regularly passed, the succeeding year, it shall be presented to the King, and either refused or sanctioned, according as his Majesty may think fit, and, in case of dissent, it shall not be brought forward again the same year.—149. If it be brought forward a third year, and approved by the Cortes, it shall be understood to have obtained his Majesty's assent, which, on being presented, it shall receive accordingly.—150. If, before the expiration of the thirty days in which the King is to sign the Bill, the period for the termination of the sessions should arrive, he shall give his ultimatum the ninth day of the succeeding session; and, should he omit doing it in this period, it shall be understood as granted, and given accordingly. Should the King refuse his assent, it may be brought in again the same session.—151. Although, after the King has refused to sanction a Bill, some years shall be passed without an attempt being made to bring it in again, still, should it be renewed during the sitting of the same deputation, before whom the original motion was made, or either of the two succeeding, it shall be considered as falling under, and be proceeded upon, with respect to the royal assent, according to the three preceding Articles; but it should be permitted to remain until after the expiration of the sessions of the three deputations, then it shall, on being renewed, be treated, in every respect, as a new Bill.—152. If, on being brought into the Cortes, a second or third time, it should be thrown out, then, on any future motion, it must be considered as a new Bill.—153. To repeal an act, the same course and ceremonies must be pursued as to enact it.—154. A statute having regularly passed the

Cortes, the King shall be immediately informed thereof, for the purpose of promulgating the same.—155. The following form, directed to the different secretaries of State, shall be pur sued by his Majesty, in promulgating the laws: N. by the grace of God, and Constitution of the Spanish Monarchy, King of all Spain, do hereby make known unto all those to whom these presents may come greeting, that the Cortes have decreed, and we have sanctioned, as follow. [Here shall be literally inscribed the preamble of the Bill.] We therefore direct and command all tribunals, justices, commanders, governors, and other authorities, civil, military, and ecclesiastical, of every class whatsoever, to preserve, follow, comply with, and obey, and cause to be preserved, followed, complied with, and obeyed, this the above law, in all and every of its branches, using their powers and authorities to accomplish the same, and causing it to be printed, published, and circulated.—156. All the laws shall be transmitted by the secretaries of State, by the command of his Majesty, to all and every of the supreme tribunals of the provinces, other civil chiefs, and supreme authorities, and by them circulated among those of inferior descriptions.—157. Before the prorogation of the Cortes, a deputation shall be elected, consisting of seven members. three from the European provinces; three from those beyond the seas; and the other by lot from both; which shall be termed the Permanent Deputation.—158. The Cortes shall, at the same time, elect two supplementary members for this deputation. one for Europe, the other for beyond the seas.—160. The permanent deputation shall sit from the dissolution of one Cortes until the meeting of the other.—161. The duties of the permanent deputation are 1st, To observe whether the Constitution and laws are duly acted upon and obeyed, advising the succeeding Cortes of the infractions they may have observed; 2d, To convoke the Extraordinary Cortes, in the cases prescribed by the Constitution; 3d, To execute the functions directed in Art. 111 and 112; 4th, To notify to the supplementary deputies when they are to attend, from incapacity of the originals; or, should cir-

cumstances occur to render it absolutely impossible, in either the original or supplementary, to assist, issue the requisite instructions and directions for a new election.—161. The Extraordinary Cortes shall consist of the same deputies as those which are chosen for the regular Cortes during the two years of their deputation.—162. The permanent deputation shall convoke the Extraordinary Cortes, fixing the day, in the three following cases. 1st, When the crown becomes vacant; 2d, When, by any means, the King becomes incapable of governing, or wishes to abdicate the throne in favour of his successor; the deputation being previously authorized to resort to such measures as may be deemed necessary to establish proof of his incapacity; 3d, When, in consequence of critical or important circumstances, it may appear to the King requisite, and he advises the deputation to that effect.—163. The Extraordinary Cortes shall not transact any business but that for which it was convened.—164. The same ceremonies shall be observed on the opening and closing the session of the Extraordinary, as of the regular Cortes.—165. The meeting of the Extraordinary Cortes shall not affect the election of new deputies at the times prescribed.—166. If the session of the Extraordinary Cortes shall not be concluded by the period appointed for the regular one to assemble, the functions of the first shall immediately cease, and the other shall close the session for which that was convoked.—167. The permanent deputation shall continue in the exercise of the duties pointed out in Art. 111 and 112, under the circumstances expressed in the succeeding Article.

*Chap. IV. Of the King*—Art 168. The King's person is sacred and inviolable; neither is he responsible for any thing.—169. The King shall be styled, his Catholic Majesty.—170. The exclusive power of enforcing and rendering the laws effective resides in the King, whose authority extends to whatever may conduce to the interior good regulation, and exterior security and defence of the State, consistently with the laws and the Constitution.

(To be continued.)

LORD COCHRANE.

"The interesting nature of the proceedings in the House of Commons respecting this gallant nobleman, has induced me to devote the whole of this week's REGISTER to his case, in so far as I could publish it with safety; for it will be seen, from what passed in the House, that it was plainly hinted *anæ-officio* would be preferred against my one, who should venture to give the public the *whole* of his Lordship's defence. Having no relish for any thing of this sort, I have contented myself with publishing those parts of Lord Cochrane's Statement which have already appeared in the daily newspapers; and, as I formerly said, I cannot believe that any man, after perusing that Statement, curtailed as it has been, will hesitate in pronouncing his Lordship INNOCENT, except, indeed, as I then supposed, a personal enmity be entertained against him. I never expected any thing else than expulsion from the House of Commons; but I scarcely anticipated so great a minority in favour of his Lordship as what voted against the measure. The whole complexion of the debate is tantamount, in fact, to a declaration of his Lordship's innocence, which was not even attempted to be questioned by the most strenuous advocates for his expulsion. How then does the case stand? MY LORD COCHRANE IS INNOCENT. Ought he, then, to suffer the punishment of *guilt*? What is the duty of the country, particularly of the Electors of Westminster, in circumstances so critical, so deeply involving the LIBERTY of the SUBJECT, and so intimately connected with the distribution of JUSTICE?—It would be saying nothing to say merely that Lord Cochrane ought *not* to be punished. Justice demands that the country should petition against the sentence. Justice, in a peculiar manner, calls upon the Electors of Westminster to exert themselves, and that without a moment's delay, to avert the meditated degradation of his Lordship. *Not to supplicate for mercy*, as if he were guilty; but to peti-

tion the throne for JUSTICE; to urge the liberation of his Lordship upon the sole and clear ground of his INNOCENCE.—But the Electors of Westminster ought not to stop here. They are bound, in justice to Lord Cochrane, to return him to Parliament as their Representative.—I say, in *justice* to his Lordship; for it was distinctly stated in the House of Commons, that the vote of expulsion was not meant as a measure of *censure*, but merely intended to give his constituents an opportunity, by his re-election, of declaring their sentiments as to his innocence. It, therefore, the Electors of Westminster do not again elect Lord Cochrane, this will be equivalent to a declaration that they consider him *guilty*, than which nothing would be more *unjust*. It, however, they do re-elect him, they will shew to Parliament, and to the world, that they are entitled to the character, which they have always been ambitious of maintaining—THE PROTECTORS OF INJURED INNOCENCE. The example of Sir Francis Burdett, will, I trust, have its due effect on this occasion. He felt no hesitation in manfully declaring, in the House of Commons, his entire conviction of the innocence of his Colleague. If the Electors of Westminster really esteem the worthy Baronet, and are disposed to respect his opinions, they never had a more favourable opportunity than the present to shew this.—It will do credit to their judgment, to imitate the conduct of Sir Francis while the of another representative, in the place of Lord Cochrane, will not only gratify the malice of his enemies, but give them a certain triumph over the Electors of Westminster, who are the *real parties* they wish to degrade by the punishment of his Lordship.

Since writing the above (which was sent to press on Thursday), I have learnt that a Meeting of the Electors of Westminster, will take place on Friday evening, in the Crown and Anchor Tavern, for the purpose of putting a person in nomination to represent the City and Liberties of West

minster in Parliament.—This Meeting has been called by the friends of my Lord Cochrane, amongst whom have been named Sir Francis Burdett, Major Cartwright, Mr. Brougham, and the greater part of the other respectable and independent Electors of Westminster. Supported by such a phalanx, I think there can be little doubt of Lord Cochrane's re-election.

#### HOUSE OF COMMONS, JULY 5.

The order of the day was read for taking into consideration a charge affecting Lord Cochrane and Mr. Cochrane Johnstone.—The SPEAKER enquired whether Lord Cochrane was in attendance, and was answered in the affirmative.—It was then ordered that he should be called in.

Lord COCHRANE then came into the house, and took his accustomed place.

Two of the messengers were then examined as to the service of the order to attend that House on Mr. Cochrane Johnstone. They both said that they had called at his house in Alsop's-buildings, but were informed that he had left it shortly before the trial, and that nobody knew where he was gone to. It did not appear that they had left the order at the house.—Some members of the House declared that the house at which the messengers had called, No. 13, Alsop's-buildings, had been the late residence of Mr. Cochrane Johnstone.

The SPEAKER thought it would be the better course to proceed at present with the charge against the noble lord who attended in his place.

Mr. BROADHEAD then rose, and moved, that the copy of the conviction should be entered as read. This having been done accordingly, he was proceeding, when—

The SPEAKER said, that as the record of the conviction was itself the charge against the noble lord, he thought that the most regular course was, that the noble lord should now be called upon to say what he thought proper in answer to that charge, and that when he had so done, he should withdraw.

Mr. BANKES thought that the record was the charge against two members of that House, and that as one had not thought proper to attend, the House should now proceed to consider the charge as against both members.

On the suggestion of the Speaker, the House proceeded to the charge against Lord Cochrane, and he was called upon for his defence.

Lord COCHRANE then rose, and read the following statement.

Mr. Speaker.—The circumstance under which I appear before you, and the House this day, entitle me, to, at least, a patient hearing. The unfortunate man, who, in the time of Cardinal Richelieu, was condemned to be racked and burnt, on the charge of practising magic, when protesting his innocence and exposing the villainy of his accusers, while the fire was preparing before his eyes, was, to prevent his being heard by the people, struck upon the mouth with a crucifix, borne in the hand of a monk. This horrible judicial murder shocked all France and all Europe; but of all the circumstances attending it, the fabrication of evidence, the flagrant partiality of the judges, the cruelty of the sentence, the notorious falsehood of the charge, nothing produced so deep a sense of indignation as the act of this execrable monk, who, not content with the torture and the death of the victim—not content with the destruction of his body, was resolved to pursue him even beyond the grave. Therefore, Sir, though what I have now seen of \* \* \* \* \* convinces me that cowardly malignity is not the exclusive possession of monks, I trust that on this day no means will be resorted to to stifle my voice, or to prevent the public at large from hearing all that I have to say in my defence.

I am not here, Sir, to bespeak compassion, or to pave the way to pardon. Both ideas are alike repugnant to my feelings.—That the public in general have felt indignation at the sentence that has been passed upon me, does honour to their hearts, and tends still to make my country dear to me, in spite of what I have suffered from the malignity of persons in power. But, Sir, I am not here to complain of the hardships of my case, or about the cruelty of judges, who for an act which was never till now either known or thought to be a legal offence, have laid upon me a sentence more heavy than they have ever yet laid upon persons clearly convicted of the most horrid of crimes,—crimes of which nature herself cries aloud against the commission. If, therefore, it was my object to complain of the cruelty of my judges, I should bid the public look into the calendar, and see if they could find a punishment like that inflicted on me, inflicted by these same judges on any one of those unnatural wretches. It is not, however, my business to com-

plain of the cruelty of this sentence. The House, Sir, will easily perceive, and every honourable man will, I am sure, participate in my feelings, that the fine, the imprisonment, the pillory,—even that pillory to which I am condemned,—are nothing, that they weigh not as a feather when put in the balance against my desire to shew that I have been unjustly condemned.

In the first place, Sir, I here, in the presence of this House, and with the eyes of the country fixed upon me, most solemnly declare that I am wholly innocent of the crime, which has been laid to my charge, and for which I have been condemned to the most infamous of punishments. Having repeated this assertion of my innocence, I next proceed to complain of the means that have been made use of to effect my destruction. And first, Sir, was it ever before known, in this, or in any other country, that the prosecutor should form a sort of court of his own erection, call witnesses before it of his own choosing, and under oaths of great rewards, takes minutes of the evidence of such witnesses, publish those minutes to the world under the forms and appearances of a judicial proceeding? Was it ever before known, that steps like these were taken previous to an indictment, previous to the bringing of an intended victim into a court of justice? Was it ever before known, that so regular, so systematic a scheme for exciting suspicion against a man, of implanting an immovable prejudice against him in the minds of the whole nation, previous to the preferring a bill of indictment, in order that the Grand Jury, be composed of whomsoever it might, should be pre-disposed to find the bill? I ask you, Sir, and I ask the House, whether it was ever before known, that means like these were resorted to, previous to a man's being legally accused? But, Sir, what must the world think, when they see those to whom the welfare and the honour of the nation are committed covertly co-operating with a committee of the Stock Exchange—becoming their associates in so nefarious a scheme? Nevertheless, Sir, this fact is now notorious to the whole world. I must confess that I was not prepared to believe the thing possible; though I was aware, indeed, that I had to expect from some of those in power whom I had in vain endeavoured to bring to justice, every thing that malignity could suggest and cunning perpetrate; though I was aware of my endeavours (though humble) to expose the sources

of corruption; though the pension list, and the prize courts, had raised against me many enemies; though I was aware of the unquenchable thirst for revenge which I had excited in the breasts of many corrupt and hypocritical individuals; and especially, though I was aware of the offence which I had given to the grasping and never-pardoning phalanx of the law, by exhibiting to the world their frauds upon my ill-treated brethren of the navy. \* \* \* \* \*

Care, however, was taken, Sir, that the success of this base conspiracy should not be exposed to the chances of failure from the jury not being of the right stamp. The indictment, if left to its fair regular course, would have been tried at the Sessions-house at the Old Bailey, before a jury impartially taken. In that case, it would have been what is called a *Common Jury*; that is to say, a jury whose names are taken promiscuously out of a box containing the names of the whole of the jurors, summoned for the trial of all the cases brought before the court during the sessions. I was ready to meet the accusation before such a jury. I took no steps to put off the trial for a day. The indictment was removed from the court before which it regularly came, into a court where the prosecutors knew that they could cause me to be tried by a special jury. Dr. Johnson, in reference to the happier times which England had seen, has these verses.—

“When sterling freedom circled Alfred's throne,  
“And *Spies* and *Special Juries* were unknown.”

When, Sir, I first read these lines, I was wholly ignorant of what special jury meant. I now understand the thing but too well, and I am not without hopes that that which has now been practised, and which could not have been practised without the aid of a special jury, may, in the end, be the means of totally extirpating that intolerable evil. A special jury is composed of 12 persons taken out of 48 persons, the whole of which 48 persons are selected by the Master of the Crown Office. It is notorious, Sir, that these special jurors follow the business as a trade; that they are paid a guinea each for every trial: that it is deemed a favour to be put upon a special jury list; that persons pay money to get upon that list; that if they displease the judge, care is taken to prevent them from serving again, or, in other words, to cut them off, or turn them out, from a profitable employment. And, is it this, Sir, which we call a jury of our country? Have I been tried



by a jury of my country? No, Sir. \*

The institution of special juries, an institution unknown till times of modern date, and repugnant to the laws of England, had its rise in a pretence, that matters of technical difficulty a common jury might not be competent to understand; as in cases of insurance, shipping of goods, and the like. But, what was there in this case that a common jury, composed of tradesmen in the city of London, would not have understood?

A jury would surely have been as competent to decide upon my case as upon the cases of hundreds who are condemned to death upon the decision of such a jury in that same Court, where, to do me justice, my case should have been tried. The House are told, that it is sufficient to have read the verdict against me. By what principle of justice, or of reason, the House is to proceed to inflict upon me a new punishment, without themselves hearing and examining the evidence, I will not here attempt to enquire.

If, Sir, the accusation against me had not brought the whole conduct of my life under annidversion, I should not think it necessary to account for the manner in which my time has been employed since I was actively engaged in my professional duties. The interval has not been idly spent, nor without a view to the interests of my country. At an expense of nearly two thousand pounds, for which I neither sought nor thought of remuneration, I ex-

amined the situation, and procured plans of the various important ports and places in the Mediterranean. I meditated and matured plans for the more efficient prosecution of the war. They were approved, pronounced practicable, and considered infallible by some of the most distinguished officers now living. I offered them to successive administrations, and I also offered my services to put them in execution. Subsequently, my attention was chiefly directed to the prosecution and perfection of an invention of considerable public convenience and utility; and on the very day of

after so unexpectedly laid to my charge, I was solely occupied in furthering this, at least, inoffensive object, without the slightest idea of the mischief which that day was to bring forth.

I had been appointed to the command of his Majesty's ship the *Tonnant*, and the loss of that command, after expending more than a thousand pounds in fitting for sea, is

one of the many misfortunes in which this groundless accusation has involved me.—To my duty on board that ship I returned on the 1st of March, and it was not till the 5th day of that month that I found that my name was connected with the fraud, from the following paragraph in the public prints of the 7th —

"We regret to hear that the Committee of the Stock Exchange have made considerable progress in discovering the authors of the late nefarious fraud; and that they have ascertained that the pretended Colonel De Bouché went to the house of a gentleman who has a large stock jobbing account. Though the Committee have posted the following notice, yet we should hope that the gentlemen named therein were no parties to the deception practised. They cannot, however, take too early an opportunity of clearing themselves from all suspicion of having participated in the transaction —

"Stock Exchange Committee room, March 4.  
It is particularly requested, that all those members of the Stock Exchange who transact business, either directly or indirectly, for any of the persons undermentioned, on Monday, the 21st of February last, will favour the Committee with a interview. — The Hon. Cochran Johnston, Mr. G. R. Butt, Lord Cochrane, Mr. Hallway, Mr. Sandon, and Mr. Milne."

On reading this paragraph, I lost no time (whatever may have been insinuated to the contrary) in applying for leave of absence. I gave the necessary orders about the ship, and waited on Admiral Sirade to obtain his permission to proceed to town. He informed me he had sent me Admiralty leave, and a letter from Lord Melville—neither of which were forwarded to me for a considerable time after, and Lord Melville's letter remains still unopened. I mention this merely to shew, that I was not induced to return to town, for the purpose of clearing my character, by any communication from the Admiralty. On my return to town, I did what I think every innocent man would have done. — I made oath to a true statement of all that I knew of the circumstances on which the accusation against me was founded. It was said, by the Counsel for the prosecution, that he should have thought that a nobleman in my situation, would have pledged his word and honour. If I understood the difference between the sanctity of such a pledge, and that of an oath, I might be able to reply to his observation; but I do not; but this I understand, that if I had pledged my word and honour, it would not have escaped that person's discernment, that I did not dare to make oath to the truth of my statement. The Report of the Stock Exchange Committee was not published till two days after my affidavit, and the description of the

dress of the pretended messenger was given by them in their hand-bill of the 7th, to wit, a brown great-coat and a red under-coat, being wholly different from that in which De Berenger appeared before me, which was a grey coat and a green uniform, I firmly believed that he was not the same person, and so impressed, I published my affidavit of the 11th, and shortly after the affidavits of my servants, as to the dress in which De Berenger appeared. These affidavits I hold in my hand, and, if it is the pleasure of the House, I will read them.

Isaac Davis, Thomas Newman, and Mary Turpin made oath, that the upper coat was grey, and the collar and all that they saw of the under coat was green. My affidavit of the 11th of March was most unmercifully handled by the Counsel for the prosecution, and also by the Chief Justice. They insisted that *I must have known* when I received the note, that it came from De Berenger. My statement was, that while I was superintending work at Mr. King's manufactory, I received a note, but *did not* know that it came from De Berenger, because the name was written so close to the bottom, that I could not read it. It was triumphantly remarked, that this note was not forthcoming. It was mentioned as a suspicious circumstance, that I could not produce this note. The fact is, that I tore it, and threw it down. I had not the smallest idea that it was worth preserving—a note merely soliciting an interview which I was immediately going to grant. What could it contain that the writer himself could not inform me of? For what purpose should I preserve it? If I had preserved it—if I had brought it forth—what would have been said? Why, Sir, that there could not be a more suspicious circumstance—that I could never have been so careful of an apparently insignificant scrap of paper, if I had not foreseen that it might one day be called in question, or otherwise that it had been subsequently fabricated.

I have to lament that I was not more particular as to the important fact of my going away from the lamp maker's, under the impression that I was about to meet an officer with distressing intelligence relative to my brother, the Hon. Major Cochrane. I can now only supply the deficiency, by offering the same statement and the same evidence which I tendered to the Court of King's Bench when I made my second application for a new

trial. I then observed, "that I was in apprehensions of fatal news respecting my brother then in France, from whom I had received a letter but three days before, with the intelligence of his being dangerously ill, and I now tender you this affidavit, with the surgeon's certificate, dated the 12th of February, which he brought home with him, and, therefore, on receiving the note from De Berenger, whose name I was unable to decipher, and as that note announced that the writer, who, I learnt from my servant, had the appearance of an officer in the army, was desirous of seeing me, I hastened to learn the intelligence so anxiously expected nor had I the least doubt that it related to my brother. I was too deeply impressed with this idea, that the note was addressed to me by an officer who had come with intelligence of my brother, to apprehend that it was written by De Berenger, from whom I expected no communication, and with whose hand writing I was not familiar. All that I could afterwards recollect of the note, more than what is stated in my affidavit, is, that he had something to communicate which would affect my feeling mind, or words to that effect, which confirmed my apprehensions that the writer was the messenger of fatal news of my brother.

The affidavit of my brother, as well as the certificate of the surgeon, were treated as fabrications and with respect to my brother's letter, the Judge would not believe that I had received it, unless I could produce it, and shew him the post-mark. It is known to all my friends, that I seldom preserve such letters as are not likely to be of future importance—but it was also known to many of my friends that I had received such a letter. And since my brother Colonel Cochrane's return from Ireland, I have learnt that he did actually receive the letter inclosed from me, and he is ready to prove it, and my other brother, Major Cochrane is ready to swear to the fact of having sent it. The learned Judges would not believe there was time for the arrival of such letter between the 12th and 18th of February but I did not speak to the date of the letter. I only said that I received it on the 16th and my brother did not swear that it was written on the 12th, but early in February. Now I expressly stated, that my brother brought the certificate home with him. It was

granted to him on the 12th of February by the surgeon of his regiment, for the purpose of being laid before a Board of Medical Officers, to shew the necessity of his return to England, where he arrived some time in March, and now resides in Portman-square, in a very precarious state of health. The authenticity of the certificate is unquestionable, and it is more important, since it was not obtained for the purpose of proving the truth of my statement, but is the original certificate authorising his return to England on account of ill health, and bears date nine days prior to the 21st of February. It includes a period of six weeks, namely, from the 1st of January and yet the learned Judge argued against the probability, nay, stated that it was almost impossible, that I should have heard of his illness on the 17th of February.

With respect to my account of the conversation which passed between De Berenger and myself, I submit to the House, that it is not only true, but perfectly probable. It was not necessary that I should know the business which De Berenger had been transacting in order to believe that he had reasons for wishing to quit the kingdom. His wish to go to America, and Sir Alexander Cochrane's application in his behalf, were known to me, and clearly proved on the trial and the Prosecutor's Counsel admitted that De Berenger was in the Rules of the King's Bench, and so involved in debt, that he would rather reside in any country than this. Within these few days, a letter from De Berenger to his Solicitor, Mr. Gabriel Tahourdin, has come into my possession, which clearly proves the distressed state of his mind, and his anxiety to get out of the country. The letter is dated *17th of February*, four days previous to the fraud of the 21st. The letter is long, and, to me, perfectly unintelligible. The following passage shews the perturbed state of his mind:—

'I cannot refrain from pressing you, as my Solicitor, and as a confidential friend, to take immediately those measures, which alone can tranquillize my mind, and enable me thereby to meet the numerous sufferings I am doomed to bear. Something must be done, for what is so harassing as doubt about future fate? Mine is all gloom, and self-preservation, that powerful argument, but which I have so long neglected, and which every body seems more or less to use, requires its immediate and unalterable decision. I have refused what most people would call the safe side of the question. What are my prospects in consequence? That I shall have enemies in abundance—that I shall, in either result, have lost all chance of encourage-

ment, perhaps in *all Europe*, and that I shall be tossed about, God knows how and where, and at an age, which claims rest: and horrible as the picture is, it is even the best of the prospects that await me; for should the trial go against me, my fate is not branded by disgrace and punishment only, for the doors of a prison will close upon me for life.'

After the apprehension of Mr. De Berenger, I did, by the advice of Mr. Johnstone, address to him a letter through the office of Lord Sidmouth, calling upon him to state to the public his reasons for coming to my house on the 21st of February; and he answered, that 'his object was correctly detailed in my affidavit.' I hold his original letter in my hand.

Relying upon the disidence of the dress in which De Berenger appeared before me from that described by the Stock Exchange Committee, and on the assurance of Mr. Johnstone that De Berenger had informed him that he could unequivocally prove *an alibi*, by at least a dozen credible witnesses, and believing that, at all events, my own innocence would prove my protection, I felt so perfectly secure as to the issue of the trial, that I gave no instructions to Counsel, attended no consultation, and never even read my own brief, into which a fatal error was introduced, but leaving the whole business in the hands of my Solicitor, I retired to my house in the country, and did not return until two days previous to the trial. While in the country I received a letter from my Solicitor, informing me, that at a consultation, it had been resolved to defend my case jointly with that of Mr. Butt, and that it was not determined whether it might not also be advisable to unite it with that of Mr. Johnstone. I had ordered that my case should be defended separately, and Messrs. Topping and Scarlett were engaged as my Counsel. To the above communication I returned the following answer:—

'Holy-hill, Titchfield, May 29, 1814.

'The Counsel are certainly better able to Judge than I am, as to the necessity of mixing Mr. Butt's case with mine, but I will not consent to any further union.'

Notwithstanding this, my case was defended conjointly, and it deserves particular attention, that the able Counsel who pleaded my cause was intended to defend Mr. Johnstone only, and that the Counsel whom I did employ had no opportunity of opening their lips. The unavailing expression of my dissent to an union of cases, was almost the only step taken by me in my own behalf in the whole course of the

proceedings prior to my return to town for in addition to the perfect consciousness of my innocence, I cannot help remarking, that Mr. Johnstone, on all occasions, was anxious to relieve me from the trouble of attending to my own interests in this matter; and in a letter which he wrote to me a few days previous to the trial, he entreated me to make myself perfectly easy as to the issue, and informed me he had seen De Berenger's brief, by which it appeared that he would fully establish an *alibi*. This letter, pursuant to my general practice, well known to my friends, I believe I have destroyed; but the receipt and purport of it can be proved on oath by a visitor then at my house.—On my return to town, immediately before the trial, the brief of Mr De Berenger was shewn to me by Mr. Johnstone, and the case, as therein stated, appeared to me so perfectly clear, that I solemnly assure the House, that I then thought it impossible he could be the person who represented Du Bourg. That I had no concern whatever in the *alibi* set up by Mr. De Berenger, will sufficiently appear from the following letter from my solicitors —

‘ Lincoln's-Inn-fields, 1st July, 1814

‘ MY LORD—We beg to acknowledge the receipt of your Lordship's letter of yesterday's date, and to acquaint you in answer, that we were certainly employed exclusively for your Lordship in the late trial, and not for any other of the Defendants, and we also beg leave to state most explicitly, that we never received from your Lordship, or any other person whatever, any instructions in respect to the *alibi* attempted to be proved by Mr. De Berenger, and consequently did not, nor could, give any directions to Counsel in respect to that *alibi*, nor had we ever any intercourse or communication whatever with the witnesses by whom it was to be established.—We have the honour, &c

‘ FARRER and Co ’

My description of the dress in which De Berenger appeared before me at my house on the 21st of February has excited much animadversion. When I swore that he wore a green coat, the Counsel for the prosecution declared that I had incurred the moral guilt of perjury, without subjecting myself to the legal penalty. When I came into Court, and repeated my assertion upon oath, under all the risks of the law, and tendered the affidavits of others who saw him, as I did, in his green coat at my house, the same Counsel impudently repeated the foul and false accusation. I also affirmed, upon my honour, in the Court of King's Bench, and I do affirm upon my honour in this House, that I only saw him in a green coat.—I have already

stated, that an error of the most dangerous nature was introduced into the brief. In that brief the coat of De Berenger is described to have been a *red* one with a green collar, and my Counsel in consequence admitted that to be *red*, which had been sworn to be green. My attention was not called to this error or difference, which has been so fatal, and Mr. Serjeant Best, in the course of my defence, marked the contradiction between my affidavit and what his brief told him, and he gave me credit for an oversight in consequence thereof, but refused to examine my servants then ready in attendance. Early on the morning of the second day of the trial, being informed, to my surprise, of the mode of defence which had been resorted to, I again sent my servants to Guildhall, with a note to my Solicitor, of which the following is an extract.—

‘ June 9, 1814.

‘ DEAR SIR—I have sent my servants, who, I submit, ought to be examined, in order to prove the appearance of Berenger. This seems necessary to free me from the internal uneasiness which I should ever feel were the investigation to terminate otherwise.’

Still, Sir, it was not deemed proper to examine my servants, and to the error which crept into the brief, and the consequent misapprehension of my counsel, I must, in some measure, attribute the unfavourable result of the trial—I say, in some measure, because I must ever consider myself as principally indebted for my conviction to the \* \* \* \* \*.—About half-past seven o'clock in the evening of the last day of the trial, a clerk on the part of my solicitors called upon me, and the following is a memorandum made by him of the conversation that took place between us in consequence —

‘ I told Lord Cochrane I had just come out of court to prepare him for the worst result, as the Judge was summing up against him very decidedly, and I delivered him a memorandum of Mr. Brougham, recommending his Lordship's being made acquainted with the result to be apprehended. He inquired much about the trial, but particularly what witnesses had been called on his side—I told him Newman, and a person to prove Major Cochrane's illness, and some others. He enquired if Mary Turpin was called? I answered not—he said Mr. Parkinson had put his foot in his case, or that he had botch'd his case, and it was cruel in him—he requested I would tell him he ought to have called her to Berenger's press. I told him his letter was submitted to counsel, and the measure not approved of by them—he answered, Mr. P. should have done as instructed him; I am to be the only sufferer if convicted. I also told him that at the time his Lordship's letter was received his case was closed.

(Signed) ‘ H. M. COULTHURST.  
10th June, 1814.’

I read this, Sir, to shew to the House,

how anxious I was to the very last moment, that my servants should be examined. Had they been examined, they would have sworn to the dress in which De Berenger came to my house.—And I submit, whether the testimony of all these persons ought not to preponderate over that of one? The only witness to the point of De Berenger's coming to my house in a red coat is Crane, the hackney-coachman. And under what circumstances was his evidence given? Not one of the Counsel for the prosecution ventured to question him to the point, but on his cross-examination, being asked the following question, "You do not pretend to be able to recollect every person you carry in your hackney-coach every day?" He replied, "No, but this gentleman that I took from a post-chaise and four, when he got out at Green-street, I saw that he had a red coat underneath his great coat." Does it not appear from this answer, that the witness, having been disappointed in not being questioned to that point before, speaks to it now as his only chance of securing the reward of 250*l* offered by the Stock Exchange, and which, I understand, he has laid claim to? With respect to the evidence of Crane, it is worthy of notice, that the great coat which I have sworn as *grey*, was described by him in his examination before the Stock Exchange Committee to have been a *brown* one, but on the trial he meets my description, and calls it a *brown grey*, he also described De Berenger as a *red faced man*. Shilling also stated before the Committee that De Berenger had a '*large red nose*,' and '*face rather blotched*.' Now, it is well known, that De Berenger bears no resemblance to such description. He is *pale*, marked with the small-pox, and free from blotches.—But, Sir, I have another fact to state with regard to Crane, and I call upon the House to give it that attention which it deserves. At the moment, Sir, that this man was giving evidence which was to convict me of the crime of fraud and perjury, he was suffering the sentence of the law for conduct of no common atrocity. The account of this conduct, I will read to the House, as it was detailed in the public papers.—

On the 1st day last William Crane, the driver of the hackney coach No 742, was summoned before the Committee upon a charge of cruelty to his horses. The counsel called a *very shocking* and *indecent* witness to the case, and he was a more atrocious case.

Now, Sir, I ask, is the evidence of an old, faithful servant, who has been in

one family seventeen years, together with the evidence of other three witnesses of unimpeached veracity, to be outweighed in the balance by a wretch of this stamp?

On the subject of the Bank notes found in De Berenger's possession, which had been exchanged for others that had once been mine, I pledge myself to prove, in the clearest and most unequivocal manner, that such notes of mine as have been called in question were given by me to Mr. Butt, for the purpose of discharging just and *bona fide* debts; namely, a debt of 200*l* to himself for money borrowed, and the payment of my wine merchants, Messrs. Wilkinson and Crossthwaite, whose bill amounted to 600*l* 1*l*s. the payment of which through the hands of Mr. Butt had escaped my recollection at the time of the trial. The several papers relating to the loan of 200*l* extracted from the stockbroker's books, together with the wine-merchants' affidavit respecting the whole of the transaction, I hold in my hand, and entreat of the House to examine them. In looking over the wine-merchants' affidavit, I find, that, on the 19th of February, the very day on which the fraud is alleged to have been planned, I was 'engaged in then cellar for upwards of two hours in tasting wines,' to be sent on board the *Tornant*.

Having mentioned Mr. Butt, I take this opportunity of stating that my connection with the funds arose from a conversation with that gentleman in October last, when the progress of the Alliance and the favourable aspect of affairs induced him to recommend me to place my spare money in Government securities. I told him, that I had disposed of it in private securities and land. He then informed me that I might gain without advancing the principal, and offered to conduct the business for me. He urged this proposal, which I then declined, being unwilling to enter into speculations which I did not understand. However, in the course of a few days, to my very great surprise, he brought me the sum of 490*l* as the profit on a speculation which he said he made for me. Not wanting the money, I desired him to sport with it till he had lost it. Between that period and the 10th of February, the sum which he had gained for me and placed to my account, without fee or reward, and without my control, amounted to 4,200*l*. I have witnessed many disinterested acts of Mr. Butt, and I think him incapable of a dishonourable action.

I now come, Sir, to the conduct of the Judge before whom the cause was tried. In his *Charge* he remarked, that in my affidavit of the 11th of March, I first connected the name of De Berenger with this transaction. It is true, that I did so, and the fact was known to Lord Ellenborough, for he had heard it in evidence, that when I gave it to be printed, I declared, that 'if Berenger was the imposter, I had furnished the clue to his detection,' and Lord Ellenborough was not warranted in insinuating that I did this with any other view, than that justice might overtake him if guilty, and to give him an opportunity of coming forward to justify himself, if innocent. Why I could not take this step sooner, I have already explained, and will again repeat, and the statement contained in my affidavit of the 21st of June is full and decisive on the subject, and is a complete answer to the calumny, that I acted on the supposition of his being out of the kingdom. I, at least, had done nothing to contribute to his escape—I had refused his application to join my ship, without leave from the Admiralty. If I had the least reason to wish for his concealment, I could easily have smuggled him into the *Tonnant*. But it is obvious that I had no such intention.

Why did Lord Ellenborough, in his charge to the Jury, take one part of my affidavit as true, and another as false? He professes to quote from my affidavit as to the facts of my furnishing De Berenger with a coat to wear instead of his uniform, and puts it to the Jury to consider 'whether a man coming so disguised, and going away again with his disguise in a bundle, was not on a dishonest errand.' In all this Lord Ellenborough professes to quote, and draw conclusions from my affidavit, and he represents me as acknowledging De Berenger to have come into my presence *disguised*, and going away again with his disguise in a bundle. It there be one word of this in my affidavit, then I am perjured, and Lord Ellenborough speaks truth. I stated, that De Berenger, an officer in a rifle corps, called upon me in a *green uniform*, and this, the Judge submits to the Jury, is a *disguise*, and ~~and~~ proof of his coming on a dishonest errand.

'But,' continues Lord Ellenborough, 'if other witnesses are to be believed, that visitor went to Lord Cochrane's house recently after having blazoned the false news, decorated with a star, a medallion, and dressed in a scarlet coat.' In this short

sentence are two mis-statements: for there was only one witness who represented such a visitor coming to my house in a scarlet coat, and not one word of the star or medallion. Why did not Lord Ellenborough submit to the Jury, whether it was probable that De Berenger came there and in that dress by any previous arrangement of mine? Why did he not say, that it was for the Jury to enquire, whether he came there as my instrument, or for his own convenience?

'Having hunted down the game,' continues this Chief Justice, 'the prosecutors at last showed what became of his skin. And it is a *very material* fact, that the Defendant Berenger stripped himself at Lord Cochrane's.' Why is it *material*? Because it is one of those facts, which a guilty man would have been most anxious to conceal and since this material fact never could have been known if I had not voluntarily divulged it, it is chiefly important, as furnishing strong presumptive proof of my innocence, and in that light it was Lord Ellenborough's duty to have submitted it to the Jury.

'He stripped his scarlet uniform off there, and the circumstance of its not being given, did not excite Lord Cochrane's suspicion.' Did not Lord Ellenborough know that there was *no* evidence before the Jury of De Berenger's pulling off his scarlet uniform at my house? Even if it had been clear that he entered my house in that uniform, which I verily believe he did not, which of the witnesses on the trial saw him pull it off at my house? *—NOT ONE.* Which of the witnesses proved that he went away in a dress different from that in which he entered? *—NOT ONE.* On what ground, then, did this Chief Justice rest his assertion, that he pulled off his scarlet coat *in my presence*?—That he pulled off any coat at all in my presence, he has no authority but my affidavit. And was he to give the prosecution the benefit of my evidence to the fact of De Berenger's pulling off a coat in my house, and to deprive me of the advantage of the like evidence as to the colour of it?

Lord Ellenborough goes on to say—'It ~~does~~ was such as ought to have immediately excited the suspicion of Lord Cochrane; for how could a man in such disguise be supposed to have an honest purpose?' If the colour of the coat escaped observation, what did he think of the star and medal? It became him upon dis-

covering these, as an officer and a gentleman, to communicate his suspicions of these circumstances. Did he not ask De Berenger where he had been in this dress? It was for the Jury to say whether Lord Cochrane did not know where he had been.

'This,' continues the Learned Judge, 'was not the dress of a Sharp-shooter, but of a Mountebank. He came before Lord Cochrane *fully blazoned in the costume of his crime.*' This is one of those extraordinary effusions of Lord Ellenborough's eloquence that no language but his own can do justice to.

'And such a masquerade,' conclude his Lordship, 'should have excited Lord Cochrane, from his duty to the public service, to inquire into, and, if he could ascertain it, to expose promptly the grand of De Berenger.'

I now come, Sir, to the conduct which I have experienced subsequent to the trial. I did think, that as the witnesses who could materially have contributed to prove my innocence of the charge had not been examined, and as I could shew that their not being examined originated in error, and that such error was not my own, that I had a just claim to a new trial. I thought too, that the circumstance of my defence having been conducted jointly with that of another person, contrary to my express injunction, and of the Counsel for that person having entered upon the defence when exhausted and unequal to the task of doing justice to his clients, and of my Counsel not having had an opportunity of speaking in my behalf, were additional reasons for a revision of my case. It is notorious that I made two applications for a new trial, and that both were refused. My first application was rejected under a Rule of Court, which is, that no person, however innocent, if included with others in an indictment for a conspiracy, shall be allowed a re-hearing unless he can catch his supposed associates, and compel them to accompany him into Court—a condition which it is as indispensable as impossible to perform. As I could neither see the wisdom nor justice of this Rule of Court, I pressed very hard to be heard in behalf of my application, but it so happened that another person, also convicted of a conspiracy, had that very morning been refused a new trial for a similar reason, which furnished the Court with the answer, that to grant to me that which he had refused to Askew, would be to lay down one

law for the poor and another for the rich.—On my second attempt to obtain a new trial, I was indeed permitted to speak; and I have reason to believe that the statement which I then read convinced many persons in Court, and has since convinced many thousands out of Court, of my entire innocence. Of the different documents on which my motion for a new trial was founded, some were not permitted to be read, and others were only read to be rejected. Among the latter was my affidavit of the 14th of June, to which I call the attention of the House.

[For this affidavit, see the *Register* of June 25.]

#### IN THE KING'S BENCH.

THE KING *against* CHARLES RANDOM DE BERENGER, AND OTHERS.

Thomas Dewman, servant to Lord Cochrane, maketh oath and saith, that he (this deponent) has lived with branches of Lord Cochrane's family for nearly twenty years; that he attended Lord Cochrane last year to take letters, and go errands, and that he has been in the habit of going to Mr King's manufactory almost every day; that this deponent was in Lord Cochrane's house, in Green-street, Grosvenor-square, on the 21st day of February last, when an Officer came in a hackney-coach, about ten o'clock in the morning; that this deponent opened the door and spoke to the Officer in the coach, who asked if Lord Cochrane was at home; that this deponent replied he was not, upon which the Officer asked this deponent, if he knew where Lord Cochrane was gone to? To which deponent answered, that he believed his Lordship was gone to breakfast with his uncle in Cumberland-street, that the Officer then asked him if he could let him have a slip of paper, and a pen and ink, which this deponent said he could; that this deponent then opened the coach-door, and the Officer came into the house, and went into the parlour, where this deponent gave him a small slip of paper, upon which he wrote a few lines by way of note, and desired this deponent to take the same to Lord Cochrane, in Cumberland-street; that this deponent went immediately into Cumberland-street, but finding that Lord Cochrane was gone, he returned with the note to the Officer in Green-street, that on his return the Officer asked deponent if he knew where he could find him; that deponent then told the Officer he had been ordered by Lord Cochrane to follow him to Mr King's manufactory with a glass globe, and thought it probable he might meet his Lordship there, and if he did not, he would then go to the Admiralty, where he understood his Lordship was to go that day; that the Officer then took back the note from this deponent, opened it, and wrote a line or two more, and then resealed it, and gave it to deponent, requesting him to take it immediately

to Mr King's manufactory, and that if he did not meet with Lord Cochrane there, he would take the note to the Admiralty, and if his Lordship had not been at the Admiralty, to leave it there; that on the Officer's requesting deponent to go to Mr King's manufactory, he told the deponent that his finding Lord Cochrane was of consequence, and therefore begged deponent to be as expeditious as he could, and if necessary, to take a coach, that this deponent did not take a coach, but went instantly to Mr King's manufactory, where he met Lord Cochrane, and delivered him the note, which he opened in deponent's presence; that upon opening the note, Lord Cochrane asked deponent several times if he knew who the gentleman was that had written it, and upon deponent's informing him he did not, Lord Cochrane made several inquiries as to his appearance and dress, observing that he could not make out the whole of the note, or who it came from, to this deponent answered, he was an army officer; upon which Lord Cochrane, having torn the note, threw it down, and then said, "Very well, Thomas, I'll go back," that from Lord Cochrane's manner and appearance, and the questions he put to deponent on his delivering the note, this deponent verily believes that his Lordship did not know from whom it came, and this deponent further saith, that when the Officer came into Green-street, as above stated, he was dressed in a grey great coat, such as the Guards wear, which was buttoned very close round the body up to the breast, and that such part of the under coat as he could see was of a dark green colour, that upon the Officer's coming out of the coach into Lord Cochrane's house, he brought with him a sword, and a small leather clothes-bag or portmanteau, which deponent believes might have held a change of clothes; that this deponent further saith, that he was hired by his Lordship at Christmas last, to go into the country and relieve Richard Carter, his Lordship's sea steward, that this deponent left London about the 25th day of February, and Richard Carter, the sea steward, then came to town for the purpose of accompanying Lord Cochrane to his ship.

THOMAS DEWMAN.  
Sworn in Court, this 14th day of  
June, 1814.—By the Court

Mary Turpin, cookmaid to Lord Cochrane, maketh oath and saith, that she went into his Lordship's service on the 15th day of February last, and that she was in the house on the 21st day of February, when an Officer came there, and that she was in the kitchen at the time the coach drove to the door: that she saw an Officer alight from the coach and come into the house, that he arrived a little before nine o'clock, that this deponent went twice into the parlour while the Officer was there, and doth most positively swear that he wore a grey great coat buttoned up with a dark green collar or green facing under it

That the Officer had with him a dark military cap with a gold band round it, and also a sword and a small portmanteau.

MARY TURPIN.

Sworn in Court, 14th day of  
June, 1814.—By the Court.

Eleanor Barnes, Housekeeper to Lord Cochrane, maketh oath and saith, that she has lived with his Lordship since January last, and well remembers being told that an Officer came to his Lordship's house in Green-street Grosvenor square, on Monday, the 21st of February last; and this deponent further saith, that at the time the Officer arrived she was not at home, but that she returned between eleven and twelve o'clock. That seeing a cap in the parlour she inquired of Mary Turpin whose cap it was, and that she said Mary Turpin replied that it belonged to an Officer who was with his Lordship in the drawing-room; and this deponent further saith, that she took up the cap, which was of a dark brown colour, with a gold band and tassel, and immediately afterward, went to her room, and did not see the Officer. That this deponent never saw Captain Berenger to her knowledge.

ELIZABETH BARNES.

Sworn in Court, 14th June,  
1814.—By the Court.

Sarah Bust, of No. 4, Great Mary-le-bone-street, in the county of Middlesex, spinster, maketh oath and saith, that she lived a servant to Lord Cochrane for near twelve months, and that she quitted his service on the evening of the 21st of February last: that she well remembers an officer coming to his Lordship's house in Green-street, in the morning of that day, that the officer sent the man servant out, that the officer had a grey great coat which was buttoned up to the breast, and that the neck of his undercoat, or such part as she could see, was a dark green; and he had also with him a military cap.

SARAH BUST.

Sworn at my Chambers, in Serjeant's  
Inn, London, this 13th June,  
1814, before me, S. L. B. A. C.

Here, Sir, I submit, is ample refutation of the shameful aspersions cast upon me. I trust the House will now be satisfied, that I lost no time in divulging all that passed, and did, at the earliest possible period, make a full disclosure of all that passed between me and De Berenger, on the 21st of February, and that he did not appear before me in the 'costume of his crime.'

Something has been said, Sir, in this House, as I have read, about an application for a mitigation of my sentence, in a certain quarter, where, it is observed, that mercy never failed to flow. It was, I am informed, his Majesty's Attorney General, who (I suppose, unintentionally) offered this last insult to my feelings. I excuse it, because I am aware that the Learned Gen-



leman is an utter stranger to the sentiments that inhabit my bosom, but I can assure him, that an application for pardon, extorted from me, is one of the things which not even a Judge or a Jury has the power to accomplish. No, Sir, I will seek for, and I look for pardon no where, for I have committed no crime. I have sought for, I still seek for, and I confidently expect, *justice*, but it is at the hands of my enlightened and virtuous Constituents.

LORD COCHRANE, after having read his defence, addressed the House nearly as follows:—

Having so long occupied its time, I will not trouble the House longer, than to implore it to investigate the circumstances of my case. I think I have stated enough to induce it to call for the minutes of the trial: all I wish is inquiry, and had I not been prevented from attending the House in an early stage of this unfortunate business, and in an entreating it to make at that time the necessary investigation, I should not now have been placed in this unhappy predicament. I did speak to Sir Francis Burdett and to Mr. Cochrane Johnstone upon the subject, but Mr. Cochrane Johnstone said to me, “Cochrane you know that you have uniformly failed in all exertions in the House, and, therefore, I strongly advise you not to do it: and if you do, I wash my hands of all concern on what your imprudence may lead you to.” I lament most bitterly that I did not pursue my own intention. Many most important facts yet remain to be considered, and I trust that the House will not come to a decision with its eyes shut. I entreat, I implore investigation. It is true, that a sentence of a Court of Law has been pronounced against me—that punishment is nothing, and will to me seem nothing in comparison with what it is in the power of this House to inflict. I have already suffered much, but, if after a deliberate and a fair investigation the House shall determine that I am guilty, then let me be deserted and abandoned by all the world. I shall submit without repining to any the most dreadful penalty that the House can assign—I solemnly declare before Almighty God, that I am ignorant of the whole transaction, and uniformly I have heard Mr. Cochrane Johnstone deny it also.—Into the hearts of men we cannot penetrate: we cannot dive into their most inmost thoughts, but my heart I lay open, and my most secret thoughts I disclose to the House.—I entreat

the strictest scrutiny and a patient hearing. I implore it at your hands, as an act of justice, and once more I call upon my Maker, upon Almighty God, to bear witness that I am innocent. He knows my heart, he knows all its secrets, and he knows that I am innocent and ignorant of the whole transaction. All that I implore is, (perhaps the last entreaty I shall ever make in this House) that it will give this unfortunate and distressing case a full and candid investigation, then, if I am declared guilty, I shall bow with patient resignation to its severest inflictions.

The Noble Lord then handed to the Clerk various letters and affidavits for the information of the House.

THE SPEAKER said, the Noble Lord having now concluded his defence he will withdraw.

LORD COCHRANE—I shall withdraw, Sir. I cannot too often or too earnestly implore the House to inquire. Never in history of this country was a case of such gross and cruel injustice recorded. I could submit to any punishment, however severe, after due inquiry, but I entreat the House to give me an opportunity of proving how the bank-notes came into the hands of Mr. Butt, and other strong circumstances to which I have referred in the course of my defence, and I pledge my honour that not a doubt will remain on the mind of a single Member in the House.

LORD COCHRANE then withdrew.

THE SPEAKER proposed that his Lordship should be remanded into the custody from which he had been brought, which, on the motion of Lord CASTLEREAGH, was ordered, and the necessary warrants of the Speaker were ordered to be made accordingly.

LORD CASTLEREAGH rose and said, that before the House proceeded to the question which an Honourable Member was to propose, he could not avoid expressing his sense of the very painful and anomalous situation in which the House was. All one sentiment was more prevalent than another, it was an anxious desire to hear patiently all that the Noble Lord could utter, but the House would also feel that much that had been offered was not given in justification of the individual but in inculpation of the most exalted characters in the country. It was happy for Englishmen that by the form of our constitution, no character was so high, and no authority so supreme (the Throne of course excepted) as not to be

amenable to the laws of the land. It was, however, a great abuse of a defence in Parliament to make it the medium of a charge to which no answer can then be given. His Lordship had once or twice hesitated as to the fit course to be pursued, but he felt how difficult it was for the House to draw the exact line that in those cases ought to be pursued. An indulgent and liberal interpretation was always to be put upon expressions used on occasions like the present. It was the less necessary to interfere during the course of what the Noble Lord had offered, because his Lordship was sensible that the judgment and wisdom of Parliament would be able to separate the imputation from the justification, but elsewhere the same prudence would not probably be exercised, and if the defence of the Noble Lord were to be circulated, it would be the publication of libels and calumnies against the most sacred characters in the nation, and against the system of jurisprudence, which had hitherto upheld itself in spite of all attacks, in this view, the defence just made must be considered a wanton abuse of the indulgence extended by the House. For the sake of public justice, and of the prudence of the country, his Lordship felt it necessary now to observe, that if on any future occasion it was deemed fit to interpose in point of law regarding the publication of this defence, none of the parties accused could hereafter say that a want of warning was an additional feature of severity in their cases. (*Hear, Hear!*) The Noble Lord had, however, been allowed every advantage that indulgence could extend.

MR. BROADHEAD then rose to submit his motion to the House. The duty that he was called upon to discharge was, in this instance, extremely painful. It was impossible for any liberal mind to contemplate the situation of the individual who had just left the House, without the deepest regret that the same man who had once trodden the path of honour, should now be involved in the labyrinth of disgrace. He lamented with unfeigned sincerity, that the justice which the House owed to itself, could not allow it to spare an individual, whom he would not, by any thing he could say, attempt to sink deeper in disgrace. On public grounds it was necessary to bring forward the subject, however distressing the discussion might be to private feelings. He would abstain from making

any remarks upon the defence, however objectionable it was, leaving the Noble Lord in full possession of every advantage it gave him. He should simply confine himself to those remarks which the case suggested, and which his judgment prescribed, leaving it to the wisdom of the House to determine upon the steps it should pursue. (He (Mr. Broadhead) came not forward upon this occasion as an accuser, nor did he presume to constitute himself a judge of the guilt of the party, but it being a matter of publicity that certain proceedings had taken place in a Court of Law, the result of which was, that two Members of the House were involved in a charge affecting their characters and conduct. Under such circumstances he felt it to be his duty as a Member of Parliament to call the attention of the House to the subject, with a view to the maintenance of its honour and purity. He did not conceive it necessary to go into any detail of precedents, thinking the principle which was established by the case of Mr. Walsh, sufficient for his purpose. That the individual had been convicted of felony, but the verdict was reversed by the Judges, and in the debate upon the question it was urged, that the conviction being destroyed in a legal sense, Mr. Walsh was to be viewed as an innocent man; yet the House had proceeded to expulsion, being of opinion, that sufficient guilt was proved to render the individual unfit to continue a Member. Such being the power and practice of the House, it was to be considered whether the record upon the table did not afford sufficient authority for the House to say, that the Members implicated on this occasion, were so stigmatised and disgraced as to be unworthy longer to retain their seats. It would be easy to descend upon the enormity of the crime, but that was not within the line of his duty, nor would it be proper to wound personal feelings by bitterness of reproach and keenest of invective. Neither did he presume to dictate to the House the measure it ought to adopt; he only offered such a motion as his humble judgment suggested to prevent the stain that would otherwise be attached to Parliament. If the House of Commons was of importance to the Constitution, or if the exclusive rights it possessed were of any value, the private purity and political virtue of its members was of equal consequence, since without it, both the one and the other would be destroyed. Under all

the circumstances, he did not think it necessary to trouble the House further, under the full persuasion that in deciding, it would be guided by a due regard to justice to the parties, and to its own character. He moved therefore a declaratory Resolution founded upon the record of conviction, stating merely, that Lord Cochrane had been found guilty of a Conspiracy to defraud the public.

The question having been put,

Mr. A. BROWN said he rose under considerable embarrassment to propose an amendment. The House had heard the grounds on which the Noble Lord, who had left the House had defended himself, from the imputation which had been cast on him, and the grounds on which the Hon. Member proposed the vote of expulsion, and the question before them was, whether the record of conviction already on the table, did in itself compel the House to come to the vote of expulsion? or, whether they thought it expedient to revise the evidence which led to that conviction, to satisfy their own understandings that the vote proposed was one which they in justice thought advisable? In the discussion which had lately taken place, besides the circumstances of conviction, it was stated as a notorious fact, that the Noble Lord had been prevented, by a rule of court, from bringing his case before a second Jury, and was refused that, which in an ordinary case, would have been granted. Although it would be most improper for the House to come to any vote respecting the decision of the Court below, yet it would concern them to do justice in a case which materially affected their own body.—(*Hear '!*)—The course taken on the present night would satisfy the House that they should have all the circumstances of the trial before them. The Honourable Gentleman (Mr. Broadhead) who had proposed the motion, in a speech which had done credit to his mind and feelings, had abstained from all observations respecting the guilt or innocence of Lord Cochrane, but had rested his case on the fact of the conviction in the Court below, while the Noble Lord himself, in defence of his innocence, had travelled into all the circumstances of the case, and the evidence on which the conviction was founded. Now it was not possible, without examination into the evidence, to know what weight was due to this defence of the Noble Lord. And if the House wished to decide on the

case without being influenced by the declarations of Lord Cochrane, it would be quite necessary that they should have all the facts before them. It was admitted on a former occasion, that when there was any proceeding instituted in that House to affect the decision of a Court below, that it was necessary for the House to enter into a discussion of the evidence. Such an admission was, however, not necessary, as such discussion was inseparable from the exercise of their judicial functions.—

Nothing had been said to shake this determination, and if there was any man in the House who had a doubt on the evidence on which the conviction was founded, it would be his duty to examine most fully into all its circumstances. (*Hear, hear '!*) To strengthen the idea of the propriety of investigation, there was something in what the Noble Lord had said himself, with whom it might be proper to state, he (Mr. Brown) had had no communication. The Noble Lord, in the face of God, and of the House, declared his own entire innocence. Although it was well known that few persons were complaisant enough to acknowledge their guilt when convicted by a Court of Law, though ignorant of the power of the human mind, he did not think that a man of Lord Cochrane's education, habits, and character—depressed by a verdict of

Jury, and by an ignominious sentence, could stand in the face of the House without a full sense of his innocence. (*Hear '!*) The Noble Lord had also entered into a distinct analysis of the evidence on which alone the idea of his guilt has been founded. Could the House say, after that long statement, that they could bear in mind all the facts so as to say that they could be explained, so as to satisfy their minds to that degree that they could have no doubt on the subject? (*Hear, hear, hear '!*) If any man could say "aye," yet would it be just for him, in behalf of the rest of the House, to consent to a postponement of the discussion. Another part of the defence of Lord Cochrane, to which he should allude with delicacy, was the charge of the Chief Justice. In derogation of the character of that Judge, whose abilities and integrity had been long known to the House, (*Hear, hear '!*) and for whom he (Mr. B.) entertained the highest respect, yet, the imputation that the Judge was partial, and that the verdict was brought about by improper means, was enough to make the House hesitate before they de-

cided on the motion before them. When the conviction was impugned in so material a part of the proceedings as the charge of the Judge, it would be a perversion of reason that they should say that this accusation was an aggravation of guilt, and turn back the evil on the Noble Lord.—The House should rather suspend their judgment, and either refer to a Select Committee, which would be the proper mode of proceeding, the statement of the Noble Lord and his affidavits; or if they would not go that length, by postponing the discussion until they had time to consider the proposition which had been made. If, after a full investigation of the circumstances, the guilt of Lord Cochrane was made evident, the sentence of expulsion would follow with additional weight, not only on the individual, but on the minds of the country. The Honourable Member concluded by moving, as an amendment, that the statement made by Lord Cochrane to the House, and the papers relating thereto, be referred to a Committee, with power to examine witnesses, and to report thereon to the House.

The question having been put that the words of the amendment stand as the original question,

THE ATTORNEY-GENERAL said, that the question before the House, had, in point of fact, been already decided on a former occasion, when it had been proposed to send for the documents from the Court below, in order that the House might form on them their own judgment. The ground of the motion in the present instance was, that the Noble Lord was excluded by a rule, which that night had been said to have been unjust, from a new trial. As to this rule it was only necessary to say, that it was usual in the Court in question, over which had always presided men, to whom even their enemies did not deny the praise of eminent knowledge and strict integrity. That rule also did not stand in the way of any thing which the Noble Lord thought fit to plead to the Court, as a ground for them to consider the verdict, and to grant a new Jury; and after all the evidence of the Noble Lord had been heard, the Court had unanimously been of opinion that there was no ground for a new trial. Before judgment was given in any case, tried before the Chief Justice, before whom the trial at Guildhall had taken place, every word (to speak without any exaggeration) that passed on each side at the

trial, was delivered with an exactness astonishing to all those who had been present, to those Judges who had to form the judgment. As to the character and conduct of the Noble Lord who presided in the Court of King's Bench, it would be indecorous for him to offer any defence, although he felt himself quite independent of influence from that Noble Lord in the Court, in which he practised. There was one remark from which he could free that Noble Lord (Lord Ellenborough). He could positively affirm that that Noble Lord had never revised the pleadings for the prosecution, nor ever seen them until they had been handed to him in the Court. This assertion he (Mr. Garrow) did not make from any knowledge of what had been done in this particular case, but from the conviction he entertained that no man at the bar would have dared to apply to the Noble Lord on such a subject, or to hint in the most distant manner of any subject on which they had to give judgment. He did not intend to be drawn into any observations on the guilt of the person who had just retired (Lord Cochrane), but he could not remain silent after such imputations on the trial, for which, if applicable, this institution, which was the blessing of Englishmen, would be their curse. It had been stated as distinctly as falsely, that the Judge was partial, political, and wicked, and that the verdict could not have been returned as it had been returned, but for a jury picked and packed for political purposes, by an officer under political influence, and removable by the Chief Justice. Now it was not possible that any such thing could have taken place. The Master of the Crown Office was a Barrister of Law, generally chosen from those who were eminent in their profession; this office had always been filled by persons of the highest respectability. Sir W. Burrows had held the office during the life of Lord Mansfield, and afterwards by Mr. Tomlinson, a gentleman of the utmost respectability, though not of the same eminent talents, who was succeeded by the honourable gentleman who held it at present, and who had formerly held an office, next to the judicial station in one of the colonies. So far from being removable by the Chief Justice, the Master of the Crown Office held his office by the same tenure as the Chief Justice held his own—during good behaviour. The manner in which the Special Jurors

were chosen by him, were the same in which Grand Jurors were chosen, and Grand Jurors might just as truly be said to be packed. The Sheriff waited on the Master with the frecholder's book, and in presence of the plaintiff's and defendant's attorneys, the Master chose 48 names, of which each agent strikes off 12; in the same manner as the list was reduced by the Clerk of the House on the ballot for an Election Committee. Of the remaining twenty-four, the first in order who happened to be present formed the Jury. The accusation of packing Special Jurors, had often been brought and as often refuted—witness the case of Wilkes. It has been said that special jurors make a pretty trade of jurors. It must have been a very extensive conspiracy under which any corrupt practice could exist, for when could a Sheriff be found so devoted as to make out such a list? Did afford the master an opportunity of packing? And, how was the watchfulness of the attorneys of the parties to be got rid of? In the case before the House, the agents respectable as they were, had not been charged with the business, for the Honourable Member who had not been present that evening (Mr. C. Johnstone), had attended himself to reduce the list. It had been said that if a special juror resisted the direction of the judge, he would not be suffered to attend again. Now, if it was possible for the judge to know who had resisted his charge, he could not by any possibility prevent them from attending in every cause. As to the twelve persons who tried the case in question, there was only 1 among them who had ever served before, because perhaps it had been thought proper to choose persons totally uninfluenced (*hear* '!) He had made these observations lest it should be supposed that the great foundation of our liberty and property was shaken. If it happened that the same persons served often special juries, it was because the agents, convinced of the general integrity of these persons, took the lists which happened to have been reduced by the agents for other causes. The general imputations on special juries was unfounded, and there was no place where the juries were more honest and able than in the city of London, or where they less called for the severe and unfounded remarks which had been made on them.

Mr. BRAND observed that he always had

doubts as to the privacy of Lord Cochrane to the conspiracy of which he had been convicted (*hear* '!) The Noble Lord had stated, that he should be able to prove the means by which the bank notes passed through his warehouse to De Berenger, and that five persons would prove that De Berenger had appeared at Lord Cochrane's house in the dress which the Noble Lord had described in his affidavit. The House, he trusted, would not think it advisable in these circumstances, to come to a hasty decision in the case. The country had been carried away by a variety of publications on the subject, and by that self-constituted Committee of the Stock Exchange (*hear, hear, hear* '!), and on the other hand the Noble Lord had been inattentive to a culpable degree, while his prosecutors had been so active—indecently active (*hear, hear* '!) in influencing the country. He hoped, therefore, that the Committee would be appointed, and he thought a Committee of the whole House would be the most proper for the examination.

[The great length of the Debate renders it necessary to continue it in next Number. Meanwhile, I have given below, the division which took place on the different questions, submitted to the consideration of the House, and a List of the Minority, who voted against the expulsion of Lord Cochrane, taken from the *Morning Chronicle* of Wednesday last.]

Mr. Brown withdrew his motion for a Committee, and on the question of adjournment the numbers were—For the Adjournment 74—Against it, 142—Majority, 68.

The first or declaratory Resolution was read to without a division.

The House again divided on the Resolution for expelling Lord Cochrane.—For the Expulsion, 140—Against it, 41—Majority 96.

#### LIST OF THE MINORITY

Atherley, A	Moore, P
Allan, G	Martin, J
Brand, Hon. T.	Nugent, Ed.
Bennet, Hon. H.	Newman, Rd.
Brydges, Sir E.	Oswinton, Ed.
Barham, S	Power, R
Purcell, Sir F.	Ponsonby, Rt. Hon. G.
Barrel, Hon. P.	Russell, Lord Wm.
Butterworth, Jos.	Richards, Rt.
Challoner, R.	Randall, Lord
Chrichton, Viso.	Rushleigh, Wm.
Flood, Sir F.	Ridley, Sir M.
Grant, Ch. sen.	Smith, Wm.
Grant, J. P.	Simpson, G.
Jackson, B.	Tavistock, Marq. of
Hughes, W.	Whitbread, Saml.
Lambton, J.	Williams, Sir R.
Lloyd, H.	Western, C.
Montgomery, Sir H.	Wortley, S.
Mills, Rt.	
Maddox, Wm.	
Macginnis, —	
Mildmay, Sir H.	

TELEGRAMS.

Lord A. Hamilton  
A. Brown.

# COBBETT'S WEEKLY POLITICAL REGISTER.

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LORD COCHRANE.

TO THE INDEPENDENT ELECTORS OF  
WESTMINSTER.

GENTLEMEN.—Often as the eyes of the nation have been fixed upon your actions, they are now fixed upon you with more anxiety than ever at any former period. The case of my Lord Cochrane has excited a degree of attention and of feeling, which nothing, of late days, ever equalled, and every honest man in the country now looks to your decision with hopes as anxious as those of a mother, who sees life still lingering upon the lips of a despaired-of child.—The country having seen, during the last ten years, so many instances of your wisdom, your discrimination, and your justice, having seen you, on the one hand, the bold and persevering assertors of your rights, having seen you take the lead in opposition to every thing having a tendency to injure and enslave your country; and, on the other hand, having never seen you fall into the clamours of popular prejudice and ignorance, though strongly tempted thereto by too large a portion of the nation; such having been, for so many years, the conduct which has distinguished you from almost all other bodies of Electors, and that has given you the just pre-eminence amongst even the most patriotic of Englishmen, I am aware that it may be justly thought a great presumption in me to offer any thing to you upon the present occasion, the object of which is to have an influence on your decision.—But, so great is the respect which I feel for my Lord Cochrane; so great is my anxiety that he should now receive at

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your hands that which will not only be a consolation to him, but an honour to yourselves, and to the minds as well as the hearts of the people of England, that I trust you will excuse the few observations, which, upon this momentous occasion, I feel myself impelled to address to you.—The House of Commons have turned out the Member, or, rather, one of the Members, whom you chose to represent you.—It rests with you, now, to determine, whether he shall still be one of your Members.—There are two distinct grounds, on which all those who believe him to be innocent of the crime, laid to his charge, ought to be zealous for his re-election.—The first is, his fitness, independent of any thing that has now taken place, to be a representative of the people. And, though I am willing to confess, that if my Lord Cochrane were likely to be employed in the sea-service, and to be absent from the country, for any considerable length of time, he would not be a fit person to represent you, whose powerful voice ought never for a moment to be stifled; yet, if I look back, through the history of his conduct in Parliament, where, except in the conduct of your other Member, shall I find a man, who has done so much good in the House of Commons? My Lord Cochrane is not gifted as a maker of speeches, but you are not at this day to be told, that that talent *alone* is not for one moment to be put in competition with that integrity, that political courage, which, setting inferior motives at defiance, brings forth and causes to be promulgated to the world those truths, the knowledge of which amongst the people is the greatest check

to further invasions upon their rights, and which knowledge can now be communicated in no other way than through the lips of a Member of Parliament. In this most effectual mode of serving the country I know of no man who has done so much as my Lord Cochrane, Sir Francis Burdett only excepted. We have seen many better speech-makers, now and then producing salutary effects by their speeches, and their motives, now and then giving corruption a blow, but, in the greater part, it not in the whole, of these gentlemen, we discover more or less of party spirit, more or less of reserve in their attacks, more or less of desire not totally to destroy radically the evil of which they appear to wish to snap off the branch. — more or less of anxiety to *conclude*, at the same time that they *assail*, that system which you have so long deprecated. In Lord Cochrane we have never seen, in any instance, the smallest inclination to temporise. He has been at once and honest war with every species of corruption. We have never found him buck up on his haunches, when he ought to be continued at full speed. His manner of doing what he has done has not been that of a man drilled to the use of words, and the marshalling of thoughts, but that of a man having the love of his country at heart, and fearlessly maintaining the truth, told without varnish in the pursuit of his object. I am by no means disposed to undervalue the value of the exertions of Mr. Whitbread, for instance, who to very great abilities joins, I hope, as great partial integrity. — But though I acknowledge that the country is much indebted to Mr. Whitbread, notwithstanding the deductions to be made on account of his blind fervours, with all that is to be said, yet, I say it not, with all my respect for that gentleman, and my sincere gratitude towards him for his public conduct on many occasions, I cannot but say,

that my Lord Cochrane's motions, relative to Pensions, Prize-Courts, and the situation of the Navy, have, in my opinion, produced more real good to the country than all the motions and speeches ever made even by Mr. Whitbread. — There are times, when the powers of rhetoric ought to be held in high estimation, when employed in the service of the Public. Those powers, when joined with an inflexible hostility to corruption and oppression in all their various forms, are still of use; but in the times in which we live the whole mass of those powers are not, for a single moment, to be put in competition with the utility, and the consequent promulgation of one good, honest, useful truth. — My Lord Cochrane has, indeed, never *carried* any motion that he has made. But has Sir Francis Burdett ever carried any motion? No, but he has carried into the houses, the cottages, the hovels, of the people of England, and has implanted in their memories and their hearts, principles which it is impossible that they should ever unlearn. And the imbibing of which principles, while it tends to keep evil in check at the present time, are the sure and certain seed of complete reformation, and of the triumph of freedom, at some period more or less distant. This is the *only* way in which even Sir Francis Burdett can serve his country, though supported by a princely estate, and by all the characteristics of an ancient descent, and of an English Gentleman; this is the only way in which even he can serve his country; and in this way my Lord Cochrane has done more than any other man, except his colleague. — But, the other motive for his re-election, if you deem him innocent of the crime laid to his charge, and for the alleged commission of which crime, though most of us did not before know that it was a crime in the eye of the law, he has been sentenced to the most infamous of all punishments; a sentence allotted, according

to all our old notions of justice, to none but the most detestable of crimes; a punishment, which, in the mind of every man accessible to any kind of shame, inflicted deservedly, must be ten thousand times worse than death. If you believe him innocent of this crime, and feeling that you *alone* have now the power to convince the whole world (for there are few parts of the world where his name is not known) that the people of England, who are now acquainted with all the circumstances of his case, and who have now had time to reflect upon all the proceedings against him, from the first moving of that self-created tribunal, the Stock-Exchange Committee, to the expulsion of him by the House of Commons, do regard him as perfectly innocent—viewing the matter in this light, his merits or demerits as a Member of Parliament, his fitness or unfitness for that situation, are considerations, which I am quite sure you will wholly leave aside. For, in this case, you are called upon simply to say, whether you will wipe off the stigma upon a man whom you believe to be innocent, or add your act of punishment to all the other punishments, which have already taken place against him. I can entertain no doubt, I would scorn to express any doubt as to what will be your decision—the effect of that decision will be far greater than the effect of any of your former most noble exertions. Heretofore you have been able to deal your blows upon corruption in those of its resorts, where it has been more or less, at different times, usual to assail it; but *now*, Electors of Westminster, you have an opportunity of pursuing it, and that, too, in the most constitutional manner, into its closest, cruelest, and strongest holds; of dragging it forth from thence, and holding it up to that universal and unqualified execration which it has so long merited.—My Lord Cochrane has always served his country faithfully. Whether as

a sailor or as a Member of Parliament his zeal, at any rate, has been surpassed by that of no man; but we shall now see, that the circumstances in which the Stock-Exchange Committee have placed him, have enabled him to be the means of doing infinitely more good, than, with all his professional ability, with all his zeal, with all his bravery, with all his philosophical disregard of death, and with all his innate abhorrence of corruption and oppression, he would, without this prosecution, have been able to effect. Fortunately for him, and still more fortunately for the country, he was, in consequence of your choice, a Member of Parliament. That circumstance, joined to his own courage, enabled him to make that invaluable defence, of which, in spite of all the timidity of the press, the world is now in possession, there being no doubt, that the imagination of every reader will amply supply words in place of the *stare*, which that timidity, that morbid fear, have caused to be introduced into the report of the defence. This defence I call my dearest, and for this defence, the nation has to thank him. His courage in doing it, and you for putting him in the situation to make it—his defence was by some of the Members of Parliament, said to be *superb*. He was said, by having attacked others, to have plucked himself, and that it they lamented his having acted under such bad advice. Those who know my Lord Cochrane, know well, that, under trying circumstances, he stands in need of no prompter but his own mind. These gentlemen will now, I trust, see, that his defence, besides being the best that he could have made for the public good, was also the very best that he could have made for himself.—If my Lord Cochrane, yielding to timid advisers, to family or other considerations, more for the interest of others than for that of himself, had merely sought,



by a plaintive appeal to the compassion of the House of Commons, to get rid of the most odious part of his sentence, he would, *perhaps*, have succeeded in that object—but he would have crept out of prison a poor pardoned thing; he would have been suspected of moral perjury by one half of the world; and he would never have been re-elected by you. His judgment, therefore, in this case, will appear to have been as sound as his fortitude has been great, and it will become evident to every one, that to these, and to your good sense and justice, he will owe the preservation of his fame, though the prosecution, perhaps, will leave him but little of his fortune.—Since writing of the above, I perceive, from the newspapers, that Mr. Butt has *petitioned for mercy*. I cannot say that I blame this gentleman for having yielded, which in all probability he has, to the pressing solicitations of persons, connected with him by those ties, which are too strong to be easily broken or resisted, but, I do think that he has been badly advised, and I regret his application the more, as, if it be acceded to, it will, as appears from what is reported to have passed in the House of Commons, be made to include something in the name of pardon to Lord Cochrane, whom I, for my part, wish to see receive *no pardon at all*. He has asked for none; he will ask for none I am very sure. He cannot, as I said in a former Number, compel the execution of the whole of the sentence; but he has it in his power not to ask for nor to return thanks for any pardon; and this is the line of conduct that becomes him, whether as a gallant officer of the navy, or as your representative.—It is now that we are going to see a striking proof of the inestimable value of the *electors franchise*.—You are happily free in your choice; no borough-mongers have any power over you; your voice upon all occasions, and

more especially upon this, may be fairly considered as being the unbiassed voice of the people of England. You have, within these ten years, rescued the City of Westminster from the trammels of faction.—Before that time, some powerful families gave you one member, and the Ministry gave you another member. You were, in fact, by habit become no more free in your choice than are the electors of any rotten borough. At that time you began to perceive, that, under the name of freedom, you had lived in real slavery, or, which is worse, had been made the tools in the hands of intriguing politicians, and too much praise can never be bestowed upon those men who distinguished themselves, at the expence of many sacrifices, in making you that bright example to the nation which you have ever since been.—This inestimable privilege of being free to choose your representatives is not only a great benefit to you; but through your means, a blessing to the nation. For my part, I do not know, and I fear to express what I think of, the consequence which would ensue, if you did not stand there where you do stand, with that interposing voice, which you always so judiciously, as well as so decidedly, make use of. While you are at head-quarters, I regard the camp as safe.—Nothing, except the line of conduct, which, as I perceive from this day's newspaper, you are now pursuing, ever pleased me so much, in any part of your actions, as your standing aloof from the rabble-like outcry, which was recently set up against the Corn Bill. It was something singular, and highly to your honour, to see you, the most populous city in the kingdom, and containing so great a number of persons, living by their daily bread, totally uninfluenced, and unmoved, amidst a storm of folly and of prejudice, that spread like a contagion over the country, and that exposed so many bodies of the

people to contempt. You had the sense to see, that that was an occasion, in which for you not to move. You left noise and nonsense to those who are to be deluded by designing knaves, who wish to amuse the people with any thing calculated to withdraw their attention from the real causes of public misery. You reserve yourselves for occasions like the present. You will now speak the language of men, understanding their public duty, and resolved to perform it; and, it is impossible to be without some hopes, that your example will have a considerable effect upon the nation at large; and, that others will be induced to join you in your endeavours to bring about that *Reform* in the Commons House of Parliament, without which all other attempts to better our situation must prove to be in vain.

#### LORD DUNDONALD'S LETTER.

CORRUPTION sees, and trembles at, the blow which it is going to receive, and, accordingly, it is natural to suppose that she will make most desperate efforts to avoid it. But even those who have most steadily watched her hellish craft, would, I believe, hardly have suspected her equal to so un heard of a device as that of the Letter of Lord Dundonald.—If this letter be really his, he must have been induced to publish it for the express purpose of preventing his son's re-election, and, if he could, under such circumstances, so be induced, what credit is due to any thing that he can say against his son? Whence comes this letter? From the *benches of a public-house*; from a mere tipping-place, the resort of hackney coachmen and such like people. And, when a Peer of the Realm has so far abandoned all ideas of dignity; when he has sunk his mind down to this state; when drinking has so bereft him of all the common feelings of a gentleman, are we to believe, can we believe, does not reason forbid us to believe, one word that he says against his son, and that, too, on the eve of an election, so interesting to that son? How comes this Peer, who had once a large estate, to be a constant companion in a pot-house? His poverty and his love of drink are the ma-

nifest causes. The same causes have, doubtless, exposed him to the temptations of that CORRUPTION, that monster, who has more eyes than Argus, and more hands than Briaricus, and whose hands are all filled with the means of making the poor rich, and giving drink, in rivers, to the drunkard.—The exact nick of time, fixed on for publishing this abominable letter, proves clearly, that it is the *dictation* of CORRUPTION. If the unhappy and self-degraded lady had been treated by the son in the manner that he describes, how came he to keep the facts a secret from the public till NOW? *Sir Alexander Cochran* is Lord Dundonald's brother.—Would he have chosen his nephew to go out to America under him, if he had heard of such acts being committed against his brother by that nephew? How came *Dewman* to knock Lord Dundonald down, and Lord Dundonald not to *punish* him? Is it not evident, that *Dewman* was *first struck*, and, in short, what do we want more than this letter itself to prove to us, that long and habitual drunkenness has bereft this unhappy man of his senses, and fitted him for a tool in the hands of CORRUPTION, who now trembles at the thought of the blow, which she is about to receive in her very vitals, and who has resorted to such desperate means of warding off that blow.—Well did Lord Cochran observe, that CORRUPTION, if attacked, would come at her assailant in some way or another. There is no act of a man's life, public or private, that she will not come at, and if she cannot find acts to suit her, she will make them. The reader may remember *Jesse Burgess*, my servant boy. He ran away from his place, as boys frequently do. I advertised for his apprehension. He was taken at Winchester, and put in jail, where there were several other servants for the same offence. This, coupled with an error of the constable's in arresting the boy's brother, was made the ground of more noise than ever an election excited in Hampshire. I was accused of *cruelty*, of *beating* the boy, of *starving* him, and, in the afterwards-insane Gillray's shop, I was exhibited in the act of lashing the naked boy, tied to a post.—This was *all false*, and, so far was it from being true, that the boy acknowledged before the Magistrate, Mr. Neville, of Easton, who committed him, that he never lived so well as his life, that he was overpaid in wages at the time

he ran away; that no one in my house ever beat him, or threatened to beat him; that he had a very good master and mistress, and, being pressed by Mr Neville for the cause of his running away, the only thing he assigned was, that he was *obliged to rise every morning AS EARLY AS HIS MASTER*!—Yet CORRUPTION, malignant and indefatigable CORRUPTION, caused, with all the means she was able to employ, three-fourths of the nation to believe, that I was a cruel, and brutal master.—If CORRUPTION took such pains with regard to me, what exertions may she not be expected to make in such a case as the present, when her very bowels are in danger of being sent tumbling about her heels? Lord Dundonald has an opulent brother, Mr. Basil Cochrane, living in a princely mansion in Portman-square, where he has entertained even the Prince Regent as his guest. What is the cause, that he suffers his brother, the titled head of his family, to be in such a state as to be a companion in a pot-house? Would not he have resented the ill treatment of his brother by his nephew? Would he, too, have taken part with that nephew, against his brother, if the latter had been the injured party?—However painful the task, Lord Cochrane will, I dare say, make some statement upon the subject, and, I have no doubt, that this last stroke of CORRUPTION will be made to fall upon her own detestable head.

I had written the above before seeing the following letter, which my Lord Cochrane has very properly sent to the newspapers:—

*King's Bench, July 14, 1814*

SIR—The unfortunate state of Lord Dundonald's mind, occasioned by the failure of many excellent plans, is so well known, that it is scarcely necessary for me to assure the Public, that the statement which appeared in your Paper of this day, signed "DUNDONALD," has no foundation whatsoever. For these last ten years I have uniformly supported him, and disbursed at least 8,000*l.* on his account, a fact which I can prove by his own letters, expressed in the most grateful terms so long as reason possessed its influence, and, at intervals, since then Thomas Dawson, the man whom he represents as his murderer, was hired to look after him, and I

prevailed on Lord Dundonald's natural laughter, for the same purpose, to reside with him. She can testify, that the struggle, which is termed a murder, originated in Lord Dundonald's having waylaid the man, and knocked him down with a broom. It would be to me most distressing to enter into a detail on this very painful subject. So far from traducing my father, no man living has ever heard me speak disrespectfully of him, and few have heard me mention his name. Statements originating in unfortunate circumstances such as these, or in the malice of wicked persons, can have influence only while they remain unexamined. I have not one relative who will not bear testimony to the affection I have always borne towards my Father; and there is not one act of my life towards any man that I am not prepared to explain satisfactorily. I am, Sir,

Your very obedient servant,

COCHRANE.

#### LORD COCHRANE

SIR,—Considering all the circumstances attendant on Lord Cochrane's present situation, perhaps the public will be informed, that the "Dundonald," which appeared on Wednesday last, and yesterday in the *Mercury*, to me the most atrocious violence of morality and decency, of which the public Press of this country has ever been guilty.—It can, however, excite no other sentiment than *disgust*,—not produce any other effect, than to render Lord Cochrane more and more dear to his enlightened and generous Constituents. The accusations are so extremely coarse, and so greatly overcharged, that they necessarily defeat their own vile purpose, and instead of creating any feeling of aversion towards Lord Cochrane, they supply their own antidote, they counteract the deadly poison it was intended to convey into the public mind. To have had any chance of injuring the reputation of Lord Cochrane, those accusations should have been prepared much sooner, and been administered by the "gentlemen of the Stock Exchange," in corroboration of the "evidence" of Messrs. Sayer, Shilling, Cram, and Co.—Whether Lord Cochrane may reply to this hellish accusation, I know not—but *feel it he must, and severely so*. Is it altogether a *forgery*, like that of the French official paper, fabricated a few

years since, to answer the purpose of fraudulent *Stock-jobbers*? Or have some of the *Jumblers* of the *City Inquisitor* fastened on the mental infirmities of a worn-out man in a state of second childhood, and forged the fragments into a barbed and poisoned dart, wherewith to assassinate the honour of his innocent and suffering heir? I was told, on the 21st of June last, by a well-known and independent Member of Parliament, that the unfortunate old Nobleman to whom I allude, was no longer himself. It is notorious that he has long been regarded in that light by the peasants in the neighbourhood of his residence in Scotland, and hence called the *dift Dundonald*, i. e. the *drury Dundonald*. If it be otherwise, if the Earl of Dundonald be something more than "the *shuttin' hole of what was once a man*," he has invited the law of nature—and oh! is a moral prodigy—a father pursuing to destruction in this world's son, whose filial duty had invariably been his shield against the attacks of poverty and old age, turning, like a serpent, to sting to death the bosom that had preserved its reptile life. The fable of Saturn devouring his children, covers a beautiful metaphor invented by some ancient Poet—but here we behold a Sue devouring his eldest born—and with such traits of ferocious hatred as, sixteen centuries since, would have filled even Rome itself with horror and dismay, and occasioned solemn sacrifices to the infernal deities to have appeased their anger, and sweet the threatened woes! By whom—if not by some of the secret agents of the Conspirators, were the ill-placed observations introduced relative to Thomas Pennin having been appointed to receive Du Bourg? And for what purpose introduced, but to poison the minds of the Westminster Electors with the belief that Lord Cochrane not only committed perjury himself, but had actually suborned his *menial servants*. And this monstrous charge is produced to defeat the election of his son, and support the evidence of that vile, depraved, and brutal miscreant, William Crane; who swore that Dr. Berenger absolutely entered the house of Lord Cochrane dressed in a "RED COAT!" If Baron De Berenger knows what coloured under-coat he wore on that memorable occasion, IT WAS A VERY DARK GREEN!—Not the uniform worn by the *Sharpshooters*—but a dress then newly made and prepared for his intended expedition to America. The Baron

shewed it to me, both before and after his conviction.—I saw him wear it, and the COLLAR stood up so very high behind, that it incommoded him, and he doubled it down. (I am informed he wore the entire dress the day before yesterday, Wednesday.) He always declared this steadily and consistently to me; and I should have no manner of doubt as to its truth, if no affidavit from Lord Cochrane or his servants had ever appeared. The Baron invariably and uniformly declared Lord Cochrane's *innocence*, even when he reproached him with bitterness for imputed neglect and unkindness. It is, therefore, more than probable the Baron did not appear before Lord Cochrane "in the costume of his crime!"—I am motives altogether disinterested I have defended Lord Cochrane, and asserted his innocence. His fortitude has already been rewarded by a most glorious triumph, and I confidently hope, that in "real comparison," of whom Lord Cochrane is the *victim*, will shortly be unmasked, and delivered over to *condemnation*—I am, Sir, your obedient servant,  
J BROWN.

July 14, 1814

AMERICAN WAR.—The senseless and noisy joy of England still rages. But the drunken bout must end shortly, and the reckoning must come forward. The nabobs are now wringing the last fumes of the roasted oxen and sheep, with which their deluders have been feeding them, for purposes of the most despicable description.—When this madness is at an end, we shall have to look at our situation, and the first thing that we shall see, is, that we are *still at war*. That we have yet a war upon our hands, that we are at war with a nation, newly as populous and quite as brave as ourselves, and that success in this war is uncertain; but certain, even should we spend another six hundred millions in the enterprise.—I know that I am here at open war with the prejudices, passions, and opinions of a great majority of the nation. The people's heads being crammed with eternal bragging about the victories and conquests of our armies, have no room left for any thing else; and as to their believing, that those who have *conquered France* should find it necessary to occupy much time in conquering America, the thing is not to be expected. It is, indeed, the general opinion, that to conquer

the Americans will be a very short job indeed. Time will show, whether this opinion be correct; but it is of great importance, that we keep steadily in mind the *grounds* of this war; for, if it should be of any long duration, and should bring great mischiefs in its train, we shall certainly be permitted to enquire, whether it might not have been avoided. Our disputes with America have lasted from the beginning of the King's reign to the present hour. But the real grounds of the present war lie in a very narrow compass. There were certain Orders in Council, of which the Americans complained, till about two years ago, when those orders were repealed. At the same time they complained that their vessels were stopped at sea, and that our naval officers, at their discretion, took out of those vessels such persons as they looked upon, or asserted to be, British subjects. It is very well known, that, in consequence of the exercise of this power, hundreds of Americans born, were compelled to go on board of English men of war, and serve in the capacity of sailors, and be subjected to all the rules of discipline, and, of course, to all the punishments making part of that discipline, on board of our ships. It is notorious that hundreds of them were so taken, and so compelled to serve. It is not necessary to suppose that our officers abused their power. It is not necessary to suppose, that from any prejudice or any hostile feeling they were inclined to abuse their power. But we must suppose, at least, that they were unable to ascertain who were British subjects, and who were not British subjects, since it is a fact not to be denied, that hundreds of men have been discharged by our Admiralty, from our navy, in consequence of demands made by the American Consul in London, representing that such men had been impressed in the manner above described. Now, it is very easy for us to say, that these men might as well be serving in our navy as in other ships at sea. It is very easy for us to shut our ears as to complaints touching upon matters in which we have no fellow feeling; but, suppose the Americans were to treat us in the same way? Suppose them to be at war, and we at peace; suppose their ships of war to stop our merchantmen upon the ocean, to take out sailors at their discretion, to subject them to the rules and punishments of the American navy; to compel them to expose their

lives in fighting for America against an Ally of England, suppose Englishmen to be thus treated, what, I ask, should we *then* say?—This is the way in which we ought to look at the matter, unless, indeed, we mean to throw all considerations of justice aside; or, to consider the Americans, not as an independent nation, but rather as a species of colonists, whose interests are not to be put in competition with those of the mother country.—In justification of the exercise of this power on our part, we said, that, without it, our navy would be ruined, because our sailors would desert and find a safe refuge in American ships, which were to be found in every port in the world.—There was something very humiliating in this excuse, for, what was it but to acknowledge, at once, that our sailors, forgetting their honour, their duty, their oaths, their loyalty, and their patriotism, and regardless of the glory of our own navy, were at all times willing to desert, in very great numbers, at least, unless they were deprived of all means of refuge. For my part, I always felt humiliated at the use of this ground of defence. But the American Government, in order to prevent hostilities upon the subject, made propositions calculated to secure us from the danger so much apprehended. They said that they could not be called upon, as a matter of right, to adopt any measure upon the subject, because they had a right to employ, in their service, whatever persons might choose voluntarily to enter into that service, and that the law of nations did not permit the ships of any power to stop their vessels at sea, to take out of them persons of any description whatever. Nevertheless, in order to give us all the satisfaction, and all the security consistent with the safety of their own natural born citizens, they were willing to agree, that, when any of their ships were in *port*, in any country in the world, whether in the British dominions, or in any other dominions, any one or more of their crew, might be claimed and taken away as British subjects, the persons so claimed being first brought before, and heard by, and their cases decided upon by some justice of the peace, or other civil magistrate, or civil authority, as the case might be. They were further willing to pass a law, strictly prohibiting, under severe penalties, the employing of any British subject on board their ships. What they objected to was, the leaving the persons of their sea-faring

citizens wholly at the discretion of the officers of the English navy, and that, too, not in port where an appeal to the government might be made, but at sea, where no appeal could be made, where no redress could be had, where discretion and power were the only things to be heard of. We, however, would not agree to give up the use of this discretion and power. We persevered in what the Americans deemed acts of hostility; they resorted to arms in what they deemed their defence, and thus we are at war with them.—This was the real ground of the war; and as the dispute naturally terminated with the war in Europe; as our being at peace with the rest of the world at once put an end to the cause of these impressions from American ships, the Americans, having no longer any thing to complain of, the matter might have been dropped at once, the question of right to exercise such a power might have been waved, harmony between the two countries might have been restored, their commercial connections re-established, and peace might, for once, have extended her wings over the habitable globe. Why this has not taken place has never yet been distinctly stated in any public communication or document, coming from authority. A report of a speech made in the House of Commons, by one of the Lords of the Admiralty, has represented the object of the war now to be the *deposition of Mr. Madison*; which, of course, embraces, or would embrace, something little short of conquering that country, and the taking of its government into our own hands. The wise men who conduct the London newspapers, are continually urging the necessity of destroying the American nation; of taking advantage of the present favourable moment for crushing that nation, which seems destined to become a dangerous rival upon the seas; there are men in this country who would murder all the Americans, merely because they enjoy *real* freedom, and are, what such men deem, a dangerous example to the world. But these men are shy in avowing their abominable principles. They disguise them, and endeavour to seize hold of better feelings, by alarming the patriotic fears of the people, whom they stimulate to this war by holding out the idea, that, unless America be now put down, or, at least, put back, she will, in a few years, be able, in conjunction with France, to beat us upon the ocean. An article of this description, I am now about

to quote from the *Times* newspaper; and, I am sorry to say, though the sentiments of this article are truly detestable, if they come to be thoroughly examined, they are but too generally entertained in this country.—After inserting a List of the American Navy, which list I have subjoined in a note,\* the writer proceeds thus.—“In another part of this paper our readers will see a document calculated to call forth the *most serious reflections*. We allude to the official statement of the American marine force, which may now, *‘ALAS!’* without irony, be termed a navy. It consists (including three seventy-fourers likely soon to be launched) of 33 vessels of war for the ocean, carrying 917 guns, and 32 vessels for the lakes, carrying 265 guns, besides 203 gun-boats, barges, &c. This force, we have no hesitation in saying **MUST BE ANNIHILATED**. To dream of making peace, until we have performed that **ESSENTIAL DUTY** to ourselves and our posterity, would be as fully too deplorable for common reprehension. It would betray a wilful and voluntary disregard of the **NATIONAL SAFETY**. Let us never forget that the present war is an unprovoked attack on the very existence of Great Britain. The arch **CONSPIRATORS**, of whom Madison is the ostensible, and Jefferson the real head, fancied that, whilst our army was employed in Spain, they could with ease wrest Canada from our dominion. To any considerable naval successes they did not even lift their hopes; but the fatal surrender of the *Guerrero* opened new prospects to them. Intoxicated with delight at beholding the British flag struck to the American, the **DEMOCRATIC** Government seriously set about the task, which they had before considered hopeless, of forming a navy. It is painful to reflect how far they have proceeded in this undertaking. It is infinitely more painful to consider that even the gallant affair of the *Chesapeake* has hardly served to check the full tide of their presumptuous hopes. They are now persuaded that the sea is **THEIR ELEMENT**, and **NOT OURS**.—Defeated and disgraced by land, they turn with pride and confidence toward the ocean. Their very avarice is bushes; their despicable economy is overcome; and in peace or war, they will henceforth look to one great object—the wresting the trident from the hand of Britain.—

"It is **IDLE TO TALK OF DIS-PUTING WITH THEM ABOUT PRINCIPLES.** They will give up any principle to day, and assert it to-morrow; and whether they do or not is totally insignificant—but the struggle with them is for actual power—power actually employed towards our destruction. There is but one way to turn the current of their thoughts and efforts from their present direction, and that is, **TO CRUSH THEIR GROWING NAVY TO ATOMS.** The enterprise may be twice as difficult now, as it would have been (had our means then permitted it) in the first month of the war, but it will infallibly be ten times as difficult, nay, it may become absolutely impossible, if it is delayed till a future war. **NOW** America stands **ALONE**, hereafter she may have **ALLIES.** Let us **STRIKE WHILE THE IRON IS HOT.**"—Here it is, then, all come out. Whoever remembers the jeering and taunting of this man about the "American Navy," about two years ago, must now hush at his "*serious reflections*," and at that "*alas!*" which the bare sight of this navy list brought up from the bottom of his stomach. And why should the wise man cry *alas* at this sight? Does he think that the eight millions of people, who inhabit the United States, and whose country contains many rivers, compared to the smaller branches of which the Thames at London Bridge is a gutter, does he think that such a people, inhabiting a country that produces Indian corn, melons in the natural earth, a crop of wheat, and then a crop of buck-wheat in the same field in the same year, and both carried into the barn by the middle of September, and where the peaches grow in greater abundance, and with a tenth part of the trouble, than the apples in Somersetshire? Does he imagine that a country where the timber of the best quality stands on the side of the rivers, and where ships of the first size can sail, invites the shipwright to convert it into the means of navigating the ocean? Is he beast enough to suppose that a country where the very fields are enclosed and separated by posts of cedar and rails of chestnut? Is he, I say, beast enough to suppose, or to hope, that such a country, inhabited by the descendants of the most enterprising and most laborious of this and of every other European nation, can possibly be prevented from becoming a great

naval power, and of the greatest consequence in the world? If he be beast enough to entertain any such expectations or hopes, he must be, and that is saying a great deal, a greater beast than any of his brother-conductors of newspapers. Yet, it is in this blessed enterprise, it is in this enterprise to stay the hand of nature, to raise a barrier against the natural progress of things, to stop the effects of the heat of the sun, that we, according to him, are to expend many more hundred millions of pounds, and cause torrents of blood to be shed! It is not, I must confess, at first blush, a pleasing reflection, that England is, one day or other, to be eclipsed in naval power. But upon what ground can any man justify, or attempt to justify a war for the purpose of devastating a country upon the bare presumption, that, first or last, that country will exceed our own in power? The chances are, that the State of America will divide at some later period. In that case, they will become enemies, occasionally, and, perhaps, no one of them will ever equal England in point of power. If any thing could possibly preserve their union beyond its natural duration, it would be a war against them all upon the principle avowed by this weak and wicked writer, whose publications will do more in support of Mr. Madison than any thing which that gentleman or his friends could say or do. For, here the object is stated to be to crush America, now that she has no ally, in order to prevent her at any future period from possessing the means of defence against England. It is not a question of right of the present moment that this wise gentleman positates, it is a question of futurity. America may be a dangerous rival at sea, at some future time, and, *therefore*, we are now to make war upon her, *therefore* her navy must be annihilated, *therefore* we are to strike while the iron is hot.—He calls the American President and the Congress *conspirators*. What shall we hear called a *conspiracy* by and bye? What sort of *sentence* he means to pass upon Mr. Madison and Mr. Jefferson, he has not told us, and he may as well keep that to himself, till he has them in his clutches. It is something new this, to hear the chief magistrate of an independent nation called a *conspirator*, merely because he is at war with us. The King of Prussia, the Emperor of Russia, the Emperor of Austria, the King of Spain have all been at war with us within the

last eleven years; but no one ever thought of calling them *conspirators*. Yet, surely, the term was as applicable to either of them as it is now to Mr. Madison, who is the chief magistrate of a nation as independent of us as Prussia or Russia. But since the fall of Napoleon, these country slaves have always talked of America in a way which authorizes us to believe, that they still look upon her as a revolted colony, and that they have actually formed the project of bringing her back to her allegiance. If the slaves could but be in America for one twenty-four hours, these thoughts would soon be dissipated. But, in the meanwhile, they find people to delude; they find a soil genial for the errors which they spread abroad, and nothing but sad experience will extirpate them.—The newspapers contained, some few days ago, an account of a conversation said to have taken place between the Scotch Reviewer Mr. Jeffrays, and Mr. Madison, some months ago. The public were told, that the latter asked the former, while they were at table together, what the people in this country thought about the war with America, to which Mr. Jeffrays is said to have replied, that he believed, that he heard some person at Liverpool say something about it, but that, with that exception, he had never heard it even mentioned. This was a cut of contempt at America. As much as to say, that a war with America was a thing of no little consequence to this great nation, that the people hardly knew that it was going on. They will know it by the intimations of the tax-gatherers, if through no other channel. The wags will tell them what it is to have a war with America. But the hypocrisy of this contempt is, by the article on which I am commenting, made manifest; for here we are told, that the list of the American navy is a document calculated to call forth the most *serious reflections*. It is no longer a subject of *war*; and the writer says, "*class*" it may be termed a navy. Nay, he says, that our *national safety* depends upon our war against America. If this paragraph meet the eye of Mr. Madison, how must that gentleman laugh at the account given him by the Scotch Reviewer, who, I suppose, came home in disgust with a people, amongst the meanest of whom, if a native American, he would not, I am sure, find one to pull off his hat to him.—It was in the *Morning Chronicle* that I read this paragraph

about Mr. Jeffrays, and, coming through that channel, I have little doubt of the account having proceeded from Mr. Jeffrays himself. That he dined with Mr. Madison I have no difficulty in believing, the customs of that country admitting of such an intercourse, but that Mr. Madison ever put such a question to him I think to be very improbable. At any rate, to publish such an anecdote was no very suitable return for the hospitality and condescension of the President. But, I dare say, that this puffed up Scotch Reviewer looked upon himself as a much greater man than Mr. Madison. Kings and Princes are in the right of it to keep themselves aloof, to ride in gilded carriages, and wear big wigs and long robes. There are the things that inspire respect in vulgar minds, and that keep the slavish multitude in awe.—The people of America have not yet furnished their chief Magistrate with the means of riding many miles in a day within park walls. His whole salary would not maintain a gilded coach and its appurtenances. But in some sort to make up for this, Mr. Jeffrays, on the morning of a Saturday, about seven o'clock, have seen in the city of Philadelphia, or New York, five hundred labouring men, each of them going home from market with a turkey or a goose for his Sunday's dinner, and not one out of the five hundred to give him the wall, or pull off his hat to him. This was an object worthy the attention of a philosopher and a writer upon political economy, and to have mentioned it in the *Morning Chronicle* would have done much more credit to Mr. Jeffrays, than the little foolish spiteful anecdote above mentioned.—However, the Americans have, at any rate, cured us of this contempt; and, I trust, their conduct will be such as to make us respect them every day more and more. If the question was, whether England should give up any unquestionable right—I would rather have war and taxation for years yet to come, than advise her to yield, but there appears to me to be no obstacle in the way of peace, and, as to a war for the purpose of preventing America from being formidable in time to come, it is an idea that never can be seriously entertained by any man not destitute of all sense as well as of all principle.

#### \*AMERICAN NAVY

*Navy Department, March 4, 1814.*

SIR.—Agreeably to your intimation, I have the honour to transmit herewith a list of the *capt* and vessels of the Navy of the United



States, with the rate, station, and name of the commander of each. I have the honour to be very respectfully, sir, your obedient servant,

W. JONES.

Hon John Gaillard, Chairman of the Naval Committee of the Senate

*List of the Naval Force of the United States.*

-----, 71, building at Portsmouth, N H.  
-----, 74, building at Charleston, Mass  
-----, 71, building at Philadelphia  
President, 41, New York, John Rodgers, capt  
United States, 11, New London, Stephen Decatur, captain  
Constitution, 41, cruising, Charles Stewart captain.  
Guerrier, 11, building at Philadelphia.  
Java, 44, building at Baltimore.  
Columbia, 41, building at Washington  
Constellation, 36, Norfolk, under sailing order  
Charles Gordon, captain  
Congress, 36, Portsmouth, N H fitting, John Smith, captain  
Macedonian, 36, New London, Jacob Jones, captain.  
Essex, 32, cruising, David Porter, captain  
Adams corvette, 24, cruising, Charles Morris, captain  
John Adams, do 24, cartel toottenburgh.  
Samuel Angus, master-commandant  
Alert sloop, 18, New York, guard-ship.  
Hornet do 16, New London, James Biddle, captain  
Wasp do 18, Portsmouth, N H under sailing orders, Johnson Blakely, master-commandant  
Frolick do 18, cruising, Joseph Bambridge, master-commandant  
Peacock do 18, New York, under sailing orders, Lewis Warrington, master-commandant  
Erie do 18, Baltimore, ready for sea, Charles C. Ridgely, master-commandant  
Ontario do 18, Baltimore, Robert F Spence, master-commandant  
Argus do 18, Washington fitting for sea.  
Louisiana do 16, New Orleans, D. F. Peterson, master-commandant, commanding officer  
Essex Junior do 16, cruising, John Downs, master-commandant  
Greenwich do 16, cruising  
Etna bomb brig, New Orleans  
Triomp brig, 16, Savannah, guard-ship.  
Syren do 10, cruising, G. Parker, master commandant  
Rattlesnake do 14, cruising, John Ocreighton, master-commandant  
Enterprise do 14, cruising, James Renshaw, lieutenant-com  
Carolina schr 11, Charleston (S C) J. D. Henley, mast-com  
Norwich brig, 13, Charleston (S C.) Lawrence Kearney, lieutenant-com  
*United States' Naval Force on the Lakes*  
General Pike ship, 24 guns, Lake Ontario, Isaac Charney, com  
Madison ship, 20 guns, Ontario, W. M. Crane, mast-com.  
Oneida brig, 16, Ontario, Thomas Brown, lieutenant-commandant  
Sylph schooner, 14 do. M C Woolsey, master-commandant.  
Governor Tompkins schr. 6 do St. Clair, Elliott, midship-com  
Hamilton schr. 8, Ontario.  
Growler schr. 5, do  
Pert schr. 3 do Samuel W Adams, lieutenant-com.  
Conquest schr 3 do Henry Wells, lieutenant-com  
Fair American schr. 2 do. Wolcott Chauncey, lieutenant-com.  
Ontario schr. 2 do. John Stevens, sailing-mast.

Aspschr, 2do, Philander A. Jones, lieutenant-com.  
Julia schr 2 do  
Elizabeth schr 2 do.  
Lady of the Lake schr. 1 do M P. Mix, sailing-mast  
Mary bomb, do  
Lawrence brig, 18, Lake Erie, Jesse D. Elliott, M C commanding officer.  
Niagara brig, 18, Lake Erie, Jesse D Elliott, M C commanding officer.  
Niagara brig, 18 do.  
Queen Charlotte ship, 20, Erie, }  
Detroit do do do } Captured from  
Hunter brig 10, do } the enemy.  
Lady Prevost sloop, 12, do. }  
Caledonia brig, 2, do.  
Arctichooner, 1, do.  
Somers do 2, do.  
Scorpion do 2, do  
Porcupine do 1, do  
Tiger do 1, do  
President sloop, 8, Lake Champlain, Thomas Macdonough, M C commanding officer  
Montgomery do 8, Lake Champlain.  
Com Preble, do 8, do  
*Gun-Boats, Barges, &c.*  
New Orleans, 6 gun-boats, 3 barges, building—schooners, flying fish, Sea Horse—sloop Tackle.  
Georgia, 7 gun-boats, 6 barges, building  
Charlestown, (S C) 2 gun-boats, 6 barges, equipped, 6 do building, scht Alligator  
Wilmington, (N C) 6 gun-boats, 1 barge, equipped, and 1 building. Thomas V. Gautier, acting lieutenant commanding officer  
Norfolk, 29 gun-boats, 1 barge, equipped, 10 building—1 bomb, Joseph Tarbell, captain-commandant  
Potomack, 3 gun-boats, 3 barges, equipped; 1 building—schooners Scorpion, Hornet, cutter App  
Baltimore, 1 gun-boat, 13 barges, equipped, 10 building, 1 pilot boat  
Delaware, 19 gun-boats, 6 barges, equipped, 2 block sloops, and a schooner.  
New York, 53 gun-boats  
Lake Champlain, 2 gun-boats, 2 barges, equipped, 15 building  
New London, 2 gun boats.  
Newport, R I do  
New Bedford, 2 do  
Boston, 2 do  
Newburyport, 2 do  
Portsmouth, N H 6 do.

WILLIAM JONES,

Navy Department, March 4, 1811.

CONTINUATION OF THE DEBATE IN THE HOUSE OF COMMONS RESPECTING LORD COCHRANE.

[It was my intention to have continued the whole of this debate, but its great length, and the pressure of other interesting matter, precludes the insertion of the remaining part, except the following *peeche*.]

Mr. PONSONBY began by observing, that if the severest and bitterest enemy of the Noble Lord (Cochrane) had been employed to injure his name, such enemy could not have done it more injury than the Noble Lord himself had that night endeavoured to do it; but he trusted the

House, in considering the real facts of the question, would dismiss such conduct from its recollection. Indeed, he had no doubt that such would be the case—for he never witnessed so much candour, moderation, and tenderness, as the House had throughout manifested towards the Noble Lord. That House would, therefore, he was satisfied, be ready to separate the conduct to which he had alluded, from the facts of the case. Some one had appeared to hold that to impeach the charge was tantamount to an impeachment of the rectitude of the Judge by whom that charge was made, and that, therefore, such impeachment should be decidedly discountenanced, but he was persuaded that no one could suppose him inclined to cast an imputation upon any Judge, and sure he was that to question the rectitude of a Judge's charge, implied no imputation whatever. Indeed, no such conception prevailed, for nothing was more common than an application for a new trial upon the special ground of a Judge's misdirection to the Jury, either as to case or fact. Yet it was never understood that any Judge felt himself offended by such a motion, or that it implied any imputation upon his general rectitude or character. For himself he could say, that no one was more likely to feel a higher respect for the judicial, but yet he could never feel that respect so far as to believe in the infallibility of a Judge, and therefore he could not subscribe to any such doctrine as that upon which he had animadverted. The law itself, indeed, supposed the infallibility of a Judge by providing the remedy which he had stated.—The Noble Lord (Cochrane) had stated one fact, which, if true, certainly illustrated that infallibility. For the Noble Lord had stated, that the Judge before whom he was tried had, in his charge to the Jury, said, that De Burenger had presented himself to the Noble Lord, "blazoned in the costume of his crime," although not a tittle of evidence was adduced to sustain such an allegation. This he could not help thinking a very extraordinary allegation, if the statement of the Noble Lord was true—and that the Judge did misstate a very material point to the Jury, which was particularly calculated to mislead their judgment. It was said by a Learned Gentleman, whom he did not then see in his place (the Attorney-General), that although a new trial was refused to the Noble Lord, he had still the advan-

tage of an opportunity to state his case, and to explain his conduct. But to this assertion he, (Mr. P.) could not subscribe, and he hoped that he should not be charged with any disrespect to the Court, in declaring that he was quite unable to comprehend the rule which had been pressed against Lord Cochrane's motion for a new trial. Indeed, he could not conceive such a rule to have any foundation in law, justice, or reason. He did not presume to say that this rule was unjust, but that he did not comprehend the grounds upon which it could be justified. For instance, was it meant by this rule, that if a verdict of guilty should be pronounced against six persons, five of whom were really guilty, while one was really innocent, the innocent should be refused a new trial, although perfectly able to establish his innocence, because the others over whom the innocent might have no controul or influence should decline to join in the motion? If so, how could such a refusal be sustained upon any principle of equity, or law, or reason?—What, was an innocent person to suffer through any mistake or deficiency of evidence, because the guilty, with whom he might be connected by a prosecution, should not think proper, or could not be controuled, to join in an application for a new trial? He declared that to his mind such a rule was totally incomprehensible, and if it were to be maintained, what was to become of the highest authority, by whom it was said, that it was better 99 unjust persons should escape than that one person should suffer? The Right Hon. Gentleman here took notice of Lord Cochrane's explanation respecting the bank-notes found in the possession of De Burenger, and traced into his hands, observing, that this explanation was calculated to make a material impression in the Noble Lord's favour, as it served to shew that these notes might have found their way into the possession of De Burenger, without the Noble Lord's privity. This explanation, indeed, appeared to make a great difference in the merits of the Noble Lord's case, and therefore must, with other circumstances, indispose the House to agree to a motion of expulsion, at least without some further enquiry. From such an enquiry, he could not conceive that any danger could arise of an improper interference with the due administration of justice.—For it was not proposed to interfere with the sentence of the Court—but that House

being called upon to superadd to that sentence the expulsion of the Noble Lord, it became its duty, for the sake of justice and its own character, fully and candidly to consider the grounds of such an extraordinary proceeding. He protested, therefore, against the idea that such consideration would involve any interference with the Jurisdiction of the Court of King's Bench, and with a view to that consideration, he should recommend the appointment of a select, and perhaps a secret Committee, to investigate the allegations of the Noble Lord, and to report the evidence to the House. That such a Committee was likely to involve in its proceedings any reproach upon an interference with the due administration of justice he did not at all apprehend, and such an apprehension could not therefore influence his judgment. As to the declaration of the Attorney-General, that the Noble Lord was afforded all the advantage of a new trial, although his motion was refused, he could not admit the fact—for the Noble Lord was notoriously without the assistance of Counsel; and unless it was maintained that a man unlearned in the law was likely to make as much impression as a Learned Counsel, the position of the Learned Gentleman was not tenable. On all these grounds the Right Honourable Gentleman thought the House should agree to the appointment of a Committee of Inquiry, or at least adjourn the discussion with a view more coolly to consider the merits of the case before it came to any decision. At all events, he declared that, as the case at present appeared, he could not sleep upon his pillow, if he voted for the expulsion of Lord Cockburn.—(*He is heard*)

Mr. BANKS observed, that there was no instance whatever to be found in the Journals of the House, or the practice of Parliament, in which expulsion had not followed the producing the record of conviction, as a matter of course. This consequence followed not only in criminal cases, but in all cases Parliament reserved to itself a discretionary power of expulsion. He did not mean, however, to say, that a case could not be made out, in which it would be improper to expel a Member on account of the verdict of a Jury. And if there was any one who, in the present instance, thought there was a rational doubt of the Noble Lord's guilt, he ought undoubtedly to suppose him innocent, and must necessarily vote against his expulsion.

Mr. WHITBREAD expressed himself much satisfied with that part of the Hon. Gentleman's speech which preceded the conclusion of it, and with no other. However much that Hon. Member might be accustomed to consult the Journals of the House, yet he thought he could never be so entirely blinded by precedents, or buried under the records of Parliament, as because in former instances members had been expelled the House who were placed in the situation of the Noble Lord, that therefore Parliament were to lay aside their own discretion, and not to judge of every case which should be brought before them on a foundation for a parliamentary proceeding on its individual merits. Because a person was convicted of a criminal charge, were they, the members of that House, to affect so much purity, so much delicacy of character, as immediately to proceed to the expulsion of that person from the House, not stopping to enquire into the justice of the sentence, and even refusing to hear any proofs which might be brought forward afterwards to establish its injustice. —It had been said, that the expulsion which was to follow the record of the conviction, was no additional punishment; but he would put it to the House, whether the bitterest of all the bitter moments which a person in the situation of the Noble Lord must endure, would not probably be that in which he learned the sentence of expulsion from his seat in that House. It was a question involving great difficulty. He thought, that, in a question of privilege, a Committee of the whole House would be the most eligible mode. He had always entertained doubts as to the guilt of the Noble Lord; there were certainly circumstances attending the transaction, for which he could by no means satisfactorily account. The speech of the Noble Lord had strengthened those doubts as to his guilt. If such had been the effect of that speech on his mind, and on the minds of many other gentlemen, what must be the innate value of the facts contained in it, when it was evident that in the course of his speech the Noble Lord had gone out of his way to excite the feelings of the House against him, and to prejudice instead of advocating his own cause?—Such was the force of those facts, that even an Honourable Member who had risen to call the Noble Lord to order, in one part of his defence, had candidly declared, that after hearing the whole state-

ment, he could not conscientiously vote for his expulsion. It appeared that there were several parts of the charge by the Judge which were incorrect in point of fact.—Lord Cochrane had also given an explanation, which he professed himself ready to confirm by evidence, of some of the most mysterious circumstances in the transaction, and which he (Mr. Whitbread), had often declared in conversation, he thought most required explanation, such as the peculiar dress of De Berenger, and the bank notes found in his possession. After the statement made by the Noble Lord, he did not firmly believe the *possibility* of his innocence, and if the question were pressed to a division, he should vote against the original motion. If the House were not to exercise their discretion in a case of this kind, but merely to look at the record of the conviction, it would be better to pronounce the sentence of expulsion at once, without the mockery of a defence.—He thought it possible that the Noble Lord might have been entangled into an apparent pact with the counsel of which he was innocent, and that it was for the sake of the Noble Lord, in a way of feeling which could not be mentioned with respect to the conduct of a near relation of his who had attended (Mr. C. Johnstone), seconded and supported in opposition Mr. W. Russell submitted to Mr. Cochrane Johnstone's address to Lord Cochrane not to come down to the House with any statement on the subject previous to the trial.

Mr. BRUCE BATHURST contended, that if the House went into the enquiry at all, they must go into the whole evidence on the trial. He commented severely on the admissions made by the Noble Lord to the conduct and motives of the Learned Judge. Mr. C. Johnstone had made the same protestations of his innocence as Lord Cochrane had done to night, nor did he see any difference in the two cases. The Noble Lord had not, he conceived, brought forward any evidence to night which it was not in his power, and which he was not bound to have brought forward on his trial. On these grounds he was for the original motion.

Sir F. BURDET condemned the tone of asperity with which the Right Honourable Gentleman had expressed himself, and the absence of all that generous feeling in commenting upon the defence of the Noble Lord, which had been observed during the discussion, till the speech of the Right

Honourable Gentleman. Not only, indeed, had that Right Honourable Gentleman been deficient in candour, but he had grossly mis-stated the facts of the Noble Lord's defence. The Noble Lord had said that the Judge, in his charge to the Jury, stated circumstances which had not been given in evidence. Now there were matters which seemed to prove that the case was so. Lord Ellenborough had supplied evidence to the Jury, and had he (Sir F. Burdett) been upon that Jury, and heard from the Judge presiding that Berenger had gone to Lord Cochrane's with the medallion, stars, &c. he must confess, notwithstanding what might have been his high opinion of that Noble Lord, he should have concluded that he could not have been off his guard, could not have been without suspicion, and that such in fact was conclusive against him: at all events, it was a fact which he thought well worth ascertaining by that House, whether Lord Ellenborough had so charged the Jury, because upon that charge he believed the conviction of Lord Cochrane had mainly depended, and if what the Noble Lord had stated respecting it was true, then he had been unjustly convicted. Another gross mis-statement of the Right Hon. Gentleman was with regard to the Rule in Court. It had been asked by the Right Hon. Gentleman why Lord Cochrane had abandoned his legal advisers? He did not abandon them, he consulted with them; but they were of opinion they could not interfere with so good a race as the Noble Lord, who was not bound by the same technicalities. Another part of the Right Honourable Gentleman's speech related to the conduct of Mr. Cochrane Johnstone, who, he said, had also protested his innocence in that House, and was therefore entitled to claim the same re-hearing as the Noble Lord, as he stood on the same footing. But here again the fact was otherwise. Mr. C. Johnstone had not appeared in that House since his conviction; while, on the other hand, Lord Cochrane had not fled from the penalties of the law, which indeed he laughed at anxious only to redeem his character. This conduct on the part of the Noble Lord had made a powerful impression upon his mind, which it would require a strong concatenation of evidence, and a very different Jury, to remove. He did not mean to impute any blame to the Jury, because, under all the circumstances, and with that charge

which was delivered to them, they acted as honourable, impartial, and just part.—He should be surprised, however, if that Jury, now that new things had transpired, and new lights were thrown upon the question, did not feel anxious to amend their own verdict and re-consider the case. The only difficulty he felt in considering the present question was, because Lord Cochrane appeared to be so slightly connected with the transaction. It was not as if Lord Cochrane had been found in the company of notorious sharpers and swindlers. If, indeed, he was at all involved in it, he had been so through a near relation, upon whose guilt or innocence he did not mean to pronounce, but from whose influence it certainly appeared Lord Cochrane had acted. In expressing his reprobation of the conduct of the Judge, he might, perhaps, incur the same censure as his Noble Friend (for so in his conscience he held him to be), but he should be the basest, the meanest, the vilest of beings, if he remained silent upon a sentence, from which the gallant and eminent services of that Noble Lord ought to have protected him, even if he had been guilty. (*Hear, hear, hear!*) And the House would deceive themselves, if they thought that no feeling of disgust was excited in the public mind by that sentence. There was not a single person with whom he had conversed (except the Noble Lord himself) who did not consider it as cruel and unjust, beyond all former precedent. Lord Cochrane was the only one indifferent to it as a punishment. In a conversation which he had held with him in the King's Bench, he (Lord C.) said he did not complain of the sentence; if he were guilty, he deserved it all and more; but what he most felt was the stain upon his character, and he had almost lost his power of existing under such a dreadful load. Such were the feelings of the Noble Lord upon the occasion. It was the first time, indeed, that the offence had been considered as a crime. In the eye of the law it was considered as a misdemeanor only; and in former and better times six months' imprisonment were considered as a very heavy punishment, for a misdemeanor. But here we had a large fine, a long imprisonment, and a punishment which, he contended, was unfit to be applied to a Naval Officer of eminent services, holding that high rank in the country which Lord Cochrane did. There was no quality of punishment in such a sentence.

No one would say that in reference to the individual who had petitioned the House on that day (M' Rae), and whose petition seemed to contain matter important to the present question, and Lord Cochrane, that the punishment of the pillory would be equal upon both of them. The pillory was never intended in this country as a punishment for persons in Lord Cochrane's station. Yet, in addition to all this, the Noble Lord opposite (Lord Castlereagh) had told them, that to expel Lord Cochrane from that House was to be considered as no punishment. It was merely a proceeding of course, following upon the record of conviction, no matter what circumstances might attach to that conviction. There might be corruption in a Judge—there might be perjury in a Jurymen—but still, according to the doctrine held that evening, they were to allow an innocent man to perish, provided he had once been convicted, under whatever circumstances. It was thus an Honourable Member on the floor (Mr. Banks) had argued; but then he soon forgot himself, and admitted that it might be proper to go into inquiry, when a proper case could be made out. Now, if ever there was a case which called upon the feelings, the character, and the justice of that House, the present surely was one of them. A great deal had been very eloquently said by Mr. Attorney General, in behalf of Special Juries. He (Sir F. Burdett) happened to know something of the mode in which those Juries were got together. He had been present at what was called the striking of a Special Jury, when I happened, said the Hon. Baronet, to be engaged in a great law question with you, Sir. (*I Laugh.*) The Hon. Baronet then went into an examination of some parts of the evidence, and contended, that it was preposterous to oppose to the declaration of Lord Cochrane the evidence of such men as Crane, the hackney coachman, and the postillion, with regard to the colour of the coat worn by De Berenger, and concluded by observing upon the probability of a man like Lord Cochrane, whose whole life had been devoted to the pursuit of glory, and whose conduct had been hitherto free from reproach or stain, becoming all at once a swindler and a cheat. He therefore hoped the House would at least consent to pause before it decided, though for his part he saw no reason for refusing to appoint a Select Committee.

## SUMMARY OF POLITICS.

### THE EMPEROR NAPOLEON.

Although the course of events has, for some time, belied the assertions made respecting Napoleon by his enemies, at any previous to his abdication, these vile calumniators have not been induced, by his overthrow, to relax in their vindictiveness. Formerly they told us that he was the cause, the sole cause, of all the misfortune which afflicted Europe, but more particularly, that to him, and to him only, was to be attributed the existence, and the constant accumulation, of those enormous taxes and that immense load of debt with which the supporters of corruption have loaded the country. To Napoleon, it was said, we owed the stagnation of commerce, the ruin of our manufactories, the high price of provisions, the interruption of our national improvements, and the consequent and rapid increase of pauperism, which like a mighty torrent, threatens to overwhelm the land. All this, and much more we were seriously and unceasingly told, originated in the inordinate ambition, and unrestrained power, of this "sanguinary oppressor," and as long as he was permitted to wield the sceptre of France, so long, we were confidently assured, would he continue to torment and afflict suffering humanity. It was by such representations as these, it was by a constant recurrence to them; it was by the sacrifice of truth, and the universal prostitution of the newspaper press, that nearly a general abhorrence was created of the character of Napoleon. Even a great proportion of his admirers, deceived by these imposing means, were gradually entangled in the vortex, and joined in the cry against him with as much good will as his most inveterate foes. Thus it was that corruption was able to strengthen itself, and that the means were obtained which effected the destruction of this supposed enemy to the human race.—It was natural for those who viewed Napoleon in that light, to contribute to his downfall, and against so formidable an accumulation of instruments as those employed to ac-

complish this, it was not possible for any man to contend successfully.—But what has been the result of Napoleon's overthrow? for if there has been no change in our situation for the better; if the *prophets*, who were the most active in hostility against him, have gained nothing by his fall, and all the advantages that followed it are enjoyed by France *alone*, it was surely worse than madness in us to make so many sacrifices to bring about an event, which, in so far as regards ourselves, has been attended with no beneficial results. Now, without going at all into the question about the continuance of our war taxes, of our war, naval and military, establishments, and of the loan system; without advertent to the obstacles which exist, and, I am afraid, will always exist, to a restoration of our commerce, to the encouragement which our manufactures were in use to receive, and to the revival of national improvements; each of which afford a melancholy and striking proof, that the fall of Napoleon has not brought with it any of those blessings which the nation were promised. Without, I say, referring at present to any of these topics, it appears very clear to me, from the manner in which the supporters of corruption still speak of Napoleon, that even they themselves are convinced they were formerly deceiving the public: that they were using the *name* of Bonaparte as a stalking-horse, to support the corrupt system by which they profit; and that they well knew, whoever governed France, that that nation would be great and powerful, and able to maintain a preponderance on the Continent, which would always serve as a check to any meditated designs of aggrandizement there, on the part of this country. They also knew, that France, by her exclusion from the rest of Europe for twenty years, must have rendered herself independent, by her internal means, of those articles which formerly constituted the sources of our commercial wealth, and national greatness. Whether, therefore, was a Bonaparte or a Bourbon who reigned in France, those men, who constantly and audaciously deceived the for-

mer; who were always telling us that Europe would be happy if Napoleon's power was broken, were fully aware that what we used to consider happiness, was gone for ever—that it would be impossible, by any change of rulers in France, to make things here what they were, when we so inconsiderately made common cause with the Allied Powers against the French nation. The object of these base writers was the degradation of France. They wished her to be completely conquered, her territory circumscribed, if not altogether dismembered, and the ancient order of things restored, which gave despotic sway to the nobles and the clergy. Calculating upon this result, they gave loose to the most infamous and unfounded calumnies of Napoleon. They called him all sorts of names, they unceasingly vented their spleen and rancour against him, because they found in him talents sufficient, with the assistance of the French people, to make France respected. This, and this alone, was the cause of all the abuse which was lavished, by these hireling newswriters, upon the name of Napoleon Bonaparte.—Had these men been capable of learning a lesson from experience, they would have frankly acknowledged that the result had disappointed them, and that causes existed, independent of the existence of Napoleon, why this country cannot get rid, even by the return of peace, of the lord which oppresses her. But this would be telling too much; it would not be a mere acknowledgment of error, it would unavoidably lead to a development of that system of corruption, by which the people of this country have been so long capuled out of their senses, and out of their money, while it would dry up that source whence the conductors of the corrupt press of this country have received the reward of their prostitution.—This is a condemnation, however devoutly to be wished for which was not to be expected under the present order of things.—These tools of corruption find it much better calculated to promote their views, to resort to their former practice of abusing Napoleon, than to explain to the people the true reason why his downfall has not been attended with the advantages which were anticipated. Thus they consider an easy and cheap way of maintaining the measures of corruption popular, and of diverting the public mind from the true causes of the dilemma into which those find themselves placed, who re-

lied on the specious promises of a prostituted press.—Accordingly, we find the *Courier* and the *Times* constantly teeming with scurrility and foul invective against Napoleon, perpetually holding him up as a *villain*, a *monster*, the *curse and disgrace* of the age; who, at one time, they recommend to be *cudgelled*, and, at another, *hanged*, for crimes which exist only in the brain of his infamous traducers. “By the bye (says the *Times*) “we perceive it stated, that this *fellow* “has the *impudence* still to call himself “*Emperor* and *King*. This is an insult “to the legitimate possessors of titles, for “which he deserves to be *CUDGELLED*.” While one cannot help admiring the *elegant* language with which this *honest* writer expresses his feelings, it is not without some risk of incurring censure that I remark—if it is *impudence* in Napoleon to call himself *Emperor* and *King*, it will be somewhat difficult to discover the *modesty* of those Sovereigns who solemnly recognised his claim to these titles, even *after his abduction*, in the treaty of Fontainebleau. Our Prince Regent also, through Lord Castlereagh, was a party to that treaty, which, whatever may be said to pervert the obvious inference, put his name to a document in which Napoleon was designated an *Emperor*. If, then, the *cudgell* is to be used at all on this occasion, how is its application to these *legitimate possessors of titles*, to be dispensed with? Or rather, would it not be more consistent with justice, to apply the cudgell to the shoulders of this impudent scribbler? In another paper this barefaced writer observes, “that so long as that monster (i. e. “*Napoleon*) *lives*, there will be no tranquility for France, for Spain, for Italy, “or for any other part of Europe.” Again, in speaking of America, he says, “This “*fellow* Bonaparte will certainly go on “until he is *hanged*. It is most ridiculous “to suppose that this *wretch* will ever “cease from his intrigues, whilst he has a “*hope* of bribing any one to take up arms “for him.”—It is impossible to read these passages, without execrating the individual who could thus recommend deliberate assassination; who could justify the murdering, in cold blood, even of our most determined enemy. Yet this is the writer who is constantly prattling about *religion* and *morality*, and who affects to deplore the *depravity* of the French people, not one of whom have been found depraved enough

to gratify the wishes of this hypocritical sycophant. This is the journalist too, who so very lately succeeded in working up the minds of the people of England to such a phrenzy, that, in many provincial towns, they disgraced themselves by *hanging and burning* the Emperor Napoleon in *effigy*. A correspondent informs me, that the people in Bolton, a manufacturing town in Lancashire, have since endeavoured to atone for this egregious folly. Like the inhabitants of many other respectable towns, they had permitted themselves to be hurried away by the popular clamour raised against Napoleon. The approach of the allied armies to Paris, had considerably increased the price of cotton goods, which, it had been said, could not find a market before on the Continent, owing to the anti-commercial decrees of the French Emperor, a statement which, it seems, the good people of Boston, like others in a similar situation, implicitly believed. When, therefore, Napoleon left the ground clear to his opponents, the Bostonians, for joy of an event, so conducive, as they thought, to their interest, and perhaps wishing not to be behind their neighbours in shewing their loyalty, prepared a wooden effigy of Bonaparte, which they hung upon a gallows, and afterwards burned, with the usual marks of disgrace attending a public execution. By and bye, cotton goods fell to the old price, in consequence of those manufactured in France occupying the market, which served as an outlet for our products. Thus had the effect of leading the inhabitants of Boston to revise their sentence against Napoleon, whom they now pronounced most innocent; raised his effigy from the grave; washed it from all the impurity which it had contracted in the earth; re-crowned it, and placed it in a situation where, as I have been assured, it is looked up to with respect, instead of terror and abhorrence. This shews that people are now returning to their senses; that the drunken fit, with which they were lately seized, is going off; and that they are beginning to exercise their own judgment, as to the cause of the distress and difficulties which every where present themselves. In fact, it did not require this example of the inhabitants of Boston to shew, that the public mind was dissatisfied with the manner in which the contest with France has terminated. Notwithstanding the recent shows and fetes, and the preparations still making for

similar amusements, in order to divert the attention from objects of more vital importance, a general apathy and indifference as to these matters, prevails amongst all ranks. Even those who used to be the most forward and the most clamorous against Napoleon, now begin to acknowledge that they have been deceived, that too much stress was laid upon his overthrow, and that, in many points, they are satisfied his character has been unjustly impeached. This is language which I hear almost every day from the lips of individuals who were unceasing, before the abdication of Napoleon, in justifying all the abuse that was thrown out against him, and many of whom did not hesitate to avow that they could with pleasure be his executioners. To what can such a change be ascribed? To the disappointment, evidently, which the fall of Napoleon has occasioned, and which has led his bitterest enemies to examine the charges brought against him with coolness, instead of contemplating the object of their antipathy through the medium of a vile, prostituted, and servile press. These results lay the foundation of a well grounded hope, that people in general are in reality beginning to think for themselves.—Should this turn out the case, to the extent which, I am sure, every honest man would wish, the day may not be far distant when the abominable tools of corruption, who have so long polluted the channels of useful and correct information, shall be put down, and corruption itself compelled for ever to hide its pernicious head.

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LORD COCHRANE.—Agitated as the public is in the discussion of one of the most important questions that ever came before them, I believe the reader will feel peculiarly interested in the debate of Tuesday night, in the House of Commons, respecting this nobleman. The question, be it always remembered, is not one between one party and another.—It is a question between corruption and integrity, whether power shall overwhelm an honest, upright, brave, indefatigable, servant, or whether the people shall interpose their voice to save a gallant and deserving officer from destruction? This is the view I have ever taken, which I shall ever take, of the subject. Of the evidence on the trial, I have always held but one opinion. It was, setting aside the charge of the Judge, as I thought, and as every one



thought with whom I have ever talked about it, wholly inconclusive. Alderman Wood has since declared, that had the Jury heard the *post facto* evidence, they would not have convicted his Lordship. Had I had the evidence as it stood, and been one of the Jury, I should have found his Lordship innocent; for, on a tripe reading of that evidence, I find nothing to implicate his Lordship. There breathes not on earth that man who loves freedom and the right of trial by juries higher than I do. There is not under heaven one who aspires his morning devotions for the welfare of his country, with more sincerity than I do, but as I lift my hands to heaven, and implore the protection of God upon my family, I cannot forget the cause of injured innocence.—I cannot forget Lord Cochrane.—On the nature of circumstantial evidence, I beg to offer a few remarks.—*First*, it obtains consequence from the links, the *dove-tailing* (if I may be allowed the expression) of transactions. It is not one or two insulated facts that would lead me to return a verdict of guilty or innocent against any individual. I must have the chain of evidence so connected, as to leave no doubt upon my mind; and I must have it so clenched in, as to leave no possibility of supposing one part false and another true.—*Secondly*, the character of the witnesses must be of such a kind, as to leave suspicion a day's march behind, especially if their testimony is to be contrasted with the declaration of an hitherto honest, unimpeached, open, generous character. Reader, apply these remarks to the case of my Lord Cochrane, and recollect that his case might, by the intervention of villainy, be your own; and, after reading the evidence carefully, put your hand upon your breast and say, if either the nature of the circumstances, or the character of the witnesses, would warrant you to pronounce a sentence of guilt? If not, and you will observe much use has been made, in the House, of an *if*, (an excellent legal *quit gate*), if not, let me put one or two questions more. Is there, or is there not, some appearance of vindictiveness in the sentence? Is there, or is there not, an appearance of meanness and timidity in reserving that only part of the punishment, which would have given the public an opportunity of expressing their opinion—not on the services of Lord Cochrane—these have been long known and valued;

but on the innocence, the unsullied honour and integrity, of one of the first naval chieftains of his day; one, whom we have occasion to know, is regarded in the fleet, as the only rightful successor to the perils of a Nelson, which Basque Roads can witness he has never shrunk from.—Dear, dear to British hearts is bravery, serving in support of their country. One thing only is dearer still—oppressed heroism suffering in the same noble cause. Could any thing add to Sir Francis Burdett's hard well-earned fame, it would be the part he has taken in the cause of his illustrious patriot. It has done equal honour to his head and to his heart. His speeches have been transcendently eloquent; his conduct beyond praise. Would we could say the same for all who term themselves Whigs? Entrenched behind the technicalities of Parliament, they have shunk from meeting the question on its broad basis of *moral justice*. In the name of the eternal God of Justice, I would ask, what have modes or forms to do with this unalterable rule of conduct? Must a man get an order from a magistrate to break open his neighbour's door, if he sees his house on fire and wishes to save it? or, must a House of Commons get an Act of Parliament, before they can interfere to save one of their own members from destruction? Terrible alternative. It is, however, some consolation, that constituents labour under no such restrictions; and to the immortal honour of the Electors of Westminster, they have given, what their country anticipated, an unanimous verdict of acquittal to the Noble Object of persecution. It may not, perhaps, be improper in concluding, to remark, what has been often and well observed, that the voice of the public must ultimately triumph; and, as Sir Francis Burdett noticed, the unbought, unbribed Electors of Westminster may be considered as having done for their country a great act of NATIONAL JUSTICE.

ARISTIDES.

## LAW OF CONSPIRACY.

SIR,—Previously to the judgment given by the Court of King's Bench, in the case of Lord Cochrane and others, I had committed to writing the substance of the following observations with respect to the nature of the crime alleged against these parties, having erroneously (as it now turns out) formed an opinion, that a conspiracy to raise the price of the Funds,

was not an offence recognised by the common law of the land.—The late Judge Blackstone, in the 3d section of his first Book of Commentaries, p. 63, says, "The municipal law of England is divided into two kinds. the *lex non scripta*, the unwritten or common law; and the *lex scripta*, the written or statute law.—When I call (says he) these parts of our law *leges non scriptæ*, I would not be understood as if all those laws were at present merely oral, or communicated from the former ages by word of mouth. It is true, indeed, that in the profound ignorance of letters which formerly overspread the whole western world, all laws were entirely traditional, for this plain reason, because the nations among which they prevailed had but little idea of writing. Thus the British, as well as the Celtic Druids, committed all their laws as well as learning to memory; and it is said of the primitive Saxons here, as well as their brethren on the Continent, that *leges sola memoria et usu retinebant*. But with us, at present, the monuments and evidences of our legal customs are continued in the Records of the several Courts of Justice, in Books of Reports and Judicial Decisions, and in the Treatises of learned Sages of the profession, preserved and handed down to us from the times of highest antiquity. However, I therefore stile these parts of our law *leges non scriptæ*, because their original institution and authority are not set down in writing, as Acts of Parliament are, but they receive their binding power, and the force of laws, by long and immemorial usage, and their universal reception throughout the kingdom.—Our antient lawyers, and particularly Fortescue, insist, with abundance of warmth, that these customs are as old as the primitive Britons;" and in a subsequent sentence, p. 64, Judge Blackstone informs us, that these customs were compiled by King Alfred, in a book, for the general use of the whole kingdom. "This book (says he) is said to have been extant so late as the reign of King Edward IV., but is now unfortunately lost. It contained, we may probably suppose, the principal maxims of the common law, the penalties for misdemeanours, and the frames of judicial proceedings."—In a subsequent part of the same chapter, p. 69, he says, "That the common law is now become a permanent

rule, which it is not in the breast of any Judge to alter or vary from, according to his private sentiments, he being sworn to determine, not according to his own private judgment, but according to the known laws and customs of the land, not delegated to pronounce a new law, but to maintain and expound the old one."—Seeing this definition of the common law by Judge Blackstone, which corresponds with Sir Matthew Hale, and other celebrated writers on the same subject, it appeared to me very improbable, that, in a code of laws compiled in the reign of King Alfred, there should exist one against conspiracy to raise the price of the public funds, which were not created for eight centuries afterwards, unless the legislators of old had been endued with the faculty of prophecy as well as law making; and, indeed, it appeared to me rather extraordinary why legislators of a modern date should (but which they have not done), pass a law of a similar import. The public funds are annuities granted by Parliament in consideration of certain sums advanced to Government; and whether the Throne of France be filled by a Bonaparte or a Capet, or whether a tri-coloured or a white cockade be worn by the military of that country, can make no difference whatever in the payment or receipt of these annuities. Any holder of 100*l.* in the 3 per cents. will, as long as the Government remains solvent, receive a half-yearly payment of 30*s.* at the Bank of England, and this annuity being a fixed sum, and payable during a fixed duration, is not of a fluctuating but of a definite value, capable of ascertainment to the most minute fraction by the rules of arithmetic; the ideas of stock jobbers on this species of property can no more alter its real and intrinsic value than those of a virtuoso on a piece of rare British coin. A Queen Anne's farthing, however it may be estimated by the curious, is not, in a legal sense, of any greater value than the fourth part of a penny.—Having ascertained from the highest law authorities what the common law is, let us see what these same authorities say on the subject of conspiracy. Sir Edw. Coke, in his third Institute, thus defines it: "Conspiracy is a consultation and agreement between two or more to appeal or indict an innocent person falsely and maliciously of felony, whom accordingly they cause to be indicted or appealed; and afterwards the party is lawfully ac-

"quitted by the verdict of twelve men." And by an act passed in the 13d year of King Edward I. the Parliament has thus defined it. "Conspirators are they that do confederate or bind themselves, by oath or other alliance, that every of them shall aid and bear the other falsely and maliciously to indict, or cause to indict, or falsely to move or maintain pleas, and such as retain men in the country with or fees to maintain their malicious enterprizes, and this extendeth as well to the takers as to the givers; and stewards and bailiffs of great lords, who, by their office or power, undertake to hear or maintain quarrels, pleas, or debates that concern other parties, than such as touch the estate of their lords or themselves."

This is the parliamentary exposition of the crime of conspiracy, and one would wonder, after such an exposition, how it could be extended. Sir Wm. Blackstone, in his 4th volume of Commentaries, p. 136, defines it in the terms of Sir Edw. Coke. "A conspiracy also to indict an innocent man of felony falsely and maliciously, who is accordingly indicted and acquitted, is a further abuse and perversion of public justice, for which the party injured may either have a civil action by writ of conspiracy, or the conspirators, for there must be at least two to form a conspiracy, may be indicted at the suit of the King." This is the whole definition, by that learned author, of conspiracy, although his book was originally written in the present reign, and underwent several amendments to the time of his decease, about 35 years ago.—Now, from the recent judgment of the Court of King's Bench, to whose authority we bend with every due submission, it would appear, that either Sir William Blackstone, Sir Matthew Hale, and other law writers, must have been egregiously mistaken in their ideas of common law, or otherwise they must have been grossly ignorant of what that law was with respect to the crime of conspiracy.—Perhaps in the recent endeavours to preserve the public records, the lost book compiled by King Alfred may have been found, and it might possibly contain a law imposing the punishment of fine, imprisonment, and pillory, on those who conspire to raise the public funds.—Should this be the case, it would be a curious and valuable record to the antiquarian, as well as the lawyer; for it

would prove the funding system to be of very remote origin, and we shall, perhaps, be informed by some of the learned, that the word *annum*, as well as *per cent.* is unquestionable proof of its existence at the time the Romans were in possession of this country. How this may be I do not take on myself to discover. All I can say is, that having once entertained erroneous opinions, I should be happy if you, or any of your correspondents, would convince me by fair and solid reasoning in what respect I have been so egregiously mistaken.

X. Y.

REVISAL OF THE LAWS.—A petition to both Houses of Parliament, in name of "the Householders, Traders, and other Inhabitants of the Cities of London, Westminster, the Borough of Southwark, and parts adjacent;" has been some time handed about, in the above places, for signatures. It states, "That your Petitioners have long suffered, and are now daily suffering, great inconveniences, heavy losses of property, and distressing insecurity of personal liberty, from the great and general abuses in the Administration of our common and civil Laws.—That the unexampled perversions of our political and civil institutions, both in principle and practice, are, to a considerable extent, at once the causes and the effects of our innumerable and lamentable failures in trade, and awful increase of pauperism, they fill our crowded jails, bethlems, and work-houses, cause idleness, despondency, and misery, among our once industrious poor; they multiply frauds, conspiracies, perjuries, oppressions, exactions, robberies, and murders, and every other crime and calamity, that can degrade and afflict a country. These facts now too well known to all experienced men, to need the particularising of any examples, proofs, or comments.—That the peculiarly degrading and perilous condition of the numerous classes of Traders, and others who are subject to the Excise Laws and Assessed Taxes; your Petitioners humbly recommend to legislative attention, as by various new and vexatious statutes, passed in the present Reign, some taking away rights and other inflicting great wrongs; and the present unconstitutional and dangerous practice of the inquisitorial courts, which now preside over these branches of the public revenue, a very considerable portion of his Majesty's Subjects, are not only placed beyond

the pale of the Constitution, but their property is exposed to the wildest ravages of unbridled power, without a chance of escape, legal defence, or legislative redress. These facts will, if necessary, be proved at the Bar of your Honourable House, by a multitude of recent examples and well authenticated cases.—Your Petitioners therefore humbly and earnestly pray, for the immediate revision, simplification, and radical reformation of our civil code, and that it may, in an authorised and legal form, be committed to writing and printing after the present manner of other civilized nations.—Your Petitioners are well persuaded, that greater cruelty and injustice cannot be inflicted upon the people of a populous and trading Country, than by attempting to govern them with laws, which they have not constitutionally sanctioned, and do not understand. Your Petitioners likewise humbly pray, that an inquiry into the official conduct of the Commissioners of Assessed Taxes, and Excise, may be instituted, and that we the undersigned, and all our fellow subjects, may be restored to the constitutional protection of the genuine charter'd law of the land, which most solemnly covenants and declares to us, that "justice shall in no case be denied nor delayed." This only, but nothing short of the restoration of this sacred bond, both in letter and spirit, do we now crave as the natural or divine right of all and every class of the British and Irish people.—And your Petitioners will pray.

At a Meeting held at the Thatched House Tavern, on Friday, July 8. 1814, it was resolved unanimously, "That the Inhabitants of these Islands have now arrived at that stage of civilization and mental improvement, as to render it essential to their permanent prosperity, to be made acquainted with the fundamental principles and practised forms, of that system of national law intended to govern and protect them. It is, therefore, the duty of every rational and honest man, in defence of himself, his kindred and posterity, to step forward in aid of that enlightened and humane Senator, Earl Stanhope, in the Upper House of Parliament, to stay the ravages of that blind and cruel stem of perverted law now in practice in this country, and to forward a Constitutional application by petition to the Legislature, to obtain a printed CIVIL CODE OF LAWS, on the principles of equity, recognized by the *Great Charter of English-*

*men's Rights*; and conformable to the general usage of the present times, and examples of other civilized nations. And that a subscription be opened, to defray the expense of petitioning both Houses of Parliament on this important subject."

#### AMERICA.

MR. CORBETT.—Sir.—I have been astonished, of late, to hear some disaffected people attempt to defend the conduct of the American Government, in having the presumption to go to war with us,—with us, Sir, who have all along treated them with so much lenity and forbearance. In the first place, Sir, if Bonaparte chose to pass non-sensical decrees, which he well knew he had *not* the power to enforce, it would have been tantamount in us to have been behind hand in passing decrees which we *had* the power to enforce, and, accordingly, we issued those famous Orders in Council, which will long remain a monument of the profound wisdom and policy of the restricting Minister, Spencer Perceval! By these Orders, wherever we met with American ships, we most condescendingly conducted them into our own ports, merely to prevent them falling into the hands of Bonaparte—Now, although this was done in the true spirit of *kindness*, yet these strange Republicans would never be convinced that it was done solely with a view to their benefit. They had the impudence to say that we were acting like pirates, and so blind to their true interest were they, that nothing would satisfy them but to pass Non-importation Acts, and to go to war with us! Some how or other, these Orders, planned as they were with wisdom, acted like an overcharged gun, by recoiling upon ourselves.—Our manufacturers found, that the loss of the American market, which used to take thirteen millions worth of their goods yearly, somewhat affected their prosperity; and they loaded the table of the House of Commons with petitions, stating, that they were suffering in consequence of the loss of the American trade. These petitions, and the *luminous* and *columnous* proof taken in support of them, had the effect of inducing Mr. Perceval, with the *best grace* possible, to assent to the rescinding of those famous Orders, *equally* admirable for their justice and wisdom—Well all reasonable men thought, that after this proof of our condescension, these Republican dogs would have been satisfied. But; no such thing!

They had the unaccountable presumption to say, that we should not, in searching their ships, take away those who we thought were British subjects, without proving that they were so! And, as we were not so foolish as to give up this point, to wait with us they went. Now, Sir, could any thing be so unreasonable as their conduct? Let us make the case our own, and then their unreasonableness will be apparent.—Suppose, that an American frigate is stationed in St. George's Channel, and that she brings to a British merchantman, and sends a midshipman on board to examine her.—The mid sees a man on board, who he thinks is an American. "No, by Jassu," says Paddy, "there you're wrong; now, for I was born at Ballynabog, and my father and mother can both testify it, only they're dead and gone."—"Damn the fellow," says the mid, "he is speaking like an Irishman, for to make believe; but I know he's an American; I have seen him at New-York; so come along you dog!"—Now can any thing be more proper than this? The man *may* be an American, and who can be so good a judge in these matters as a midshipman? If, after all, the man should really be an Irishman, he will be no worse of cruising about for half a dozen years in a trim frigate, and will have the advantage of seeing the world.—These are arguments which I have repeatedly heard used by those who should know best, and it is certainly very perverse in the Americans not to be convinced by them. What can we do then? We must use *iron* arguments with them, and thus convince them whether they will or not.—It is true, this forcing conviction upon them will put us to a vast additional expence, but *that* is a thing we have been pretty much used to of late, and nobody will grudge continuing to pay the Income Tax, when they see it expended in support of what, the Ministry assures us, are the maritime rights of Great Britain, and on which, they likewise tell us, our existence, as a nation, depends.—You, Mr COBBETT, have been among the Yankees. Pray write a friendly letter to Jonathan, advising him to give up the point; advise him, as a good woman in this country once advised her husband, who had been condemned by one of our petty tribunals to be hanged, but who had barricaded himself into the prison, so that they could not get at him;—"Oh, Johnny," said she, "come

"out and be hanged, and dinna anger the 'Laird.'"\*—Yours,  
G. H.  
*Strathmore, July 11, 1814.*

\* The Squire

SIAM OF FRANCE.—I have inserted below the *Exposé*, relative to the state of the French Empire, which, in imitation of Napoleon, the King of France has thought proper to publish. If the statement contained in that document is to be regarded as true; if the French treasury is in that exhausted state which it represents, if the provinces have been so much depopulated as is there set forth, it must occur to every reflecting mind, that it would have been much better to have allowed Napoleon to go on in his mad career, than to have wasted so much blood and treasure, as the Allied Powers have done, to accomplish his overthrow, for if, I say, this report is *true*, it was utterly impossible the French Emperor could go on, for any length of time, at the rate he was pursuing. In a very few years, perhaps months, he must have given way to the difficulties which pressed around him, he must have fallen amidst that ruin, which his boundless ambition had brought upon the French Empire. We are told by the *Time* newspaper, that the annual *Exposé* of Napoleon was a tissue of lies, and that it was well known throughout all Europe that the French ruler had ruined the country. Where, then, was the necessity of taking up arms, to destroy the power of a man, which had already so much declined, and the final termination of which was hourly accelerated by his mad and ruinous projects? Where was the policy of inflicting so many unheard-of miseries on the people of the Continent, by exposing them to all the horrors of war, to subdue an enemy whose almost immediate fall was anticipated as certain? and where was the propriety of involving this country in so many pecuniary embroilments, to counteract a system which already carried in its bosom the seeds of its speedy dissolution?

PARIS, JULY 19.

CHAMBER OF DEPUTIES, JULY 2.

The Abbe de Montesquieu, Count Des-soles, and M. Perroud, Ministers of State, having been introduced, the following Address of the State in which his Majesty found the kingdom was laid before the Chambers.—M. L'Abbe MONTESQUIEU,—Gentlemen, his Majesty, on resuming the reins of Government, was desirous to make known to his people the state in which he found France. The cause of the misfortunes which

overwhelmed our country has disappeared, but its effects remain; and even under a Government which will devote itself solely to reparation France will long suffer under the wounds inflicted by a Government which gave itself up to the business of destruction. It is necessary, therefore, that the nation should be informed both of the extent and the cause of its misfortunes, in order to be able to set a due value upon, and to second the cares which are to soothe and retrieve them. Thus enlightened upon the extent and nature of the mischief, it will be required only to participate in the labours and exertions of the king, to re-establish what was not destroyed by him, to heal wounds not inflicted by him, and to repair wrongs to which he is a stranger.—War, without doubt, was the principal cause of the ills of France. History presented not any example of a great nation incessantly precipitated against its will into enterprises constantly increasing in hazard and distress. The world saw with astonishment, mingled with terror, a civilised people compelled to exchange its happiness and repose, for the wandering life of barbarous hordes, the ties of families were broken, fathers have grown old far from their children, and children have been hurried off to die 100 leagues from their fathers. No hope of return soothed this frightful separation, habit had caused it to be regarded as eternal, and the peasants of Brittany, after conducting their sons to the place of separation, have been seen to return to their churches to put up for them by anticipation the prayers for the dead! It is impossible to estimate the horrible consumption of men by the late Government, fatigue and sickness carried off as many as battle, the enterprises were so vast and so rapid, that every thing was sacrificed to the desire of ensuring success, there was no regularity in the service of the hospitals—none in providing subsistence on the marches; the brave soldiers, whose valour constituted the glory of France, and who gave incessantly new proofs of their energy and patience, sustaining the national honour with so much brilliancy, saw themselves deserted amidst their sufferings, and abandoned, without resource, to calamities which they were unable to support. The goodness of the French was insufficient to supply this cruel neglect, and levies of men, which, under other circumstances, would have formed great armies, disappeared in this manner, without taking part in any engagement. Hence arose the necessity of multiplying levies without number, to replace incessantly by new armies the almost total annihilation of the armies preceding. The amount of the calls ordered since the end of the Russian campaign is frightful—

11th January, 1813 . . . . .	570,000
3d April Guards of Honour . . . .	10,000
First batt of National Guards . .	20,000
Guards for the coast . . . . .	90,000

21th August—Army of Spain . . . . .	30,000
9th October—Conscription of 1814, and preceding years . . . . .	120,000
Conscription of 1815 . . . . .	160,000
13th Nov—Recall of years 11 to 1811 . .	300,000
Jan 1814—Officers of Cavalry equipped .	17,000
1814 Levies en masse organised . . . .	143,000
	<hr/> 1,300,000

Fortunately these last levies could not be fully executed. The war had not time to cut off all those who had joined the standards. But this simple statement of the requisitions, enforced on the population during a period of from 14 to 15 months, suffices to give an idea of what the losses of the nation must have been during the last twenty-two years.—Many causes contributed, however, to repair these losses: the improvement of the condition of the inhabitants of the country by the division of the great landed properties, the equal distribution of inheritances, the progress of vaccination, were the most powerful. It was by means of the influence of these causes, and by exaggerating their success, that efforts were made to hide from the nation the extent of its sacrifices. The greater the number of men that were snatched away from France, the more studiously was endeavoured to prove that she courted this frightful destruction. But even if the accounts placed under view have been correct, the only result would have been, that the number of births should cause the number of deaths to be regarded with indifference! But another argument was to point out, even in the conscription itself, a source of increasing population—an impure source which introduced disorder and immorality into marriages concluded with precipitation and impudence. Hence a multitude of unfortunate families of ridiculous or indecent connections, so that even many men of the lower orders soon became weary of what they had embraced only to shelter themselves from the conscription, threw themselves once more in the way of the dangers they had sought to avoid, and offered themselves as substitutes, to escape misery which they had not foreseen, or to break ties so ill asserted.—How, besides, overlook the reflection, that although by multiplying these deplorable marriages, the conscription should have increased the number of births, it took annually away from France a great number of those full grown men who constitute the real strength of a nation. Facts prove clearly the truth of so natural a consequence. The population under the age of twenty years increased; beyond that limit the diminution was prodigious and uncontested.—Thus, while the Government attacked the sources of the national prosperity, it displayed incessantly in pompous array those remnants of resource that maintained a struggle against its wasteful measures; it studied to conceal the evil which it did, under the good, not of its own production, which was yet undestroyed. Master of a country, where long labours had amassed

great treasures, where civilization had made the support progress, where industry and commerce had, for the 60 previous years, made a wonderful spring, it seized all the fruits of the industry of so many generations and of the expenditure of so many ages, at one time to promote its pernicious designs, and at another to cover the sultry effect of its influence. The simple account of the present state of the realm will amply exhibit the illustrious prosperity of the nation struggling against a destroying principle, incessantly attacked, often smitten with terrible wounds, and perpetually drawing from itself resources, always exhausted.

#### MINISTRY OF THE INTERIOR

Agriculture has made a progress in France, this progress commenced long before the Revolution. Since that epoch new causes have accelerated its march, and these causes would have produced effects still more important, if destructive events had not diminished their influence. The propagation of good modes of agriculture by learned societies, the residence of a number of rich proprietors in the country, their experiments, their instructions, and examples, the creation of veterinary schools, produced the happy effects in our

wooly, but the errors and the faults of Government opposed continual obstacles to their development. The continental system caused enormous losses to the proprietors of vineyards in the south of France, many vineyards have been rooted up and the low price of wines and brandies discouraged this branch of culture generally. [In the Report states the effects produced by the forced attempts to introduce the Merino breed of sheep. It cost the Government 20 millions, but in consequence of the numberless and harassing orders addressed on the subject to the sheep masters, many of them renounced their flocks altogether, and the breed of sheep had been rather deteriorated by attempting to force the Merino cross into too hasty and unsuccessful use.] The establishments of studs had been more successful—Farmed at first by the old Government, they had been destroyed by the Revolution, and were not completely restored till 1826 when six studs were organized, besides 30 depots of stallion and studs of experiment. The breed of horses, until the fatal years 1810 and 1812, was excellent, and afforded numerous cavalry. The loss of a few months in these years amounted to 230,000 horses to be replaced at an expense of 105,200,000 francs. The stock was of course exhausted. Every horse cost the government at the rate of 400 or 450 francs. The mires in France have very sensibly increased. Our territories now present 479 mines of every different kind now working, which employ 17,000 workmen, and produce to France a raw material to the value of 26,300,000 francs, and to the State a revenue of 251,000 francs. This revenue was ap-

propriated to the payment of the administration of the mines. But this particular fund, which, on the 1st of January last amounted to 700,000 francs, was employed by the Government in defraying the expenses of the war. Yet in the midst of these continual vexations this chargeable and tyrannical legislation, our fields have been cultivated, our mines worked, and our flocks even preserved and anchored. Certainly nothing more evidently proves the industry of our nation and its happy disposition for the first of all the arts, that the progress of its agriculture under an oppressive Government. The labourer was torn from the soil by the conscription, his little gains were devoted to purchase substitutes, the produce of his labours was the subject of a dress requisition, but such is the superiority of our soil, and the industry of our cultivators, that agriculture will arise from its ruins, and become more prosperous than ever under the paternal Government which will terminate its career. —Manufacturing industry has not failed to recover the same liberty. Mechanics and chemistry, enriched by numerous discoveries, and skilfully applied to the arts, but enabled it to make rapid progress, the continental system, by compelling manufacturers to search for their own territories, for resources previously unknown, produced some useful results, but the obstacles which it opposed to the introduction of a great number of raw materials, and the want of competition which it occasioned, have raised beyond measure the price of most of the articles of French manufacture, and thus painfully affected both the rights and interests of the consumers. Some of these obstacles have already been removed; reasonable laws with regard to importation and export, will hereforward conciliate the interests of the consumers and those of the manufacturers, interests which are never conflicting but when the claims on either side are exaggerated. Our cotton manufactures are stated to employ 400,000 persons, and a capital of 100 millions. Those of Rouen have already considerably revived. The linen manufactures of Laval and Bretagne suffered much by the war with Spain where they found their principal market. Those of silk experienced the same fate. Their produce also passed through Spain to America and the colonies; but that channel was soon closed; Italy alone remained for them. It is true that our own internal consumption of silks increased, but what may we not hope to gain by the renewal of our communications with all Europe? In 1787 the manufactures at Lyons kept at work 15,000 looms; during the late war that number was reduced to 5,000, but Lyons has already received considerable orders, and promises to regain its former prosperity. The manufactures of woolles, leather, &c. suffered in an equal degree from the fatal influence of the continental system, the absurdity of which they strikingly evinced.

## COMMERCE.

Prohibitive laws did still more mischief to commerce than to manufacturing industry, if the difficulty of external communications narrowed the market of our manufactures, in that at least which remained open to them, they had nothing to fear from the competition of foreign articles; and though this might injure the interests of the consumers, at least a certain class of citizens seemed to profit by it. But commerce requires a more extensive and unimpeded field. Reduced to narrow and slightly gainful speculations, whenever it attempted to enlarge them, it found itself the slave of the uncertainties of a Government which wished to subject it to its caprices and calculations. The system of licenses rumbled and discouraged a great number of merchants, by raising hopes that were destroyed in a moment, by the will which had fostered them. Speculations, necessarily hazardous, require that the stability of laws should aid the prudence of men; but that abrupt and perpetual change from the system of licenses to a system absolutely prohibitive, caused immense losses to commerce. What tranquillity also could the merchants enjoy, who saw in the Government a rival as greedy as powerful, and always determined to reserve for itself the exclusive cultivation of a field which it interdicted to them? A long peace, a stable and liberal law, can alone inspire mercantile men with sufficient confidence to embark, without apprehension, in their useful pursuits. If we pass to the objects depending on the Ministry of the Interior, and immediately subject to the Government, their situation will appear still more deplorable.

## GENERAL ADMINISTRATION OF THE INTERIOR.

The Budget of the Ministry of the Interior, that is, the mass of all the funds appropriated to the different services of that department, amounted—

In 1811	to	117 millions.
In 1812	to	150 millions.
In 1813	to	110 millions.

The public Treasury never contributed to this mass of funds more than 58, 59, or 60 millions. The remainder arose from special duties and imposts. Here the Report states, that additional centimes on the general contribution were imposed for roads, prisons, canals, barracks, administration expenses, tribunals, buildings, public worship, depots of mendicity, &c. Thus the departments paid at an average 45 centimes additional per franc, some 62, and others even 72. But even these were not regularly given out by the treasury for public works, &c. Hence in the two years 1812 and 13, sixty millions were taken from the administration expenses, and the province, impoverished by additional imposts, enjoyed only a small part of these establishments, constructions, or other public works of utility, the hope of which had at least alleviated the weight of their sacrifices. The Report next proceeds to give a variety

of details on the subject of the administration of Communes and of Hospitals. The Communes had been successively charged with expenses which should have been borne by the general funds of the State, or by the departmental funds, of this kind were the salaries of commissaries of police, military buildings and beds, depots of mendicity, prisons, &c. Hence the scale of communal *actes* had vexatiously increased: the medium charge per head on every inhabitant was about 7 francs, 24 cents, and in some cities it even amounted to 17 francs, 33 cents. On the subject of hospitals, it is mentioned that a decree of the 19th of Jan. 1811, allowed only four millions for the expenses of founding hospitals throughout the kingdom, though this expense now amounted annually to nine millions. The War Department owed at present to the hospitals at Paris, for sick and wounded soldiers alone, the sum of 1,293,305 francs. The medicines were besides exhausted, the reserve stores for lint, furnishings, &c. were either wasted or lost; the amount of these losses could not be calculated, but might be estimated at several millions.

## PUBLIC WORKS.

Great enterprises had been undertaken: some from motives of real utility, many from ostentation, or from views in which the happiness of France had no share. While magnificent roads were opened on our frontiers, those of the interior were neglected; and the cross roads, abandoned by the communes which had no funds to support them, were very much deteriorated. The sum of 15,500,000 francs, voted by the departments for the roads had been misappropriated. There was an arrear of 98 millions in the department of bridges and causeways; and yet this service would be charged with all the extraordinary expenses occasioned by the disasters of the last campaign, thirty principal bridges had been blown up or burnt: provisional repairs in wood alone would cost 1,800,000 francs. The extent of the mischief was not yet known. The canals are in a better state, but the works for from France. That of Burgundy, which has already cost 12 millions, will require five more: and that of the Ourcq, undertaken on too extensive a scale, will yet want at least 18 millions. The canal of Burgundy, as well as that of St. Quentin, deserve praise. The works at Paris were a particular object of the cares of Government, because in them it found the means of parading a great magnificence, and of rendering itself popular. Some of them, particularly those of the public markets, will be truly useful. The works for the embellishment of the capital, though of a less useful description, will not be abandoned: the total expense of them is estimated at 52,500,000 francs, and more than 24 millions have already been laid out on them.—All these objects fall under the superintendence of the Minister of the Interior, the arrears of



whose department are not yet ascertained, but are computed at from 40 to 50 millions.

#### WAR MINISTRY

With regard to the expenditure of this department, we can only prevent an approximation. Here was the root of the evil; hence originated the disorder which extended to all the other branches, and the disasters the three last campaigns have plunged this department, already so complicated, into a complete chaos.—On the 1st of May last the land forces of France amounted to more than 520,000 men, including gens-*armés*, veterans, invalids, and cannoniers, guarding the coasts.—Besides this force, there are 152,597 military of all ranks enjoying half pay, 160,000 prisoners are returning to us from Prussia, Austria, England, and Russia. The Staff of the army, including engineers, inspectors, commissaries, &c amounts to 1874 individuals.

The pay, &c of men in active service  
for 1814, amounts to - - - 207,000,000  
Half-pay, &c to - - - 31,000,000

Total 238,000,000

The war of 1812 and 1813 destroyed, in artillery and ammunition, a capital of 250 millions; and the fortified places in the countries ceded by France had, since 1801, cost her 115 millions. The Budget of the War Ministry, properly so called, had been fixed under all heads, for 1814, at 360 millions.—But, in consequence of a division which had existed some years, there was, besides the department of the Ministry at War, that of the war administration. The expenses of the last were in 1812, 238,000,000 francs, in 1813, 274,000,000; and in 1814 they will be 350,000,000; which last sum will, for 1814, occasion a total expense, in these two branches, of 740 millions. The arrear also of these two branches is enormous: that of the ministry at war amounts, according to present statements, to 101,000,000; and that of the war administration to 157,000,000, making a total arrear of 261 millions. But these statements are not yet complete; the arrears of the armies, during the years 1811, 12, 13, and 14, are still unknown. Neither do they include a sum of 100 millions, *ordered* by the two Ministers, which they no longer reckon their debt, but which the Treasury has not been able to pay. We must add, also, to the expenses occasioned by the war, the requisitions of which we have already spoken, the expense of the guards of honour, and of the offers of mounted and equipped horsemen. The expense of the two latter heads, for the departments of Old France, may be estimated at 15,611,000 francs.

#### MINISTRY OF THE MARINE.

The navy has during 24 years been weakened, by the very means which have been taken to give it the appearance of strength. To make on all our coasts the display of a factitious power, to appear to meditate gigantic projects, while the means of accomplishing them were insufficient, even through

their exaggeration, to look on our seamen as recruits for the armies, was the system of the Government—a system which has led to the annihilation of the population of our coasts, and the complete exhaustion of our arsenals. The remonstrances of the most enlightened men, and of the most experienced mariners, and the evidence of facts, were incapable of checking those foolish enterprises, those violent measures, which belonged to a plan of dominion oppressive in all its parts. Thus in 1804 the projected invasion of England was purposely announced. Ports, which had never yet been entered, except by fishing-boats and packets, were in richly converted into vast maritime arsenals, immense works were commenced on a beach, which the winds and tide were successively covering with sand, forts, batteries, magazines, workshops, were erected, thousands of ships were built and bought up on all the coasts of the ocean, and in the interior of the rivers without considering how they should get to the place of rendezvous. Paris itself saw a dockyard formed within its walls, and the most valuable materials were employed in the construction of these vessels, which were not even fit for their destination. And what now remains of all these armaments? The wreck of some of the vessels, and accounts which prove, that for the successive creation and destruction of this monstrous and useless flotilla, upwards of 150 millions have been sacrificed since 1803. All that could be done by the talents of the engineers and the perseverance of the sailors, was done on the Scheldt. A numerous squadron manoeuvred safely in this river, which was thought inaccessible to large ships of war, but this success would not satisfy the pride of power.—The sides of the Scheldt were immediately covered with dockyards, which all the neighbouring forests would not have supplied, if the building had been carried on with the activity with which it began. It was in vain represented that a severe winter would change the position of the sand banks, and make the river impassable to ships of the first class—that at the approach of the ice the crews would be shut in the basins, where all that the most skillful officers could teach them in the summer would be forgotten.—Nothing was listened to, and the treasure of France was lavished on an object which it was impossible to accomplish. It is known by experience that the use of stores is most economical where vessels of all sizes are built in one place; yet, under pretence of giving employ to naval artificers, and of working the wood on the spot where it was procured, ships were built in port without any roads or safe anchorage, exposed during the winter to danger from the floats of ice, or having bars which could not be passed without difficulty and danger; from these ill-judged projects, the expense of the superintending officers was necessarily increased. The great works at Cherbourg, and the fine squadron at Toulon, are the

only good results from a system in which besides there was nothing but weakness and imprudence. All our arsenals are completely dilapidated—the immense naval stores collected by Louis XVI are squandered—and during the last fifteen years France has lost, in ill-judged expeditions, 43 ships of the line, 82 frigates, 76 corvettes, and 62 transports and packets, which could not be replaced at an expense of 200 millions. The port of Brest, the finest and best in Europe, and where there were vast and magnificent establishments, has been entirely neglected. Not only are the arsenals exhausted and unprovided with stores, but the ships are still more unprovided with good sailors. The loss of our colonies, the measures which oppressed commerce, the reverses experienced by our fleets, and the vexations exercised on our fisheries, would of themselves suffice to extinguish our maritime population, but the measure by which the last Government gave the crews of ships the organisation of regiments, pronounced the sentence of its absolute destruction. Many of these bodies supported in the plains of Germany and in the mountains of the Asturias, the lustre of the French arms, but they lost in the field the habits of the sea. Though the desire of glory might reconcile the others to it, this method of life was most repugnant to the habits and taste of the sailors, and above all tended to keep them in a celibacy most destructive to the maritime force of the kingdom. It is, therefore, absolutely necessary to put an end to this system. The total debt of the marine is 61,500,000 francs.

#### MINISTRY OF FINANCE

The Exposé of this Department is in explanation of the situation of the other Ministries. Before we give the general results, we shall explain by what means the old Government contrived to hide them. The old system bears at first the appearance of order and exactness. Before the commencement of each year, the Ministers of Finance collected the demands of the other Ministers for the expenses of the year, to form his budget of expenses. On the other hand, from the state of the produce of the taxes, he formed the budget of receipts. These two tables being balanced against one another, composed the general budget of the State, and seemed to promise, that by realising all the revenues, all the expenses might be provided for. But this equilibrium was fictitious, both budgets being distorted by inexactness and falsehood. The funds which were termed special, amounting to above 100 millions of francs yearly, were not put in the budget, and many extraordinary expenses were not placed under the head of any Ministry. The expense of the war was estimated much below its real amount. One conscription or more was raised in the course of the year, equipments, stores or works were ordered, without a proportional augmentation in the

supply. The receipts became thus insufficient, and considerable arrears were created. —The estimated produce of the taxes, as stated in the budget, was for the most part eventual or exaggerated. Thus the budgets of 1812 and 1813 present deficit of a 312,032,000 francs.—The head of the Government was not ignorant of these deficits but he was always in the hope of covering it either by those foreign tributes, which were the fruit of his first campaigns, or by drawing from the resources of the special fund in the *Domaines extraordinaires*, in the *Caisse d'amortissement*, in the *Caisse de Service*, &c. This is it that all the funds not destined to the service of the war have been, in fact, employed in it. Thence proceeds that stream in the finances which we shall proceed to detail.

1. There has been taken from the special funds, and employed in the service of the Government 53,380,900 fr.

2. There have been anticipated in the *Caisse du Domaine et de la Couronne* 237,550,000 fr.

3. The *Caisse de Service* has advanced and consumed 162,014,000 fr.

4. In it has been abstracted from the *Caisse d'amortissement* 272,825,000 fr.

5. Added to these are the arrears existing in the expenses, at the particular charge of the Ministry of Finance, since the payment of the delayed, or refused only when funds had been otherwise employed. This arrear, comprising twelve millions of francs of half pay, due and not paid, amounts to 77,500,000 fr.

Thus, the total anticipation and application of funds by the old Government amounts to 866,169,000 fr.

If we add to this sum the arrears of the different Ministries which are not yet exactly known, but which may be taken at 500,000,000 francs, the sum total of anticipations and arrears is 1,365,169,000 francs.—If we also add the creation of 17 millions of perpetual rents, representing a capital of 340,000,000, of which half indeed was applied to the payment of debts anterior to the year 8, there will result as the total of the increase of the debts of the State in the course of 13 years, the sum of 1,645,169,000 francs. This calculation is doubtless terrible, but we must not look on the evil as irremediable. The Minister of Finance will explain to you what are the sums immediately requisite, those to be required at distant periods, and those which resolve themselves into a change of interest only. For us, called on simply to present you the Exposé of the present situation of the kingdom, we have confined ourselves to this painful task, we have described nothing. The details will shew you at once the evil and its remedy. You will see the force of life always active, which has supported France amidst all its losses, you will see the resources which have struggled against disasters ever springing up anew, and you will wonder to behold so fertile, and so well cultivated, those fields which have so

long been exposed to all kinds of devastation. Though terrified by the deed of the Government, you will see in the hands of individuals capitals ready for useful undertakings, and far from departing of the prosperity of France, you will see from what she has supported in adversity, the flourishing state to be expected under a beneficent Government. But the cares of the Government, it shall not be confined to the re-establishment of a prosperity purely material. Other sources of happiness and glory have been cruelly attacked. Morality, more than public wealth, has not escaped from the fatal influence of a bad Government. That which has just been put an end to, completed the evils which the Revolution had caused. It re-established religion merely to make it an instrument for its own purposes. Public instruction submitted to the same dependence, was not answerable to the efforts of the respectable body which directed it. These efforts were opposed by a despotism which wished to rule the minds of all, in order to destroy the bodies without resistance.—The national education must take a more liberal course, to maintain itself on a level with the information common in Europe, by returning to principles now long forgotten amongst us. Unhappy we cannot also restore at once to France those moral habits, and that public spirit, which cruel misfortune and long oppression have there almost annihilated. Noble sacrifices were opposed, generous ideas were stifled, the Government not content with condemning to inaction the virtues which it dreaded, excited and fomented the passions which could do its service, to suppress public spirit, it excited personal interest to its aid, it offered its favours to ambition, in order to silence conscience, it left no other state but that of servitude, it no other hope but those which it could alone fulfil. No ambition appeared, industry, no pretensions exaggerated, hence that incessant agitation of all interests and of all wishes, hence that instability of situation which left hardly any man the virtues of his condition, because all thought only of emerging from it; hence in fact, incessant attacks upon every kind of probity by seductions against which the most generous characters could hardly defend themselves. Such were the melancholy effects of that corruptive system which we have now to combat. The difficulties of the moment are great, but much may be expected from time. The nation will feel that its zealous concurrence is necessary to hasten the return of its own happiness; its confidence in the intentions of its King, the lights and wisdom of the two Chambers, will render the task of Government more easy. If any thing can prevent the speedy realization of these hopes, it will be that restless turbulence which wishes to enjoy without delay, the blessings of which it has the prospect. While regret-

ting the benefits which must still be waited for, let us enjoy those which are offered to our acceptance. already peace re-opens our ports, liberty restores to the merchant his speculations, and to the mechanic his labours, every one sees the end of his calamities. Can we be indifferent to this future repose, after having so long lived amidst storms and alarms? You, Gentlemen, will not be insensible to this consideration. The King confides equally on his people and their Deputies, and France expects every thing from their generous agreement. What more fortunate circumstance than that of an Assembly which has deserved so well of its country, and a King who is desirous of being its father? Enjoy, Gentlemen, this fortunate reunion, see what France expects from it, what you have already done for it, let these happy commencements encourage you in your career, and may the gratitude of your latest descendants be at once your emulation, your glory, and your recompense.

**THE PRISONER.**—The Chamber of Deputies ordains that this *Exposé* shall be printed and distributed, at the rate of six copies to each member.

# THE POLITICAL CONSTITUTION OF THE SPANISH MONARCHY. PROMULGATED IN CADIZ, ON THE NINETEENTH DAY OF MARCH, 1812.

(Continued from the Register of July 2.)

ART. 1. 1. 2. In addition to the prerogative of sanctioning and promulgating the laws, the King possesses many other riches and power, such as—1st, Publishing such decrees, directions, and instructions, as may appear likely to contribute to the due execution of the laws; 2d, Taking care that justice may be promptly and effectually administered throughout the kingdom; 3d, To declare war, and make and ratify peace; laying, afterwards, authentic documents of the same before the Cortes; 4th, To nominate, by and with the assistance of the council of State, all civil and criminal magistrates; 5th, To appoint all civil and military officers;—6th, To present, by and with the advice of the council of State, to all bishopricks, ecclesiastical benefices, and dignities; 7th, To bestow honours and distinctions on all classes, within the limits of the laws; 8th, To command the navy and army, and appoint the generals; 9th, To dispose of the forces, distributing them according to his judgment; 10th, To nominate ambassadors, ministers, and consuls, and direct the commercial and diplomatic relations with other States; 11th, To regulate the coinage of money, on which shall be impressed his image and name;

12th, To decree the application of funds, to answer the demands of each branch of the public administration, 13th, To pardon criminals, consistently with the law, 14th, To submit, for the consideration of the Cortes, such or reforms, as may appear to him beneficial to the nation, in order to their being deliberated on, according to the prescribed form, 15th, To detain, or permit to be published, with the consent of the Cortes, the decrees of the councils, or pontifical bulls, advising, should they be of general benefit, with the council of state, as to their influence upon affairs of State, or of material consequences; and, should they appear of doubtful tendency, turning them over to the supreme tribunal of justice, to be proceeded upon according to law, 16th, To appoint, and grant, liberal allowances to the different secretaries of State.—172. The restrictions upon the royal authority are as follow: 1st, The King, under no pretext whatsoever, can prevent the meeting of the Cortes, at the time, or under the circumstances, directed by the Constitution: nor suspend nor dissolve them, nor, in any way whatsoever, check nor embarrass their deliberations. Those who are guilty of advising him to, or assisting him in, any of these acts, shall be punished as traitors. 2d, The King shall not leave the kingdom, without the consent of the Cortes, and, in case of so doing, shall be considered to have abdicated the throne. 3d, The King cannot renounce, yield, deliver up, or make over, to any other person, the royal authority, or any of his prerogatives. 4th, If, under any pretext whatsoever, he may wish to abdicate the throne in favour of the lawful heir, he cannot do it without the consent of the Cortes; he cannot grant, yield up, or exchange, any city, town, village, or part of the Spanish territory, however small it may be. 5th, He cannot make any offensive or defensive alliance, or special treaty of alliance or commerce, with any foreign power, without the consent of the Cortes. 6th, Neither can he bind himself, by any treaty, to subsidize a foreign State, without their consent. 7th, He cannot cede or make over the national property without consent of the Cortes. 8th, He cannot, without a previous decree of the Cortes, directly or indirectly, impose contributions, or make loans, under any name or for any object whatsoever. 9th, Neither can he grant any exclusive privi-

lege to any person or corporation. 10th, He cannot dispose of any corporation or individual of their property, neither can he dispossess them of the enjoyment or direction and police of it; and, in case of necessity, for the general advantage of the public good, it should be required to convert that of an individual for a particular object, it cannot be done without a full indemnification, by just valuation of the profitable person. 11th, The King cannot punish, or deprive any individual of his liberty, under any pretence, the secretary of State who signs, and the judge who executes the order shall be responsible to the nation, and, in such case, punished as criminals against civil liberty. 12th, Only in case of treason, or any attempt against the security of the State, can the King give directions for personal arrests, and, in such case, the offender must be delivered up, to a competent tribunal, within forty-eight hours. 13th, Prior marriage, the King shall advise the Cortes, to obtain their consent, in a fruit of which he shall be understood to have abdicated the throne.—173. On the King's accession to the throne, or, if he should be underage when his Government begins, he shall make oath before the Cortes, according to the following form—*I, Isabella, by the grace of God, queen of the Constitution of the Spanish Monarchy, King of all Spains, &c. &c. before God and the holy Sacraments, that I will extend and protect the same without interruption, without permission, without restriction, without the least relaxation, and in conformity with the laws, and the laws and political constitution of the nation, and, in doing so, I will not make over, or diminish, any part of the kingdom, or I will receive no contribution, or any other thing, without it shall have been decreed by the Cortes: that I will respect private property, and, above all, the civil liberty of the nation, and rights of every individual: and if, to what I have now sworn, or any part of it, I should be found to act contrary, such act shall be null, void, and not be obeyed. If thus I do, may God reward and protect me, if not, may it be at my own peril.*—174. The kingdom of Spain is indivisible: from the period of the promulgation of this, the crown shall descend, in regular order, by right of primogeniture and re-

presentation, through the legitimate heirs, male and female, of the lines to be hereafter pointed out.—181. The Cortes shall exclude from the succession, any person or persons who may be incapable of governing, or who, by any act or deed, may have deserved to forfeit their right to the same.—182. In case of the extinction of the lines before mentioned, the Cortes shall make such nomination as may appear to them best calculated to insure the national prosperity, following, as much as possible, the rules established for the succession.—185. The King is under age until the completion of his eighteenth year.—186. During the King's minority, the kingdom shall be governed by a Regency.—187. The same alternative shall be resorted to, when the King, by any moral or physical cause, may be rendered incapable of governing.—195. The Regency shall exercise the royal authority, under the restrictions ordered by the Cortes.—213. The Cortes shall fix the annual revenue for the support of the King's household, which shall correspond with the dignity of his situation.—214. To the King shall belong all the royal palaces which appertained to his predecessors; and the Cortes shall grant what land they may consider necessary for his personal recreation.—226. The principal secretaries of state shall be responsible for every order they may thus authorise; and, in case of acting contrary to the laws, having committed it by the King's orders, shall be no violation.—227. The secretaries of state shall make an annual estimate of the public expenditure requisite for their branches of administration, and deliver in a return of those which have been incurred, according to the form directed.—231. There shall be a council of state, composed of forty persons, who must be citizens, in the exercise of their rights; excepting foreigners, who shall not be eligible, although possessed of letters of citizenship.—236. The council of state is the only one with which the King shall advise, on matters of importance in the state; such as, to decide on a proposed act of the Cortes, declare war, form alliances, &c.

*Chap. V. Of the Tribunals, and Administration of Civil and Criminal Justice.*  
—Art. 242. To the tribunals appertain, exclusively, authority to administer justice in civil and criminal causes.—243. Neither the King nor the Cortes can, under any circumstances, exercise the judicial authority, advocate a pending trial, or command a cause to be rejudged.—244. The laws shall direct a general form and order of trial, to be followed by all the tribunals, which neither the King nor Cortes can dispense with nor change.—245. The tribunals shall exercise no other function than that of judging and causing their judgments to be carried into execution.—246. Neither can they, for the administration of justice, suspend any law, or form new ones.—247. No Spaniard can, either in civil or criminal causes, be tried by any commission, or any other than the competent tribunal, established by an anterior law.—248. In common causes, civil and criminal, there shall be but one form of trial, for all classes of persons.—249. Ecclesiastics shall continue in the enjoyment of their privileges, as far as the present law may prescribe, or future direct.—250. The military shall also enjoy such privileges as the present or future orders may permit.—251. A magistrate, judge, must be a native of the Spanish dominions, and above twenty-five years of age: the laws shall direct what other qualifications shall be required.—252. A magistrate, or judge, cannot be removed from his situation, whether temporary or perpetual, without he be legally sentenced for some crime, fully proved; nor suspended, but for some accusation legally preferred.—253. If a complaint, against any magistrate, should be preferred to the King, and, upon the case being drawn out, it appear well founded, he may, by and with the advice of the council of state, suspend him, passing the case immediately to the supreme tribunal of justice, to be tried according to law.—254. The responsibility of observing the laws, for civil and criminal justice, shall be attached to judges, who shall be tried for any misapplication of the same.—255. Subornation, prevarication, or corruption, in a magistrate or judge, render him worthy of public trial and punishment.—256. The Cortes shall decree a competent salary for the judges and magistrates.—257. Justice shall be administered in the name of the King; and the acts and deeds of the superior tribunals shall likewise be registered in his name.—258. The civil, criminal, and commercial code of laws shall be the same throughout the kingdom: the Cortes may, from any particular circumstances, make such variations in it as they may deem requisite.

# COBBETT'S WEEKLY POLITICAL REGISTER.

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## LORD COCHRANE.

Such is the force of malignity, such the depravity of some minds, that there are still to be found men, who profess to be the strenuous advocates of truth and liberty, who are anxious, notwithstanding the incontrovertible proofs which have been adduced to the contrary, that my Lord Cochrane should be regarded as that guilty wretch, which it is the interest of corruption he should be regarded throughout the country. To see the tools of his oppressors active in endeavouring to rob his Lordship of his well merited fame; to witness a vile and prostituted press lewdling their shafts of malice against him, and making, as it were, a last bold effort to turn the scales of public opinion; does not in the least surprise me. It is the business of these men to keep the mask over corruption; it is natural, therefore, to expect them active in this dark and dirty work. But to behold men, who profess to be the defenders of innocence who are constantly boasting of their attachment to truth, of their adherence to principle, and of their firm determination to resist oppression, to perceive men like these, seeking, on every occasion, and in every occurrence, a cause for censuring the conduct of Lord Cochrane, is an enigma so inexplicable, that I feel much disposed to question the sincerity of their pretensions to the name of Patriots. Even although appearances might, at one time, seem to militate against his Lordship, is he to be condemned on that account? Has he no right to be heard? and is the mere *ipse dixit* of the accuser to be held a final verdict? His most avowed enemies, who are well known to be the creatures of corruption, do not carry their views so far as this. Yet there are men, and men too, who would fain have the world believe that they are the *friends* of my Lord Cochrane, jealous of his honour, and partisans in his triumphs, who hesitate not to join in the cry of accusation, whenever his Lordship's enemies think fit, in the

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rage of disappointment, to prefer new charges against him.—I hope it was not some such *kind friend* as this who advised his Lordship to keep from the public eye, so long as has been done, the letters which I am now about to publish, and which I expected long ago to have seen in all the newspapers. They were written by De Keizer to my Lord Cochrane, since his commitment to the Bench. I read them fourteen days ago; at which time also I saw printed slips, which had been previously prepared by his Lordship's order, for the purpose of being sent for publication to the London newspapers. These letters appeared to me of so little consequence, as containing, *in themselves*, so complete a *reputation* of the charge, which the writer meant to prefer, that it appeared to me the best way to send them forth without any comment. To my Lord Cochrane, I am sure, it was of no consequence how they were published. He, I am certain, felt no way uneasy about the base insinuations which they contained. His only wish was, that it should not be supposed, in any quarter, that he was *afraid* to make their contents known; and, it will easily be perceived, that if his Lordship had not been actuated by this feeling, he would not have so readily given orders to prepare them for the press.—He was prevented, however, at that time from sending them to the newspapers in consequence, as is now said, of their not being thought “sufficiently interesting for publication.”—I do not know who gave such an opinion, nor do I care, but this I know that the printed slips were delivered up to his Lordship's friends. I afterwards heard, that they had thought it advisable to transmit them to Lord Sidmouth.—I am now, however, told that this was a mistake, and that they were afterwards returned to my Lord Cochrane. He this as it may I cannot help regretting, that his Lordship was diverted from his original purpose of sending them to the newspapers. Had this been done at that time his enemies would not have had this circumstance

to work upon, in order to excite public prejudice; neither would it have been necessary now, to counteract, by any explanation, the vile and cowardly insinuation, which has since appeared in the *Morning Post*, and in the *Morning Herald*, that the letters had been kept back from fear on the part of his Lordship. As to the letters themselves, I have already said, that they appear to me to contain a complete refutation of the charge intended to be picked against my Lord Cochrane. Besides, supposing they had been no way contradictory, supposing De Berenger had not acknowledged himself, as he now does, to be the real De Bourg, who at the same moment he contends that he is innocent, he would have been too late in his appeal, for there is not, I will venture to say, one man amongst ten thousand, who will believe a word he says after the attempt he made to establish an *alibi*, by the *perjury* (if what De Berenger now says is true,) of four or five witnesses. Whether he is the real De Bourg, or not, the reader will not fail to remark, that the letter, signed "Dundonald," which the enemies of my Lord Cochrane gave to the public, but which completely failed in its purpose, that this contemptible letter was dated the 10th of July, and that the one given below, in which De Berenger professes to make a confession of his guilt, and charges my Lord Cochrane, his uncle, and Mr. Butt, with being parties to the hoax, is dated on the 11th of July, only one day after the former. So remarkable a coincidence justifies the suspicion, that both letters may have originated from the same source. Whatever may be in this, it is clear, that though De Berenger threatened to publish a copy of his letter, if my Lord Cochrane declined answering it, he has never thought proper to take that step. I do not know what may be the sentiments of the writers of the *Morning Post*, and *Morning Herald* respecting Lord Cochrane's courage; but I suspect much, the majority of people will think with me, that the conduct which De Berenger has thought proper to pursue, in this instance, was more the result of fear, of a consciousness that he had committed to writing, for private consideration, and, what appears more than probable, for private ends; what he dared not publish to the world.

13, Green-street, April 21th, 1814.

SIR,—Having, I trust, given ample time and opportunity to those who have en-

deavoured to asperse my character, to learn from your own mouth the circumstances which induced you to call upon me on the 21st of February last, I feel it now due to myself no longer to delay this my earnest request, that you will afford me that explanation.—I beg also to call your attention to a narrative, accompanied by letters from Colonel Le Marchant, which have appeared in the public papers.—I am, Sir, your obedient servant,  
Baron de Berenger. (Signed) COCHRANE.

King-street, Westminster, April 11th, 1814.

MY LORD,—I have the honour of acknowledging the receipt of your lordship's favour, which has this moment been delivered, and I feel great pleasure in being able to assure you that ere it arrived, my voluntary confutation of Mr. Le Marchant's statement had already been completed and delivered to my solicitor, with a view of employing his clerk to prepare a fair copy; for I continue still so indisposed, as to write under every disadvantage should you desire to possess it, have the goodness to send to Mr. G. Tahourdin, Inner-Temple, although it was my intention to publish the same before any communication had taken place with your Lordship, it now is much at your service. I trust that similar reasons will plead my excuse, both with you and with the other members of your respected family, for my apparent neglect in not addressing a line, or even sending a message to either, since I have, by extraordinary compulsion, and under still more extraordinary charges, been brought to town.

Rest assured, my lord, that nothing could exceed the pain I felt, when I perceived how cruelly, how unfairly, my unfortunate visit of the 21st of February was interpreted (*which, with its object, is so correctly detailed in your affidavit*) but my agony is augmented, when I reflect, that acts of generosity and goodness towards an unfortunate man, have been, and continue to be, the accidental cause of much mortification to you, and to your kind relations. a fear of increasing the imaginary grounds of accusation, caused me to refrain from addressing you, or any part of your family, particularly as the time draws near which must fix all blame upon the proper persons, and convince the public how unjustly I have been treated. I have the honour to remain with unfeigned respect, my lord, &c.  
(Signed) CHAS. RANDOM DE BERENGER,

MY LORD,—After the proofs of extraordinary fidelity, which I have given to your Lordship, after experiencing numerous hardships and distresses, by which my body and mind are alike exhausted, and which, with other severities endured would not have been inflicted on me, had not you and Mr. C. Johnstone's political principles occasioned them, I feel justified in saying, that all these tortures, as well as my absolute ruin in every sense, I owe to my anxiety for you and Mr. J.'s welfare; for there can be no doubt, that with different feelings I could have avoided all these heart-rending events.

Not like Le Marchant did I offer you my assistance for reward—but I gave it and my all but life, unasked, and uncondemned, even after ill-treatment, and before I had any communication with any body.—I threw myself into the gap to save you, feeling for your situations, regardless of my own. Have I not done all this?—and has any one shewn any feeling for me?—No! not even the *cheap* reward of applause has been mine.—A manly character will always claim the privilege of remembrance, and I do, for nothing can awe or prevent such a one from explanation,—for this reason, I have to express my surprise at your Lordship's indifference to me, for, during my long and painful imprisonment, I have not experienced the slightest notice from you, (for the formal letter through Mr. Beckitt, cannot be deemed a friendly communication.) no, not even a verbal message, though on other occasions your pen was not only ready, but much too prompt, and since Tuesday last, I have neither seen Mr. J. or heard from him.

I hear you say, our mental distress is to get, to think of *any body but ourselves*.—So was mine, when I was dragged to London and daily tortured, but I thought of *every body but myself*,—even after I had discovered, that, owing to the breach of a sacred promise, I had been branded with infamy, as a man who had absconded from bail, to fix his friends with a debt;—even after perceiving the unfair motives of your Lordship's ill-judged and to me ruinous affidavit—even after learning in Court the designing, and towards me, cruel words, which you have uttered to induce the world to think me the basest of villains. Had your Lordship been acquitted, you must have expected, that I should seriously require an explanation of this singular de-

portment; perhaps for such reasons, you remained from communicating; but is the mean use of self-consideration not filled by you now, and what shall prevent me from mentioning it? If I do not, I must perish in body, mind, character, and prospects.—That I have forborne after very aggravating events cannot be denied, and your anxiety and distress of mind I pity, but I too am in distress of mind, without those soothing resources that you have; yet, thank God, I remain still a man, I only think of my misfortunes with a view to a remedy.—Dreadful as you both are situated, fate is not so cruel towards you as it is to me, for with your means you can live any where, but my want of means forces me to seek a living, which every where will be opposed by my debts, and by the disgrace I suffer under, *certainly* on your account. What is your intention as to me?—how do you mean to heal my wounds, if healed they ever can be?—These are natural and justifiable questions, which demand a *specy* reply, for reasons of justice as well as prudence.—I am determined not to lose a moment, for my mind I must make up, or perish in every sense, perpetual imprisonment alone is a prompter sufficient to claim my exertion, I did not feel gratitude for the fidelity of those, who, endeavouring to serve me, have brought difficulties on themselves; if I cannot reward them, protect them I will, to the utmost of my power; for misfortunes shall never blunt my gratitude or my humanity.

Expecting your Lordship's early reply, I have the honour to be, my Lord, your Lordship's most obedient humble servant,

(Signed) C. R. DE BERINGER.  
*Sunday, June the 12<sup>th</sup>, 1814.*

MY LORD,—I have the honour of reminding you, that my letter *prece* for a reply, and yet I am not favoured with such. I feel very good grounds, from *what I have just learnt*, to complain; and I hastily say, my Lord, that you as well as others, no matter if in England or elsewhere are in honour bound to act differently by me.—I remain, my Lord, &c.

(Signed) C. R. DE BERINGER.  
*June 15<sup>th</sup>, 1814.*

*King's Bench, No. 12 in 10,  
July 3<sup>d</sup>, 1814.*

MY LORD,—Although it could scarcely be expected that I should address your Lordship again, after the extraordinary  
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manner with which you sought to defend yourself at my cost, even in direct opposition to what must be the conviction on your mind, I do so once more, from an impulse which has marked my conduct throughout, and which most decidedly varies from the above described. Instead of seeking to injure any one, I cannot even reconcile the idea of taking any measure to serve myself, which may tend to the prejudice of others, and I consider that all those who, more or less, share misfortunes in which I am involved, are in some degree entitled to be consulted as to the propriety of a step, by which their own interest may be affected. I therefore beg leave to inform your Lordship, that certain measures will be taken in the House of Commons, on Monday next, which will benefit us both, if we act fairly towards each other, they will indeed confer infinitely more benefit on you than on me, on the contrary, I have to assure you, that should either of us endeavour to sacrifice the other, ruin to the unfair pleader is certain, and which may perhaps extend to both.

One more, therefore, I raise my warning voice, and I point to the ill-judged measures, and the ruinous result in argument, to prove that in a last effort it is policy to abandon modes of proceeding which, from an unjust impulse, from an ungenerous endeavour of self-preservation, have brought our misfortunes to the very last chance of remedy.

I therefore frankly ask your Lordship, whether any step which I may honourably resort to, (and I have given strong proof), that others I am incapable of, even when urged by the most distressing pressure will be thwarted by your intended plan of operation? The latter I do not wish to know, the former I have no hesitation to communicate in a way consistent with caution and the present situation of things.

If my present or former language should not be deemed acceptable, I beg to remind your Lordship that I use the privilege of a misanthrope, who has just cause for being so, and who, without intention to offend is sufficiently manly to meet any consequences if so he should do—and while this subject is before me, I must apprise you, that I have received anonymous letters from persons styling themselves to be your friends, containing offers of proving for me. I am not to be bought with money, but for acts of kindness I have often sacrificed

myself. Anonymous letters I despise; and should your Lordship know the writers, I beg leave to assure them through you, that I shall affix any future similar communication, if without a name, to the chapel door here, with my comments attached. I have the honour to be, my Lord, &c.

(Signed) C. R. DE BLANCHER.

No 12 in 10, King's Bench,  
11th July, 1814.

MY LORD,—I have written several letters to your Lordship, all of which remain unanswered. Were they not sufficiently explicit to stimulate a reply, or was it more expedient to pass in silence, many truths, which neither denial or artifice could defeat? The weight of the latter influence I fully perceive,—so much so, that I freely acquit you of want of politeness. It is possible that I may hereafter be told, that your Lordship acted thus from misimpression—I will even expose myself once more to its practice,—because I am conscious that such I do not deserve; and that, if I did, it cannot be at your hands. Should you, my Lord, think otherwise, let the world have all my letters, this of course included, and I shall be satisfied, provided the original dates are not unwarrantably altered, for such proceeding would be nearly related to forgery.

Having attentively perused your speech in *The Champion*, and also the *Independent Whig*, which, in a pathetic manner, calls upon me to give a statement of facts, I thought it consistent, previously, to trouble your Lordship with this. It may be said, but in it I have taken great liberties,—it may be so, but are you not my example? long have you been guilty of that practice, for you have used my name and me, without my consent, whenever it appeared to you convenient. I bore it but since you now endeavour to implicate my friends, a final but pertinent remark once becomes a duty,—for such I am perfectly qualified for although your rank is high I cannot forget, that I am as nobly bred and born as yourself, and I feel, that the present stain upon my honour is not indelible. If a repugnance against being falsified on this head,—in error at stepping from error to vice,—from vice into crime, from crime into untruly invoking the Omnipotent—in shuddering with sincere abhorrence, and shuddering at such practice in others—are proofs of unshorned honour I possess these symptoms!—and you, my Lord have excited them, in a degree not to be mistaken, for your sedulous defence has proved to me, that true nobility can only recover from the tarnish of error by an acknowledgment of its guilt, particularly if resorted to at a moment when no view to reward, no mean endeavour to evade punishment can be ascribed to such determination, and especially, if the party

clearly perceives, that without such avowal and contrition, many weak or innocent persons are likely to be involved, if not ruined; not even noticing a duty which ought to animate every breast, I mean, a desire to prevent public disturbance, by a timely disclosure, which alone can counteract wrong impressions, disseminated amidst, and received by, the community; and which, to cherish into general mischief, may even discontent, in my humble opinion, is a public wrong of the first magnitude, very little short of murder, for may not the loss of many lives follow such proceedings?

Having solemnly declared, "that crime I never knew," I now add, that crime I never will know! Erred I have, and even greatly; but if I allowed myself the modes of defence just mentioned, I should be criminal beyond doubt. Had my case not been connected with yours, my thus reprobating your proceedings would be impertinent, but as I am unfortunately so linked, I cannot hide from you, that I am shocked beyond description, not at being convicted with your Lordship, but at being suspected of, and unless I take a decisive step, perhaps irrevocably drawn into, a species of defence, which is repugnant to my notions of religion and honour, but which by adopting, you have converted into a warning beacon to my principles, for thereby you have created an anxiety even greater than your Lordship's to separate myself from you for ever, both in regard to defence and acquaintance.

Before we part, I must claim the right of undecieving you as to my character, acts, and motives; from your department it is clear, that no one ever mistook these more than your Lordship has in my case.—I fear man *may* act wrong from principle, of course from mistaken principle, and some philosophers maintain, that the error so committed is praise-worthy.—I have erred from mistaken principle, I will not however be so bold to claim applause, although I in my consideration—I feel entitled to deny your perspicuity, for by your subsequent acts you have distinctly proved your belief, that I first erred from want of principle, for you seem to expect, that I shall tamely lend myself to any and every phrenetic step you may think proper to take. Have the goodness to draw the line between what I have done,—what I was prevailed on to effect,—what in the hour of painful captivity I generously resolved on *for your salvation*, and perfectly uninfluenced,—and what it would appear you and yours now expect I should stigmatize myself with, and you will soon perceive how unfit I am for acts of ingratitude or baseness,—you will be obliged to confess, that, though doomed to a disgraceful punishment, I am too noble to deserve or to receive it,—you will admit, that you have misunderstood my character altogether.—Here are details which neither words or oaths can shake or deny. The solentude

which, in endeavours to bring me forward, was displayed by Mr. Cochrane Johnstone, and shortly after by Admiral Sir Alexander Cochrane, excited in my enthusiastic breast sensations of the purest gratitude;—I readily acknowledge them; and I even assumed the latter, that to hazard my life to serve him, would to me afford a pleasure; of course I meant in an honourable way.—Shortly after Mr. Cochrane Johnstone made me a stock-jobbing proposal, of which I can adduce proofs;—I startled, I demurred,—he seemed displeased, whilst in a tone of voice which shamed me, he recalled "my professions" to my mind. He next reasoned pertinaciously that impositions of that sort were deemed excusable, that they were daily practised, that in fact they formed a war of cunning in the money market, void of disgrace, and, closing, he told me his Plans.

In consenting to a part, and in promising to shew how the rest could, amended, be carried into effect, I certainly erred greatly, for I smothered the scruples which exemplary education had, till then, planted immutably in my breast. Still, instead of crime, I committed no more than an enthusiastic but mad act of gratitude,—I weakly persuaded myself, that if I denied what had artfully been palliated, that I should be an ungrateful hypocrite, and I allowed *mistaken principles*, which can only be understood by enthusiasts, to influence my consent to a deed, which, to be just to the projector, never before had been deemed a crime, and by which I sought to save my imagined benefactor from impending ruin; the only condition I coupled with my consent, was, that it should remain a profound secret, and without exception. Vice would have bargained for its wages. I was only eager to run hazards, in order to shew my readiness to serve.

Not a little was I surprised to perceive shortly after, that both your Lordship and Mr. Butt had been made acquainted with it, and when I reproached Mr. Cochrane Johnstone with his breach of promise he laughed—treated it lightly, and said that neither of you would divulge, as you were to be benefited thereby. Would to God I had then followed the monitory relection which told me, that a man who breaks his word, is no longer trust worthy! As I have to lament the neglect of all that salutary whisper, I will not repent my folly by dismissing a similar warning; for the spirit of a beloved parent now re-assures me, not only, that it is never too late to abandon error, but that immoral endeavours to exculpate myself from its consequences will hurry me into an abyss of incessant agony and disgrace, whilst such endeavours must imperceptibly annihilate those guardian precepts which prevent our becoming abandoned and infamous.

The modes of recent defence, so happily cherished by your Lordship, have placed you

on the very brink of that dreadful abyss, and the contemplation of your perilous situation has at once roused my horror and my determination:—True, it is a singular instance—still have you thus conferred an infinite benefit on me!

Mistaken was the principle which caused me to commit the act, that saved you, Mr Cochrane, Johnstone, and Mr Pitt from an avoidable pecuniary ruin; for I did so from gratitude, without any condition whatever. But that gratitude cannot be continued to heap infamy on me. The same mistaken principle determined me to resist the most tempting offers—to refuse every tender of forgiveness, coupled with a condition requiring a discovery of facts, which must have ruined your fame for ever: I held my word sacred—I even went beyond my dissolved promise; for you cannot have forgotten, that I told you, that so long only as you three were honorable in concealing my name, I was determined to stand or fall with you:—I kept my word even after you had betrayed me!"

It was again a mistaken principle, which caused my endeavours to save your reputation, though you had sacrificed mine, because I cherished sufficient generosity to do good for evil,—to consider the height of the pinnacle of well-earned glory from which you would be precipitated,—to bear in mind the impaired state of health of Miss Johnstone, which caused me to fear that the greatness of her sensibility and grief would baffl all medical aid, and hasten her dissolution; and, lastly, to consider the unhappy results and mortifications to Mr. Johnstone, and to the gallant Admiral.

I may have erred in persisting to refuse a discovery, but my conscience tells me that my motives were as noble as benevolent, and they were strengthened by the ill-judged proceedings of the power, which, by exercising all its rigour, sought to wring by extraordinary insults that from a man's breast, which an appeal to my honour alone could have balanced on my hip:—My indignation at such pitiful efforts steeled my virtuous resolution, and I would sooner have faced death than yielded to what I must ever deem undeserved acts of cruelty.—Till then, I hoped that the whole matter would come to some arrangement, without judicial decision:—often did the thought occur, that an artless and entire disclosure ought to take place;—and as often the ideas above stated. But especially the fear that the world would ascribe my acknowledgment to sinister and mercenary views, or to cowardice, caused me to shudder at the thought as if at poison.

The day for trial now approached.—Mr. Johnstone proposed several modes of proceeding, which I rejected, and though my conscience now tells me that my greatest error is the mode of my defence, I can, with truth, appeal to the Almighty that perjury was employed against me, and that I never

desired any one of my witnesses to say any thing but what was truth; as also, that I did not employ others to suborn them, if they erred, it was from causes which can be explained much better than the world can surmise, for they believed what they assert.

How has your Lordship estimated and returned the faithful and forbearing services I have rendered to you? By *receiving every thing I could do to serve you—by making no return whatever*, not even the cheap reward of thanks—and by indulging in endeavours teeming with the blackest and most cruel ingratitude, which even during the trial burst forth; for you there, as well as since, have artfully and eagerly sought to persuade the world, that I was the basest of villains, and that I designedly had gone to your house with a determination to ruin your fame, by untiruly fixing participation on you, who, forsooth, were in the whole transaction, the most innocent and injured man breathing.

Did your Lordship really suppose me so silly, so indifferent to my character, as to imagine that I should permit you with impunity to stamp me with an act more infamous than the most cowardly assassination? You know that cowardice at least does not belong to the list of my faults, and I will convince you of it, by reproaching you to the last day of my existence with this unmanly act, and for which you may expect to atone to me sooner or later. How many persons would have revenged themselves, and fairly too, by disclosing to the world, that by the whole trial and sentence *you, my Lord, are the least injured*—I mean by comparison with the extent to which each had carried his error. Still I scorned revenge, and kept the painful secret, though all respect for you had ceased. I determined to wait the trial—the sentence—to receive all my punishment; and as after all these events so unmanly, no sinister motive could be ascribed to my disclosure, to do so, distinctly and truly in every respect: not because I admit that the sentence is deserved, or that the Jury found a proper verdict, or that the Judge acted as he ought; not because I feel that I have been guilty of a *crime*, which has justly been visited on me; but because I am convinced, that I have erred, and that an acknowledgment of that error must prove more virtuous than a spontaneous atonement, than the receipt of this severe and vindictive punishment could possibly become; and further, because I think it the duty of every honest subject to complain only, when, and of what he really has been wronged in, but never to allow false grievances or pretended innocence to mature the public murmur into discontent, perhaps violence, by which much blood might be shed, and many deluded persons be deprived of life. When I formed my resolution, I did not anticipate the latter events—but since, perceiving the steps you

have taken, I have reasons to fear them even speedily; it therefore becomes me to wash my hands of what may happen, and I have determined to take proper measures immediately, and that you may not think them clandestine, I now communicate to them.

That your Lordship may be convinced that I have reasons to guard against being linked to you hereafter when your misstatements will be discovered, and which will take place some time with or without my disclosure, I will state them briefly and I trust, although I have erred, I may still claim a tenacity not to be suspected of aiding in your plan of defence.

When I read your ill-judged Affidavit, was divided between astonishment at the weakness of that step, and the hardness with which you swore, even unasked; was angry at your divulging my name, after your solemn promise, but surprised I was not, for after such an oath, I could not imagine that a promise would bind you.—When shortly after, I saw the Affidavits of your servants and others, I felt great regret mixed with disgust, that I had hastily and improperly connected myself with a person who could stoop to ask servants to swear falsely. When I found that Mr Cochrane Johnstone had pledged his honour to his innocence in the House, I was startled; but much more so, when he told me that he hoped that the Prosecutors would enter a *Noli Prosequi* against me, in order to make me a witness, in which case I could “swear through thick and thin,”—I told him, with a mien which did not seem to be acceptable, that such a proceeding would be the most fatal that possibly could happen to the cause: for instead of swearing “through thick and thin,” that I certainly should tell the whole truth; and that I would do the same if I should ever be examined before the House on my honour, as that pledge was as sacred with me as my oath. Mr Cochrane Johnstone seemed perfectly gloomy and disappointed, and my consequent reflections were directed to caution, for in every stage I perceived that designing persons having once prevailed on another to err, are not content till they have hurried him on to a criminal level with themselves, at least to become a pitiable victim of their avaricious plots. Often did I think of disengaging myself from such an association, by avowing the transaction, but as often did the reflection, that the world would not ascribe such a act to the pure motive of repentance, but to meanness, avarice, or treachery, prevent me;—I therefore resolved to do so, only after I had borne my full share of every danger,—of every punishment, which I conceived would not fail to prove that my motives, ultimately executed, were consistent and honourable. That I have already suffered much, more than either of the other three (for I cannot allow the four persons last mentioned in the indictment to bear a share in the calculation, not knowing any

thing of them) cannot be disputed,—that in the event of success, you three would have cleared a very large sum of money, where the person who not only ran all the risks in its execution, but who also saved you three from inevitable ruin, would have received but a scanty remuneration, is also from your present conduct placed beyond the possibility of doubt: all this your Lordship's good understanding must have pointed out to you,—but where was its exercise, when you determined to save yourself by dastardly endeavours to brand him with the greatest of all infamy, who not only unconditionally had saved you, but who, although betrayed and neglected by you, continued faithful to his promise, rejecting pardons and prospects of an ample fortune, which, no doubt, he could have secured? I say again, what became of that understanding for which you are so eminent?—had it, after lulling your honour and justice to sleep, taken flight, hurrying that goodness of heart with it, for which, although I never witnessed it, I used formerly to hear you praised? Certainly to that wit, neither the one nor the other could possibly be privy,—and perhaps a callous substance, which must have occupied the space so vacated in your heart and brain, will now prevent your feeling all that you ought at my just remonstrance, though certainly neither this substance, nor any thing else shall prevent me from openly reproaching you with it and my ruin; for I find by your public conduct, and by the private infamous offers, which recently have been made to me, that I must immediately declare myself to the world, as otherwise I shall be in imminent danger of being co-founded, or at least suspected, of participating in such acts.—Can you wonder that I should think it time to stop the injuries you are overwhelming me with? In addition to those already stated, have not you and Mr Cochrane Johnstone degraded me in the eyes of the world, by unanimously committing a vile breach of promise and confidence, by burning my letter, which pointed out to my securities the provision which I had made for their protection?—Must I not shudder with horror and dread when I perceive that you solemnly, but unnecessarily and wantonly, invoke the Almighty God in support of the untruths that you have advanced? If you, my Lord, do not believe in a Supreme Being, (which is the only excuse that can be offered, and a horrible one it is,) allow others who think otherwise, to feel an awe at being connected with you.—I have compulsively been guilty of some falsehoods in this defence, but I used even these sparingly, and with an ill grace;—I certainly complained, and still continued so to do, of the false evidence, of the unfairness which was employed at the trial against me; but where, but in your own assertion, will your Lordship find the portmanteau which contained my change of story?—where the letter of the 17th of

February, which you quoted so improperly and cowardly in the House, for no visible purpose, but that of throwing a suspicion upon Mr. Tahourdin, whom *you know* to be perfectly innocent of the whole transaction?

"Perhaps this 'long' letter, emanating from my certainly 'perturbed mind,' will also be 'perfectly unintelligible' to you, but I can explain easily to the public mind which now you are heating, for election and other purposes, into some act which I will not bear my share of blame in, and which, should it, owing to my silence, cause blood to be spilt, would lay heavy on my conscience, for, believe me or not, I have one, although I was concerned in a plan, which you were *perfectly* acquainted with, and to which you *eagerly* contributed your share of expences, although you now call God to witness in proof of your total ignorance of it! I agree with your Lordship, that neither of us viewed it as a 'crime;' and I cannot persuade myself even now, that it merits that harsh appellation, or the punishment pronounced.—But what name should I give to the delence, which, particularly since the sentence, you have resorted to? What grounds have your friends to suppose me the base villain who can consent to declare a certain great pirouage, although perfectly innocent, as the real projector of, and reaper of the harvest occasioned by this plot? The moment I received the infamous and cowardly anonymous letter declaring itself to proceed from your friends, and requiring me to commit that vile act, for which a handsome provision for life was held out, that moment I indignantly wrote your Lordship word, that if such letters were repeated, that I would nail them, with my comments, to the chapel door! It may be possible that you do not know the author; in that case it is strange that you should express no desire to know its contents—it is more so, that the writer should desire me to write to you, and it is still more so, that few days after my refusal and which I sent *to you*, my Lord, that a person in gait, looks, and choice of language, resembling a gentleman, should verbally dare to offer me a negotiation, promising me a fortune, provided I would be scoundrel sufficient to acknowledge myself Colonel Du Bourg, employed by Lord Yarmouth, for the double purpose of raising the funds, and ruining your time! My rage at such a insult, my indignation at being thought capable of ungratefully and cowardly stabbing Lord Yarmouth, who has endeavoured to serve me, alone enabled this wretch to make his exit, in which he was nimble. If ever I met him, he shall not escape again; and if your Lordship does not know him, it will be well to advise your friends never again to offer me so daring an insult.—It has finally convinced my persuasion, that vice proceeds to the most horrid crime, step by step—that the world thinks so, for what

else, but my having been guilty of an error, can cause it to think me fit for so villainous an act? To prevent such calculations in future, and also to separate myself from all the horrible consequences, which my imagination depicts to me, as composing the train of your defence, I find it necessary *now*, instead of hereafter, to make the public record before described. I am, my Lord, your Lordship's most obedient, humble servant,  
C. R. DE BURENNE

P.S.—I have to request the return of the Dumaine sabre and belt, which you persuaded me to leave at your house on the 21st of February—it belonged to a relative, which makes it valuable, so much so, that no price would purchase it of me. As I must not have it here, your Lordship will have the goodness either to send it to Mr. Tahourdin, or to say when and where my servant shall call for it, for I seriously desire its return.

To Lord Cochrane, &c &c &c.

#### RE-ELECTION OF LORD COCHRANE.—

In consequence of the unanimous return of his Lordship to fill his seat in Parliament, as one of the Representatives for the City of Westminster, the following letters passed between his Lordship and Mr. Brooks, Treasurer of the Westminster Committee. It is a fact, perhaps not generally known, that, with the exception of one or two newspapers, the London Journals have thought proper to refuse giving publicity to this correspondence. Such, indeed, is the degraded state of our press, that the Editor of a Sunday Paper, in giving his Lordship's letter, omitted several of the most striking passages in it, which, as was done in publishing his defence, he supplied with stars!

Committee-Room, King-street, Covent-Garden, 16th July, 1814.

MY LORD,—I am directed by the Committee of Electors of Westminster, appointed at the General Meeting, held in New Palace-Yard, on Monday the 11th instant, to acquaint your Lordship, that you were this morning nominated, as a fit and proper person, to fill the vacancy in the Representation of the City of Westminster in Parliament, occasioned by your Lordship's expulsion, and that you were immediately re-elected, without opposition, and with the most lively expressions of universal approbation. The Committee further direct me to convey to your Lordship their sincere congratulations on an event so happily demonstrative of the sense which your Constituents entertain of the accusation which has been brought against you, and of

the very extraordinary proceedings by which it has been followed up; and to assure your Lordship, that it affords them the highest gratification to find that you are able to oppose, to the envenomed shafts of malice and party spirit, the impenetrable shield of conscious innocence. They rejoice to see that the prejudices occasioned by gross and shameless misrepresentation, are fast wearing away from the public mind; and they trust, that the time is near when your Lordship's character will appear as fair and unblemished, in the view of every individual in the British Empire, as it now does in the eyes of the Electors of Westminster.—I have the honour to be, my Lord, your Lordship's most faithful and obedient servant,

SAMUEL BROOKS, CHAMBERLAIN.

To Lord Cochrane.

King's Bench, July 18, 1814

SIR,—Amongst all the occurrences of my life, I can call to my memory none which has produced so great a degree of exultation in my breast, as this, which through a channel I so highly esteem, has been communicated to me, that, at a all the machinations of Corruption (braving into play her choicest agents) have been able to elicit against me, the Citizens of Westminster have, with unanimous voice, pronounced me worthy of continuing to be one of their Representatives in Parliament. Merely to be a Member of the House of Commons (as now made up) is something too meagre to be a gratification to me. But when I reflect on that love of Country, that devotion to freedom, that soundness of judgment, that unshaken adherence to truth and justice, which have invariably marked the proceedings of the Citizens of Westminster; and when I farther reflect, that it is of Sir Francis Baudett whom they have now, for the third time, made me the Colleague, how am I to express, on the one hand, my gratitude towards them, and on the other, the contempt which I feel for all the distinctions of birth, and for all the wealth, and all the decorations, which Ministers and Kings have it, under the present system, in their power to bestow? With regard to the case, the agitation of which has been the cause of this, to me, most gratifying result, I am in no apprehension as to the opinions and feelings of the world, and especially of the people of England; who, though they may be occasionally misled, are never deliberately cruel or unjust.—Only let it be said

of me —The Stock Exchange have accused;—Lord Ellenborough has charged for guilty;—the Special Jury have found that guilty;—the Court have sentenced to the pillory;—the House of Commons have expelled;—and the Citizens of Westminster HAVE RE-FILED;—Only let this be the record placed against my name, and I shall be proud to stand in the Calendar of Criminals all the days of my life.—In requesting you Sir, to convey these my sentiments to my Constituents at large, I cannot refrain from begging you, and the other Gentlemen of the Committee, to accept of my personal acknowledgments.—I am, Sir, your most obedient and humble servant,

COCHRANE.

To Samuel Brooks, Esq.  
Chamberlain of the House of Commons;  
the Friends of the Cause.

LET LORD COCHRANE'S DEFENCE.—A well-merited triumph, pressed, by some of our friends, to be made acquainted with the particulars of the case, to which Lord Cochrane referred, in the very striking exordium with which he introduced his manly and elegant defence, in the House of Commons, I have been induced to look into the history of the period, in which the mentioned scene was acted, and to give an account of the terrible proceedings. This, however, I shall prefix with the sketch given by my Lord Cochrane, which, I understood, produced almost an electric effect upon those who heard it.

The unfortunate man, said his Lordship, who, in the time of Cardinal Richelieu, was condemned to be racked and burnt, on the charge of practising magic, when protesting his innocence and exposing the villainy of his enemies, while the fire was preparing before his eyes, was, to prevent his being heard by the people, struck upon the mouth with a crucifix, borne in the hand of a monk. This horrible judicial murder shocked all France and all Europe; but, of all the circumstances attending it, the fabrication of evidence, the flagrant partiality of the Judges, the cruelty of the sentence, the notorious falsehood of the charge, nothing produced so deep a sense of indignation as the act of this execrable monk, who, not content with the torture and the death of the victim—not content with the destruction of his body, was resolved to pursue him even beyond the grave."

I am indebted for the following account of this instance of clerical barbarity, to an

*Historical Collection of Criminal Cases, adjudged in the Supreme Courts of Judicature in France, some of which were translated and published here, in the year 1737.—The writer is rather prolix, but I did not think myself justified in abridging any part of the narrative. It will be found fully to warrant the character which my Lord Cockburn gives to the transaction.—The History of Urban Grandier, condemned as a Magician, and the Author of the possessions of the Nuns of Loudun.*

If it be true that Urban Grandier was innocent of the crime of magic, as all the grave part of the world, and all the learned unanimously agree, what opinion are we to have of the Nuns of Loudun, who were said to be possessed, and whose possession was attributed to this man? What must we think of the Exorcists who attended to dispose of them, and of the Judges who condemned him?—If we acquit Grandier, it will follow that these possessions were mere theatrical representations, a kind of comedy presented before the whole kingdom, which however proved at last a tragedy, by the terrible death of the unfortunate Grandier. How these Nuns and their Exorcists were capable of contriving and executing with such success (and for a considerable space of time) so bold a thing as this, whereby they deceived not the mob and the ignorant only, but the inquisitive also, and persons of the highest distinction? How the Judges came not to penetrate, or if they did, to wink at so horrid a piece of iniquity? How they were drawn to sacrifice an innocent nun, against whom no legal proofs appeared, to the malice of a haughty minister? And how they should agree so unanimously therein as to have no dissensions or disputes among themselves, in the transacting this affair, must rather remain matter of wonder than subject of inquiry, since the secret springs of these mysterious proceedings were laid too deep to be fathomed by those who were spectators of this odd business, and have been too industriously concealed for posterity to trace their source. Without troubling myself with intricate researches, and uncertain conjectures, I shall endeavour, with the utmost accuracy and strictest impartiality, to give my readers such a detail of the matters of fact, relating to this extraordinary affair, as will (I hope) enable them to judge for themselves, and to discover that truth, for which, if the Judges sought at all, they

Loudun is a little town of Poitou, in which there was settled a house of Ursulines. As the principal end of that order is the instruction of youth, they took into their house boarders. In 1632, they had for the director of their consciences a very able and honest man, Mr. Moussat. After his death, if they fell into great errors in respect to spiritual things, they were at the same time no less distressed in point of temporal concerns; some of the younger Nuns, in concert with their boarders, had entered into a scheme to fright the rest, and to divert themselves, by making these innocents believe the house was haunted.—Mary Aubin, being a boarder, then between 16 and 17 years old, was one of the principal actors in this affair, as she herself confessed, not once or twice, or slightly, or without circumstances, but very frequently, very distinctly, and without any variation in her tale, till she reached her sixty fifth year, about which time she died. By acting these gambols, Mary Aubin and her companions fitted themselves for the performance of more important mischiefs. John Mignon, Canon of the Collegiate Church of the Holy Cross, at Loudun, was chosen to succeed Moussat, as the spiritual guide of the Ursulines. He was a subtle man, one who affected an extraordinary piety; it was much as he did not discourage the practices just now spoken of, he was suspected, not without grounds, of counselling, and directing them, with a view of ruining, by their means, the unhappy Grandier, who was his capital enemy. As to what is necessary for the reader to know of this Grandier, in order to comprehend the charge brought against him, it may suffice to say, that he was the son of an honest worthy person, the Notary-Royal at Sables, born at Roueres, which is but a little way from that small town. It was pretended that he had been instructed in magic by his father, and Claude Grandier, his uncle, a priest. But as the inhabitants of Sautes, where they both lived, unanimously testified that they were persons of good characters, and inoffensive lives, this must be looked on as a calumny.—Urban Grandier studied under the Jesuits at Bour-leaux, and they had a great kindness for him, on account of his fine parts. It is well enough known that these fathers have an extraordinary tenderness for such of their pupils as give early tokens of their love to learning, and that they are fond



of transplanting such promising shoots into their society. But as to Grandier they were, it seems, of opinion, that he would be more useful to them in the world, for which reason they presented him to the Church of St. Peter de Marce in London, of which they were patrons. He had also a parish of the Church of the Holy Cross. These two benefices filled many of the ecclesiastics in the neighbourhood with envy, of which Grandier himself was so sensible, that in the midst of his misfortunes he was wont to say, that amongst those who sought his ruin, as some hated his person, so others had their eyes on his preferments. He was (as to his person) of an exact thought. He had an agreeable genteel air, managed every thing with much address, and was extremely neat and exact in whatever he wore, and in his manner of wearing it. He had always appeared in a long habit, and it is not easy to describe his manner of conversing, which was at once instructive and entertaining. He joined in his discourse an easiness of speaking with an elegance of terms. He delighted in preaching, and he really preached well. The Monks hated him, because he declared himself in his pulpit against confraternities, and blamed such as neglected going to mass to their parish church. The Monks were exceedingly displeased on another account, viz. his faculty of preaching, in which undoubtedly he much excelled them. Thus, if his parts gained him friends and a support, they also drew on him envy, which, assisted by his own imprudence, drew on his ruin.—He composed a funeral oration for St. Evla of St. Martha. This work is much esteemed for the strokes of eloquence with which it abounds, and which demonstrate its author to have been a man of wit and genius. Among his friends he was a pleasant easy companion, but towards his enemies he carried himself with much haughtiness and disdain. He was steady in his designs, jealous of his character, and one who was intractable in points where his interest was concerned. He repelled injuries with such violence, as to make his enemies irreconcilable, of whom it was his great misfortune to have a large number to deal with. If Grandier was innocent as to magic, he was far from being so with respect to gallantry. On the contrary, he gave himself a loose that way. Hence it came to pass, that among his enemies, rivals, passionate fathers, and outrageous husbands, distinguished themselves, he having provoked

the indignation of these furious sort of people, by his amorous disposition, the frequency and excess of his loves. Mr. Doquin, a Physician of Paris, says in his letter inserted in the *Alceste*, that even the partisans of Grandier owned his being addicted to Amours. Menage, who undertook his defence, when it was objected that he had conversed criminally with a woman in the church, does not deny it. Mornet says, that this woman was the wife of one of the magistrates of London. However, much of this might be true, though somewhat might be true. An excellent caution to the clergy of all Churches to be careful in every point of their conduct? In spite of the coquetry of his heart, he had a strong mistress, with whom it was slowly suspected he had contracted what is called a marriage of conscience, and that to obviate her scruples, he composed a *Treatise against the Utility of Priests*, which was found among his papers, and these conjectures turned upon Magdalen de Bion, who was known to be his intimate friend. But he was so cautious, that he never mentioned her name, and to say the truth, he was no less prudent in respect to all the other girls and women with whom he conversed intimately, so that their reputations could not suffer from any indiscretions of his. The idea we must have of a priest so gallant, will naturally give us to understand, that he was at the same time not over pious; however, it does not follow that though his heart was very corrupt, all principles of religion were utterly extinguished there.—His passion for women, though it governed him in such a manner as to lead him into mighty offences, yet it left him some notions of his duty to God, such as they were, this we have reason to believe from the condition in which we find other christians addicted to the same vice, who nevertheless are far enough from entertaining impious opinions, so that his debauchery, admitting what his enemies said to be true, could be no proof of his being a magician. In 1620, he gained a Process in the Officiality of Poitiers against a Priest, whose name was Moulier whom he used with so much rigour on that occasion, that the man hated him vehemently ever afterwards. He had the same success in a suit between him and the Canons of the Church of the Holy Cross, about a house they disputed with him, and on this occasion he used one Mignon, a Canon, who



solicited for his brethren, with such inveterate insolence, that he conceived for him no bitter an aversion, as to resolve to let no occasion slip of doing him a mischief. Grandier likewise incurred the displeasure of the whole family of M. de Barot, President of the Commissioners of Taxes, and uncle to Mignon; this gentleman, in a difference he had with him, Grandier had treated with great contempt, and as on far below him. The President being very rich, and childless, all his relations had great expectancies, and for this reason had their court to him, by shewing on all occasions their spleen to Grandier. But of all his enemies there was none so formidable, as M. de Tinquant, the King's attorney. This gentleman had a mighty handsome daughter, for whom Grandier had testified a high respect, and with whom it was generally suspected he had pushed his amorous commerce to the greatest height. The young lady grew discoloured, and fell into a languishing sort of illness, upon which it was rumored that she was with child. The public, ever solicitous to discover intrigues of such a nature as this, watched her motions very closely: But Martha Pelletier, a young woman of small fortune, with whom Mademoiselle Tinquant had contracted a strict friendship, gave on this occasion an extraordinary proof of fidelity and affection, she took the child, and declared it to be her own, putting it as such to nurse. The town however ceased not to talk, or to ascribe the infant to her, whom they took for its true mother, which gave all the family the utmost uneasiness. The King's Attorney caused Martha Pelletier to be apprehended, and to be interrogated strictly as to the birth of this child, she insisted positively on the truth of what she had at first given out, that it was hers, and promised to take such care of it, that they were constrained to discharge her. The foolish indiscretion of this Father would have been but justly recompensed, if the woman had told him and all the world the truth, as it was, it served only to mortify him the more, the suspicion still continuing, and all the trouble he had given himself made the matter but the more talked of, his heart therefore burnt with rage and resentment against him whom he took to be the author of his, and his daughter's disgrace. The enemies of Grandier assembled in Council, in order to consider of some method for destroying him; there joined them

on this occasion by the assistance of Mignon, Mons. Menuan, the King's advocate, who had the misfortune to be in love with a lady, in whom Grandier was his rival, and what was worse a favourite rival too. At such a meeting one need not be surprised that it was determined utterly to ruin Grandier, or at least to drive him out of the neighbourhood of Loudun. A little after they exhibited, in the Court of the Official Pontiers, an information against him, in the name of the Promoter, in which they accused him of having seduced girls and women, and taxed him at the same time with impurity and irreligion. Two miserable rascals, picked out from the dregs of the people, were raised up by his enemies to become dilators. The Official commissioned the Lord Lieutenant Civil, and the Arch-Præst of St. Marcellus in the Loudunais, to enquire into this cause. An Official has no right to commission a Royal Judge, so that on this occasion he was guilty of an irregularity. About this time one Duthibant, a man considerable for his wealth, and who was united with the enemies of Grandier, committed the highest insult on him, in the presence of the Marquis du Belay. It seems he had spoke very disrespectfully of the parent, and had characterised him with all that foulness of language, which should be heard from none but the vulgar—Grandier reproved him for it, in terms so quick and piercing, that Duthibant could not help striking him with his cane, though he was in his surplice, and just ready to enter the Church of the Holy-Cross, where he was going to assist at Divine service. Grandier went and threw himself at the feet of the King, and complained heavily of the public affront that had been offered him and his character. The King, moved with the matter of his complaint, ordered the consideration thereof to the Parliament, with directions that Duthibant should be immediately called to an account and prosecuted.—During this time that Grandier was at Paris an information was brought against him by his enemies at Loudun, the King's attorney deposed first, in order to encourage the rest, and took every measure possible to support the mean people who were witnesses with him. When the information was made out, they sent it to the Bishop of Poitiers, whom some people had prejudiced against Grandier. They exaggerated an indiscretion this curate had committed, in transgressing on the Bishops

rights, in giving (as they said) a dispensation for proclaiming the ban of marriage in a certain case. On these allegations they obtained (without much difficulty) a warrant from the Bishop to secure his person.

Monsieur Duthibaut, in order to avoid being punished for what he had done, attacked with the utmost violence the character of his accuser, he charged him with being a scandalous person, leading a profligate life, and disgracing the priesthood in support of all which he produced the warrant for his apprehension, which had been granted by the Bishop of Poitiers, and this was the cause that the Court, before justice was done, sent Grandier back to the Bishop, to clear himself of the crimes laid to his charge. He returned to Loudun, and in a few days came to Poitiers, to put himself into a condition for his defence, but could not do it, for he was no sooner arrived, but he was arrested prisoner by an usher of the Court, named Charrin. Although it was the 15th of November, and that the Bishop's prison was cold and dark, he remained, however, there more than two months, and began to believe that he would never get out of this affair. His enemies at least seemed very much induced to think so, Duthibaut thought himself secured from his prosecution, the issue whereof could not but be very troublesome to him, and Barot caused a devolution to be executed upon his benefice, to the profit of Ismael Boulican, a priest, and one of his heirs.—The fierceness of the prosecution began now to abate, not from a decay of malice, but from the consideration of the expence, of which some of the parties grew weary, however, Trinquant re-animated them, and taught them with much-a-do to value their money less than their revenge. In spite of all their intrigues, they were unable to support their information by legal proofs. It was laid to Grandier's charge that he had debauched women and maidens; but there were no plaintiffs produced; these women and maids were not named; there was not any witness that swore directly to this fact; and the greater part acknowledged at last, that they never heard a word concerning many things which they found writ in the information. At last, it being necessary to proceed to the judgment of the process; there was admitted into the number of the Judges, the Advocate Richard, who was Trinquant's kinsman; and the Bishop was

beset by the secret adversaries of Grandier, who ceased not to set him out in the blackest colours, and who knew how to mix so much probability with their calumnies, that, on the 3d of Jan. 1630, he was condemned to fast with bread and water, by way of penance, every Friday, during three months; and interdicted from divine offices, in the diocese of Poitiers, for five years, and in the town of Loudun for ever. His enemies flattered themselves that they had now effectually overcome him; nor were they at all apprehensive of what might happen before another tribunal on both sides, therefore there was an appeal from this sentence. Grandier appealed to the Bishop of Bourdeaux, and his adversaries, in the name of the Promoter of the Office, by writ of error, to the Parliament of Paris, to the intent only to perplex him, and to bring him into such a condition, as not to be able to undergo the burden of all the affairs, with which they sought to overwhelm him, but they succeeded not as they desired, for he prepared himself, and had his cause pleaded before the Parliament.—But it being necessary to hear yet a greater number of witnesses, who dwelt in a place very far off, the Court remitted the continuance thereof to the Presidial of Poitiers, to judge definitively. The Lieutenant Criminal of Poitiers gave instruction for renewing the process, as well as by the re-examination and confronting of the witnesses, as by the subjoinder of a manitor. This instruction was not favourable to his accusers, there were found contradictions in the witnesses, who would not persist; and there were many others who ingenuously acknowledged that they had been tampered with; one of the accusers desisted from the action which he had begun, and declared with some witnesses, who also gave over, that they had been put on and solicited by Trinquant. At the same time it came to the knowledge of Meaulin and Boulican, priests, that they were made to say in their deposition, things that they had never thought of; they were desirous of disowning them, by writings under their hands.—Thus, in spite of all their assiduity and pains, this hopeful structure fell to the ground; the Presidial of Poitiers gave his judgment the 25th of May, 1631, whereby Grandier was sent away absolved, for the present, of the accusation made against him. He triumphed and insulted over his adversaries

with so much brightness, as if he had been wholly clear of this business; in the meantime it was necessary that he should present himself before the tribunal of the Archbishop of Bourdeaux, to whom he had appealed, and that he might there obtain a sentence of justification.—This Prelate, a little after that this judgment had been given at Poitiers, came to visit his Abbey of St. Jouin les Mamez, which is but three leagues from Loudun. Grandier prepared himself to appear before him, and his adversaries, who seemed to have lost all courage, did defend themselves with vigour. The Archbishop, however, acquitted him, fully restored him to the possession of his benefices, and left him at liberty to pursue such legal measures as he should think fit for recovering damages, and restitution of the profits during his suspension.—The Archbishop considering the arbitrariness of Grandier's enemies, and the impunity of their contrivances, having also a regard for him on account of his great parts, advised him to change his benefices, and to withdraw himself from a place where so powerful a conspiracy was made against him. But he was not capable of following such a wadesome advice, both low and lifted him too much blinded by him, he hated no enemies with too great a passion to satisfy their malice, but he was yet more violently possessed by love; and although this was directed towards different objects, there was one, nevertheless, which was the true object of his tender affections, to which his heart was tied by such strong bands, that far from being able to break them, he had not the power to remove himself any distance from her.

He returned then to Loudun, with a bunch of laurel in his hand, as an ensign of his victory. Persons that were indifferently concerned, were scandalized at his conduct wherein he shewed so little modesty, his enemies were enraged, and his own friends disapproved it. He took possession of his benefices, and scarcely gave himself leisure to breathe; so that, being wholly filled with the resentment of the injury that had been done him by Duthibaut, he began his suit against him, and drove it so far that he obtained a decree from the Chamber of Tournelle, whither Duthibaut was sent for, and reproved, and was condemned to divers fines, and reparations, and to pay the charges of the process.—Not satisfied with the right hitherto

done him in this affair, he resolved to carry on his revenge as far as the law would permit, and in order thereto, began to sue his enemies for reparation, damages, and restitution of the profits of his benefices. It was in vain that his principal friends would have dissuaded him, upon the consideration of what had already happened to him, which ought to make him know what his enemies were like to do if he attempted every way to drive them to extremities, and to distress their purse, at which they would not be less sensible than they had shewed themselves in what concerned their reputation.—But his stars drew him to a precipice. Divine Providence, whose ways are impenetrable, would punish him for his pride and debauchery, and suffer at the same time to appear upon the theatre of the world, one of the truest acts which false zeal or a party cause to be represented there from time to time, and which never fail to find the credulity of the people an approbation and applause, which the experience of what is passed ought to hinder them from seeing so lightly, and which are the evident signs of the weakness of man's understanding. It is now time to give the reader an account of the methods which the enemies of this unhappy Priest took to rid themselves of him, who was the object of their malice. Mignon was the principal person concerned, he set in order the springs of his intrigues, that he might have them in a conjunction to play when he should find it convenient; to this end he caused his scholars to be exercised in feigning to fall into convulsions, to make contortions and postures of their bodies, to the end they might gain a habit, and he forgot nothing for their instruction to make them appear true Demoniacks. 'Twas believed that he kept some of the simple and over-credulous Nuns in their error, in the fear which they had at first, and that by degrees he insinuated into them, that which he was desirous they should at last strongly believe, and which it was thought they really did: How little resemblance soever of truth there might be in this imposture, he drew others into the party, who had no knowledge of it in the beginning; he secured himself of the fidelity of all those who were engaged, as well by oaths, as by the consideration of the interest of the glory of God, and the Catholic Church; persuading them that it would draw great advantages by this enter-

prize, which would serve to confound the Heretics, of whom the town was very full, and he rid of a pernicious curate, who, by his debaucheries, had dishonoured his character, who was also a secret Heretic, and who drew a numerous company of souls into hell; adding, that their Convent would not fail to obtain, by this means, an extraordinary reputation; and that the gifts and alms that would be bestowed would bring a great plenty, which was then wanting; in a word, he forgot nothing that he believed would contribute to his designs, and when he saw that the business was very near to the point of perfection, which he wished, he began to exercise the superior, and two other Nuns. The report of the Nuns being possessed beginning to be whispered about the town, Mignon thought it high time to draw some assistants into his plot, at first he called to his exorcists, Petit Barre, Curate of St. James, of Climon, and Canon of St. Mame. He was a bigot and a hypocrite, almost of the same character with Mignon, but much more melancholic, and more enthusiastic, and who practised a thousand extravagancies, that he might pass for a Saint. He came to Loudun, at the head of his parishioners, whom he led in procession, coming all the way on foot, that he might the better put a gloss upon his hypocrisy.—After that these two pretended exorcists had busied themselves together very privately for ten or twelve days, they believed that act was in a condition to be exposed upon the stage, to the eyes of the public, and for this effect they resolved to inform the magistrates of the lamentable condition of these Nuns, to whom they employed Granger, Curate of Veiner, a man malicious and impudent, feared and hated of all the priests in the country, because, being in favour with the Bishop of Poitiers, he many times did them ill offices with him. He had never any difference with Grandier, but had even received some services from him, which did not hinder him from suffering himself to be tampered with by Mignon and Trinquant, and entering openly into the league with them.—He went then on Monday, the 11th of October, 1632, to find William de Carizni de la Guetamere, Bailiff of the Loudunais, and Lewis Chanvet, Lieutenant-Civil, and he intreated them, on the behalf of the exorcists, to come to the Convent of the Ursulines, to see the two Nuns possessed by evil spirits, representing

to them that it concerned them to be present at the exorcisms, and to see the strange and almost incredible effects of this possession. He told them that there was one who answered in *Latin* to all questions that could be put to her, although she had no knowledge of the languages before this accident. The two magistrates went to the Convent, either to assist at the exorcisms, or to authorize them if they found themselves obliged, or to stop the course of this illusion, if they judged the possession to be feigned and counterfeited.—Mignon met them with his suppliance and tippet; he told them that the Nuns had been disturbed for fifteen days with apparitions and frightful visions, and that after that the Mother Superior, and two other Nuns, had been visibly possessed for eight or ten days by evil spirits, that they had been driven out of their bodies, as well by the ministry of him, as of Barre; and some other religious Carmelites; but that on Saturday night the 16th of the month, the Mother Superior, named Jane Belsiel, the daughter of the late Baron of Cose, of the county of Zaintonge, and a Lay-sister, the daughter of Manroux, had been tormented almost, and that they were possessed again by the same spirits; that they had discovered in their exorcising that this was done by a new pact or covenant, the symbol or mark whereof were roses, as the token of the first had been three black thorns. That the evil spirits had not been willing to name themselves during the first possession, but that he who then possessed the Mother Prioress, called himself the enemy of God, and said his name was Astaroth; and that he who possessed the Lay-sister, named himself Sabulon. At last he told them, that the possessed were now taking their rest, and he desired them to defer their visit to the morrow of the day. These two magistrates were ready to go out, when a Nun came to give them notice that the prioress possessed were again tormented. They went up with Mignon and Granger, into an upper chamber, furnished with seven little beds, in one of which lay the Lay-sister, and the Prioress in another. This last was encompassed with some Carmelites, with some of the Nuns of the Convent, with Matharin Rosseau, Priest and Canon of St. Cross, and Manouin the surgeon. The Superior had no sooner discovered the two magistrates, but she had violent commotions, and performed strange actions; she

made a noise which was like to that of a pig; she sunk down into the bed, and contracted herself into the postures and grimaces of a person who is out of his wits; a Carmelite friar was at her right hand, and Mignon at her left, the last of these put his two fingers into her mouth, and presupposing that she was possessed, used many conjurations, and spake to the Devil, who answered him after this manner in their first dialogue.

Mignon demanded, *Propter quem causam impetrat es in corpus ejus nigrum?* For what reason hast thou entered into the body of this virgin? *A. Causa Ammonitatis;* Upon the account of animosity. *Q. Per quod Pactum?* By what Pact? *A. Per flores.* By flowers. *Q. Quales?* What flowers? *A. Rosas.* Roses. *Q. Quis misit?* Who sent them? *A. Urbanus.* Urban. She pronounced not this word before she had stammered many things, as if she had done it by a constraint. *Q. Dic cognomen.* Tell his Surname. *A. Guindier.* This was again a word which she pronounced not till she had been very much urged to answer. *Q. Dic qualitatem.* Mention his quality. *A. Sverdrus.* A Priest. *Q. Cujus Ecclesie?* Of what Church? *A. Sancti Petri.* Of Saint Peters. She uttered these last words very boldly. *Q. Quare persona attulit flores?* What person brought the flowers? *A. Diabolica.* A diabolical person. She came to her senses after this last answer; she prayed to God and she tried to eat a little bread, which was brought her; she put it from her, however, a little after, saying she was not able to swallow it, because it was too dry. There was brought to her liquid sweetmeats, of which she eat but very little, because she was frequently perplexed by the return of her convulsions. The Bailiff and Lieutenant, who stood near her, and observed with good attention that which passed, seeing that they gave no more any sign of a possession, withdrew towards the window. Mignon came near them and said, that in the action which was presented, there was something like the History of Peter Canfredi, who was put to death by virtue of a decree of the Parliament of Metz in Provence; to whom there was no answer made, but the Lieutenant-Civil told him,

that it would have been proper to urge the Prioress upon this cause of animosity, whereof she had spoke in her answers: upon this he excused himself, that he was not allowed to make any questions of curiosity.—The Lay-Sister had also several convulsions, and the motions of her body seemed very extraordinary. They were desirous to propose some questions to her, but she cried out twice, To the other, To the other; which was interpreted as if she had been willing to say, that 'twas only the Superior who was sufficiently instructed to answer. The Judges retired, and understood the same questions had been already put divers times to the Nuns, especially in the presence of Paul Gronard, Judge of the Provostship of London, and of Tiquant, the King's attorney, of which, and all other things they had seen and heard, they drew up a verbal process, and signed it.

The noise which this possession began to make produced different opinions; the devout souls, who regarded with respect and veneration the ministers of the Church, and who were inclined to receive blindfold, and without inquiry, all that was presented to them on their part, could not persuade themselves that *Bulle, Mignon, the Carmelites, Ursulines, Priests, Friars and Nuns*, could possibly be the authors of so wicked a contumace, or invent so devilish an imposture.—But the Worldlings, not judging so charitably, were more inclined to suspect the whole: they could not comprehend how these devils who happened to go out at one door, did as quickly re-enter at another, to the confusion of the ministers of him by whose authority they had been dispossessed. They were astonished that the devils of the Superior spake *Latin*, rather than that of the Lay-sister; and that she spake not better than a scholar of the second form.—They made reflections upon this, that Mignon had not been willing to interrogate her upon the cause of the animosity, of which he himself had spoken, and they concluded that it was because the devil was at the end of his lesson; that he had not as yet learnt any further; and that he was obliged to play the same part before all sorts of spectators, seeing he had spoke nothing before the Bailiff, but what he had already spoke before the Judge of the Provostship.

(To be continued.)

# COBBETT'S WEEKLY POLITICAL REGISTER.

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## SUMMARY OF POLITICS.

THE GRAND JUBILEE.—Of all the tricks that have been resorted to during the present war, (for the war is not yet terminated) to cheat John Bull out of his money and senses, that which has just been played off, under the name of "The Grand Jubilee," appears to me to have surpassed them all in impudence and frivolity. With whom this piece of mummery originated, it would be somewhat difficult to say. But although it has been disclaimed by Ministers, and by the Vice Chamberlain, to whom the charge of the Royal purse is in a special manner confided, I do not find the same anxiety has been shewn to persuade the nation, that they are not to be saddled with the enormous expence attending these fooleries. On the contrary, it has been very plainly intimated, that the whole is to be paid out of the civil list, which, although it is already nearly two hundred thousand pounds in arrear, must be made up by the good people of this country, at a moment's notice.—But there is another view to be taken of this subject, which is even of more consequence than that of applying the public money to objects which, it is pretended, have not had the sanction of any proper authority.—The bustle of preparation, its long continuance, and the topics of conversation to which this Jubilee must give rise, has already diverted, and must, for a considerable time to come, divert the public attention from those objects which more immediately concern their true interest, and the ultimate welfare of the country, than all the shews and spectacles ever exhibited on the theatre of the world. It is said, that these Fetes are in honour of the peace, and that all ranks rejoice, because the treaty concluded with N. has been accompanied with all those sings which were anticipated as the result of such a happy event. For my part, I can easily suppose a state of things to which this country might easily be brought; I can readily figure a treaty of peace, the terms of which would render our situation as

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enviable as the most enthusiastic admirers of the present can possibly represent it; but with the facts which are now staring me in the face, with the proofs which meet me every where, and which would be equally apparent to all, if they would only be at the trouble to look at them; I say, with the evidence, the broad-day evidence, which we have on every hand, that the change which has taken place, has *not* been productive of the good that was expected,—nor can be productive of it; it is more mockery to pretend, that the rejoicings have been on account of the *benefits* we are now enjoying, by the new order of things. The real object of these Fetes, the only cause of these inventions, was to blind, to mislead, and to cajole the country; to lay it into a fancied security, while the hand of corruption, which has already nearly exhausted the hard earned pittance of industry, strips the credulous wretch of his last shilling.—To have a proper conception of this matter, let the reader only turn his attention, for a little, to the remarks put forth in the *Courier* of the 1st instant, on the Regent's Speech, at prorogating the Parliament, a copy of which I have annexed to this article—"The Speech from the Throne at the close of a Session (says the *Courier*) rarely notices public measures prospectively; it is of much less importance than the Speech at the opening of Parliament. On the present occasion the Speech contains one important prospective passage; that in which *the expence of still keeping up for a time in our pay a body of foreign troops*, is announced to the House of Commons as the guardian of the public purse. This sufficiently proves, that Government is not without apprehensions respecting the final settlement of the Continent; or, at least, that circumstances exist which render it prudent for this country to maintain an IMPOSING ATTITUDE.—The success which has attended his Majesty's arms, the *glory* with which the struggle has been crowned, will justify Government in incurring any expence to finish the great work it has already so

"nearly completed. *Well and proudly may the Regent boast that ALL THE OBJECTS have been obtained for which the war was begun or continued*, with exultation and gratitude will the people bear the unquestionable truth, that the character of this country stands so high on the Continent. *Never before was England so powerful, or esteemed on the Continent, as she is at present*, never was she so powerful and esteemed in all other parts of the world. With a mild Government at home for where can milder men be found than Lord Liverpool, Castlereagh, Bathurst, Sidmouth, Eldon, and Melville? with a mild Government which is at the same time strong in public opinion, because it has so amply proved its ability, as well as its moderation; with such advantages it remains but for the people to repay by their industry and enterprise the disorders which so long and expensive a war has unavoidably created. During the first years of peace there will necessarily be a drain of money into new channels of trade, a great revolution in property must take place, but when the profits of commercial excitation are realised, as they will be *in three or four years*, this country will again overflow with capital, and a wise Government may diminish our burthens nearly as rapidly as they arose."—Blessed prospect! In three or four years the public burthens may be diminished, in three or four years, the people may calculate upon enjoying some of the fruits of their industry! Yet this is what the enlightened and reflecting, at least, those who pretend to know more than their neighbours, would have us believe, is a situation of profound peace and tranquillity, a state of enjoyment, of comfort, and ease, in which we ought to give ourselves up to all sorts of revelry, and unbounded pleasure. To say nothing of the war with America and with Norway, which we are prosecuting with as much vigour as ever, it is absurd to contemplate Great Britain in any other light than as a country environed with all the pecuniary difficulties consequent on a state of war. But, say the advocates of corruption, our success has been *glorious*, we have obtained ALL THE OBJECTS for which the war was begun or continued; never were we before so powerful or esteemed on the Continent, and in all parts of the world.—Well, then, if it be true that we are so highly esteemed every where; and if we are indebted for this character to the mildness, ability, and moderation of Ministers, where is the necessity of assuming an imposing attitude? Of whom are we afraid? Or whom is it necessary we should terrify? Why keep up an army on the Continent, if we stand so high in the estimation of all the Continental States?—Why continue

that this expression has some allusion to a wish entertained here, to extend our Continental possessions; which, it is supposed, we can easily do at the present moment. But whether it be views of personal aggrandisement, or whether it be the dread of an immediate renewal of hostilities, which has given birth to the resolution not to reduce our army to the peace establishment, and to retain in our pay a body of foreign troops, it is as clear as day, that as this will occasion as great an expenditure of public money as when the battle was raging with all its fury, that this country is in as bad, if not in a worse, situation

took place. We have the same load of taxes to pay; and, with respect to the profits of trade and commerce, the *Courier* consoles us with the idea, that they may be realised "in three or four years, when this country will again overflow with capital, and a wise Government may diminish our burthens nearly as rapidly as they arose."—Blessed prospect! In three or four years the public burthens may be diminished, in three or four years, the people may calculate upon enjoying some of the fruits of their industry! Yet this is what the enlightened and reflecting, at least, those who pretend to know more than their neighbours, would have us believe, is a situation of profound peace and tranquillity, a state of enjoyment, of comfort, and ease, in which we ought to give ourselves up to all sorts of revelry, and unbounded pleasure. To say nothing of the war with America and with Norway, which we are prosecuting with as much vigour as ever, it is absurd to contemplate Great Britain in any other light than as a country environed with all the pecuniary difficulties consequent on a state of war. But, say the advocates of corruption, our success has been *glorious*, we have obtained ALL THE OBJECTS for which the war was begun or continued; never were we before so powerful or esteemed on the Continent, and in all parts of the world.—Well, then, if it be true that we are so highly esteemed every where; and if we are indebted for this character to the mildness, ability, and moderation of Ministers, where is the necessity of assuming an imposing attitude? Of whom are we afraid? Or whom is it necessary we should terrify? Why keep up an army on the Continent, if we stand so high in the estimation of all the Continental States?—Why continue

I should not be surprised to find

the burthens under which the people groan, if all the world are in admiration of our moderation, and our justice? "All the objects, it is plainly admitted, for which the war was *begun* and *continued*, have been accomplished."—The power of Napoleon has been broken; the Bourbons have been restored; the Pope has re-ascended the chair of St. Peter; the Inquisition has renewed its *wholesome* observances, by which the bodies of heretics are burned for the good of their souls; the race of Jacobins has been nearly exterminated, and, finally, the *delivrance of Europe*, and the *march to Paris*, for which so many prayers, for so many years, were offered up by the pious, and so many sighs uttered by the believers in the "divine rights of Kings;" these great, these important objects have all been attained. Nothing, in fact, remains to be done, at least nothing in which this country can be any way interested.—"I have the satisfaction (says the Prince Regent), of contemplating the *full accomplishment of all those objects for which the war was either undertaken or continued*, and the unexampled exertions of this country, combined with those of his Majesty's Allies, *have succeeded in effecting the delivrance of Europe* from the most galling and oppressive tyranny under which it has ever laboured."—I admit that there may be some territorial arrangements to settle, which may render farther discussion necessary, and for that end it is that a Congress is to be held. But it will not surely be pretended, that it is necessary, as was lately done at Chatillon, that the armies should continue to fight while the negotiators are proceeding with their deliberations. For what other purpose, then, is this country to be continually burdened not only with the expence of nearly our whole domestic troops, but with that of keeping up a body of foreigners also? Are we afraid of France or Spain? That cannot be. The Regent has assured us, that "the restoration of so many of the *ancient* and legitimate Governments of the Continent, affords the best prospect of the *permanence* of that peace, which, in conjunction with his Majesty's Allies, I have concluded." Of whom, then, are we afraid? Not surely of our Allies. It would be treason to insinuate any thing of this nature. It cannot, then, be on Napoleon's account, that all this "note and preparation of war" is kept up on the Continent. Though deprived of his power,

does his *name* still strike terror into the hearts of those whom he formerly threatened with destruction? Though in a manner *politically dead*, does the existence which he enjoys excite apprehensions in the breasts of those sovereigns, who were formerly indebted to him for their crowns, but who spared him not when he was in their power? To judge by the tone of our newspaper press, there is every reason to believe, that this is the true cause of that alarm, of that panic, with which most of the regular Governments have been seized, and that nothing will restore tranquility of mind to these alarmists, but Napoleon's utter extermination. Hence the *fearfulness* which pervades the columns of these journals, whenever they find it necessary to mention his name, hence the readiness to which they still attribute to him any obstructions which start in the way of their favourite projects; and hence their reiterated recommendations that this object of their dread should be put to death, without regard to forms of law, to the solemnity of treaties, or to the immutable principles of justice.—How it can be said, in this state of things, that *all the objects* for which the war was begun and carried on, have been accomplished, is utterly inconceivable. If it is not from fear of Napoleon that our war establishment is to be kept up, it is proper that the people, who pay for this, should be informed of the true reason, that they may conduct themselves accordingly. But if it is the fear of Napoleon's great name, (as I am disposed to think) that has occasioned the present warlike aspect of Europe, it is impossible to regard the Jubilee rejoicings in any other light than a solemn mockery, than an insult to the human understanding. Surrounded by all the accompaniments of war; our war expediture in no sensible degree abated; and trade and commerce labouring under all the obstructions of such a state; the great majority of the nation are engaged in celebrating, by riot and drunken festivity, by low gambling, and gormandizing vice, what they have been told is the conclusion of a *glorious and happy* peace. It is enough for them that corruption has proclaimed this. It is believed without examination. The rabble get a-day by it, which seems to be the most that the multitude of all countries calculate upon obtaining, by the political changes which are constantly taking place. The friend of humanity would fain flatter himself, that



the reign of corruption and error will terminate at some period; but as long as he sees beings, who pretend to rationality, give then selves up with so much indifference to the guidance of others, as the people of this country are doing at this moment, he can scarcely regret, if they should be indebted for a restoration of their senses, to some signal and overwhelming calamity.

#### PRINCE REGENT'S SPEECH.

*My Lords and Gentlemen,*—I cannot close this Session of Parliament, without repeating the expression of my deep regret at the continuance of his Majesty's lamented indisposition.—When, in consequence of that calamity, the powers of Government were first entrusted to me, I found this country engaged in a war with the greater part of Europe—I determined at a there to that line of policy which his Majesty had adopted, and to which he had persevered under so many and such trying difficulties. The zealous and unremitting support and assistance which I have received from you, and from all classes of his Majesty's subjects; the consummate skill and ability displayed by the great Commander whose services you have so justly acknowledged; and the valour and intrepidity of his Majesty's forces by sea and land; have enabled me, under the blessing of Divine Providence, to surmount all the difficulties with which I have had to contend. I have the satisfaction of contemplating the full accomplishment of all those objects for which the war was either undertaken or continued; and the unexampled exertions of this country, combined with those of his Majesty's Allies, have succeeded in effecting the deliverance of Europe from the most galling and oppressive tyranny under which it has ever laboured. The restoration of so many of the ancient and legitimate Governments of the Continent affords the best prospect of the permanence of that peace which, in conjunction with his Majesty's Allies, I have concluded, and you may rely on my efforts being directed at the approaching Congress to complete the settlement of Europe, which has been already so auspiciously begun; and to promote, upon principles of justice and impartiality, all those measures which may appear to be best calculated to secure the tranquillity and happiness of all the nations engaged in the late war. I regret the continuance of hostilities with the United States of America. Notwithstanding the unprovoked aggression of the Government of that country, and the circumstances under which it took place, I am sincerely desirous of the restoration of Peace between the two nations upon conditions honourable to both. But until this

object can be obtained, I am persuaded you will see the necessity of my availing myself of the means now at my disposal, to prosecute the war with increased vigour.

*Gentlemen of the House of Commons,*—I thank you for the liberal provision which you have made for the services of the present year. The circumstances under which the war in Europe has been concluded, and the necessity of maintaining for a time a body of troops in British pay, upon the Continent, have rendered a continuation of our Foreign expenditure unavoidable. You may rely, however, upon my determination to reduce the expences of the country as rapidly as the nature of our situation will permit.

*My Lords and Gentlemen,*—It is a peculiar gratification to me to be enabled to assure you, that full justice is rendered throughout Europe to that manly perseverance which, amidst the convulsions on the Continent, has preserved this country against all the designs of its enemies, has augmented the resources and extended the dominions of the British Empire, and has proved in its result as beneficial to other nations as to our own. His Majesty's Subjects cannot fail to be deeply sensible of the distinguished advantages which they have possessed, and I am persuaded that they will ascribe them, under Providence, to that Constitution, which it has now for a century been the object of my family to maintain unimpaired, and under which the people of this realm have enjoyed more of real liberty at home and of true glory abroad, than has ever fallen to the lot of any nation.

#### URBAN GRANDIER.

(*Concluded from last week's Register.*)

They were not ignorant that some time before there had been a meeting of all the most violent enemies of Grandier, at the village of Pindardane, in one of Trinquant's houses, and they found a great deal of probability, that what was acted here had a relation to the possessions.—They could not also relish that Mignon had so readily explained himself upon the conformity, which he saw in this affair, with that of Ganfiedy, the Priest, executed at Aix. And, in fine, they had rather that other Friars than Carmelites had been called to their execrations, because the quarrels of these good Fathers with Grandier had been known to all the world, by the sermons which he had made against a privileged altar, of which they so much boasted, and by the contempt which he publicly shewed of their preachers.

The next day after, being the 12th of

October, the Bailiff, and the Lieutenant Civil, accompanied with the Canon of Rouen, and followed by their Register, returned to the Convent of the Ursulines, upon the knowledge that they had, that they did continue the exorcisms. They called Mignon aside, and remonstrated to him that this affair would be hereafter of such importance, that it was necessary that they, the magistrates, should be acquainted when they would proceed in it, they added, that it was convenient that they should forbear to exorcise, and that other exorcists should be called, to avoid the suspicions of suggestion, which inequality of being Confessor might give, by reason of the mortal hatred which had been betwixt him, or some of his kindred, and Grandier, who had been named by the Superior, as the author of the pact and magic which was now in question.—Mignon answered them, that neither he nor the Nuns would be against their being present at the exorcisms, and declared to them that Barre had exorcised that day, but he did not promise not to exorcise any more for the future, although since that time he had always abstained from exorcising in public. Barre drawing near, told the magistrates, that in this exorcising there just very surprising things; that they had learnt from the Superior, that there were in her body seven devils, whose names he had taken in writing; that Astoth was the first in order; that Grandier had given the pacts between him and the devils, under the symbol of rose to one named Jane Pivert, who had put them into the hands of a maiden, who had brought them to the Convent over the wall of the garden; that the Prioress had said that this happened to her on Saturday night, *hora secunda nocturna*, at two of the clock in the morning, which were the very words she used. That she would not name the maiden, but had named Pivert, that he demanded of her who that Pivert was? And that she answered him, *Est pauper magus, 'Tis a poor magician*; that he had urged her upon this word, *magus, magician*; and that she replied, *Magicianus & Civis, Magician and Citizen*.

After this discourse, the magistrates went up into the chamber of the possessed, which they found filled with a great number of inquisitive persons; she made not any very fare, nor did any action of a person possessed, neither during the mass which Mignon celebrated, nor before nor after the

elevation of the sacrament; they sung also with the other Nuns; the Lay-sister only being set down by the help of those who were nearest to her, had a great trembling in her arms and hands. This is all that was observed, and thought worthy to be inserted into the verbal process of the morning work of that day. The design of the Judges, being to take an exact account of this affair, returned to the Convent about three or four o'clock in the afternoon, with Irenæus of St. Maite, the Sieur Deshumeaux, they found the Chamber again filled with people of all conditions, the Superior had at first great convulsions in their presence; she thrust out her tongue, she foamed and frothed at the mouth, well nigh as if she had been really in a fit of madness, or was tormented by an evil spirit.—Barre demanded of the devil when he would go out? Those that were near heard this answer, *Cras Mane Tomorrow morning*. The exorcist insisted and asked him why he would not go out of her then? The answer was *pactum a contract, or, it is a contract*. The word *sacerdos, Priest*, was afterwards pronounced; then that of *sum, or sum, an end, or does end*, for this good Nun or the Devil spoke between their teeth, and it was not easy to understand her, prayers were made, and exorcisms and adjurations, but she answered nothing. The pix was put upon her head, and this action was accompanied with prayers and litanies, which had no effect; only some people observed she was tormented with more violence, when the names of certain Saints were pronounced, as St. Augustine, St. Jerome, St. Anthony, and St. Mary Magdalen. Barre commanded her at that time (as he did very often since) to say that she gave her heart and soul to God, she did it freely and without constraint, but when he bid her say, that she gave her body, she made resistance, and seemed not to obey, but by force, as if she were willing to say, she devil possessed her body, but not her. After he had made this last answer, she recovered her natural condition, her countenance was also pleasant and calm, as if she had not undergone any extraordinary agitation; and looking upon Barre, with a smiling countenance, she told him, that there was now no more of Satan in her.—She was asked, whether she remembered the questions which had been put to her, and her answer was? She replied, No. Afterwards she took some food, and told the

company, that the first pact had been given her about ten o'clock at night; that she was then in bed, and that there were several Nuns in her chamber, she felt that something took one of her hands, and having put into it three black thorns, they closed it, that this being done, without her having seen any person, she was troubled, and seized with a great terror, which made her call the Nuns who were in her chamber, that they came near her, and found the three thorns in her hand. As she continued to speak, the Lay-sister had some convulsions, the particulars whereof the Judges could not take notice, because this happened whilst they were nigh the Superior, and were attentive to her discourse.

This day's work concluded with an adventure pleasant enough whilst Barre made his prayers or exorcisms, there happened a great noise amongst the company, and some said that they saw a cat come down the chimney; this cat was carefully searched for, throughout the chamber, it threw itself upon the tester of the bed; it was caught upon the Superior's bed, where Barre had made many signs of the Cross upon it, and added several adjurations, but at last it was known to be one of the cats of the Convent, and no magician or demon. The company being ready to withdraw, the exorcist said it was requisite to burn the roses, where the second pact had been put; and in effect he took a great nosegay of white musk roses, already withered, and cast them into the fire, there happened no sign upon this occasion, and the roses caused no ill smell in burning. Nevertheless they promised the company that next day they should see wonderful events, that the devil should go out; that he should speak more plainly than he had hitherto, and that they would urge him to give such convincing and manifest signs of his going out, that no body should be able to doubt of the truth of this possession.—Rene Herve, the Lieutenant Criminal, said, that he ought to ask her concerning the name Pivart; Barre answered in Latin, *Et hoc dicet et Puellam nominabit*, she shall tell it, and name the maid, meaning to speak of her who had brought the roses.

Grandier, who at first made a mock at these exorcisms, and the testimony of these pretended devils, seeing that this affair was pushed on so far, presented a petition to the Bailiff the same day, being the 12th of October, by which he remonstrated to him, that Mignon had exorcised these Nuns

in his presence; that they had named him as the author of their possession; that it was an imposture, and a perfect calumny suggested against his honour, by a man who raised another false accusation against him, of which he had cleared himself, that he requested him to sequester these Nuns, who pretended to be possessed, and cause them to be examined separately, and that if he found any appearance of possession, he would be pleased to nominate some ecclesiastical persons, of a requisite ability and honesty, not suspected by him the petitioner, as Mignon and his adherents were, to exorcise them if there were occasion, and to make his verbal process of that which should pass at the exorcisms, to the end that he the petitioner might be able afterwards to provide as he should see cause.—The Bailiff gave Grandier an act of his issues and conclusions, according to his desire, and told him, that it was Barre who did exorcise the day before, by the orders of the Bishop of Poitiers, as he had boasted in his presence; adding, that he declared this to him, to the end that he might provide so as he thought fit, by which Grandier understood that he should be referred to his Bishop.—The next day, October the 13th, the Bailiff, the Lieutenant Civil, the Lieutenant Criminal, the King's Attorney, the Lieutenant of the Provostship, and Deshumieux, followed by the clerks of the two jurisdictions, went to the Convent at eight of the clock in the morning; they passed the first gate, which they found open, Mignon opened the second, and introduced them into the parlour, he told them that the Nuns were preparing themselves for the Communion, and entreated them to retire to a house which was on the other side of the street, whence he would cause them to be called within less than an hour. They went out, after they had given him notice of the petition presented by Grandier to the Bailiff the day before.

The hour being come, they entered all into the chapel of the Convent, and Barre coming to the gate with Mignon, told them, that he came from exorcising the two possessed persons, who had been delivered from the unclean spirits by their ministry; that they had toiled at the exorcisms since seven o'clock in the morning; that there had passed great wonders, of which they would draw up an act; but that they had not judged fit to admit other persons there than the exorcists.—The Bailiff remon-

strated to them that this procedure was not reasonable; that it rendered them suspected of imposture and forgery, in the things which were said and done the foregoing days, by the variation that was found in them, and that the Superior having publicly accused Grandier of magic, they ought not to do any thing clandestinely, since that accusation, but in the face of justice and the public; that they had taken upon them a great deal of boldness, to make so many people, and of such quality, to wait the space of an hour, and in the mean while to proceed in the exorcisms in private; that they would make the verbal process, as they had already done in other things which passed in their presence. Baire answered, that the end they aimed at was the expulsion of the demons; that their design had succeeded, and that they should see a great good turn to happen upon it, because he had expressly commanded the evil spirits to produce within eight days some great effect, capable of hindering for the future any one's doubting the truth of the possession, and deliverance of the Nuns. The Magistrates drew up a verbal process of this discourse, and of all that had proceeded in it, but the Lieutenant Criminal only would not sign it.

Although the impostures of the enemies of Grandier were not very ingeniously contrived, he could not but detect their malice, their impudence, and their credit. He saw combined against him the Lieutenant Criminal, the Advocate and the King's Attorney, Mignon, and his brother the *Sieur de la Coullé*, President of the General Assessor, Granger, Curate of *Neniet*, Dutthaut and Barot. But that which did terrify him most, was this, that he had understood that they had engaged on their side *Rene, Marquis d'Ally*, Major of the town, a man who had very much credit, as well for his riches, as for the many offices he possessed, and above all for his friends, amongst whom might be reckoned Cardinal Richlieu, who had not forgot many singular kindnesses which heretofore he had received of him in the country, when he was but a curate or prior, and which he had continued even since his elevation, and principally at the time of his first disgrace.—All these considerations obliged Grandier not to neglect this affair; and to this effect, believing that he was tacitly refused by the Bailiff of Loudun to the Bishop of Portiers, he went to find him at Dissai, whither he was accompanied

by a Priest of Loudun, named John Buisson. The steward of the Bishop, who was called *De Pua*, having told him that the Bishop was indisposed, he addressed himself to his Almoner, and prayed him to let him understand that he was come to present him the verbal processes, which the Officers of Loudun had made of all things which had passed in the Convent of the Ursulines; and to complain of the impostures and calumnies which were dispersed against him. The Almoner returning told him, in the behalf of the Bishop, in the presence of Du Pin, Baron, and the *Sieur de la Bresse*, that he was to address himself before the Judge Royal, and that he should be very glad that he had justice done him in this affair.—Grandier, having been able to do nothing more with the Bishop, returned to Loudun, and applied himself again to the Bailiff. He acquainted him with the which had led him in his journey to Dissai, reiterated his complaints of the calumnies which were industriously promoted against him, and besought him to acquaint the King's Justices with the truth of this business, protesting that he would make application to Court to obtain a commission to bring an information against Mignon and his accomplices, and demanding to be put under the protection of the King, and of the Council of justice, seeing that his honour and life were attempted. The Bailiff gave him an act of his protestations, with prohibitions to all sorts of persons to speak ill of him, or hunt him, this order was of the 28th of October, 1632.

It would be needless to perplex the reader with a particular recital of every step taken by the vindictive enemies of Grandier to destroy him, and of the methods used by him to detect their scheme, I shall therefore content myself with observing, that the Bishop of Portiers was pretty much in the interest of those who sought, by means of the pretended possession of the Nuns, to cover Grandier with infamy, and went to bring him to death; however, there were methods made use of by the Magistrates of the town, who did their duty like honest men, which plainly enough detected the villainous practices of these who were the managers of this business.—The Bishop of Portiers deputed exorcists, who examined the persons possessed, the consequence of which was, that Grandier was more strongly reported the cause of these disorders than ever, whereupon he presented a petition to

the Bailiff of Loudun, praying that justice might be done him, accordingly the Bailiff under-writ his petition, that he should have right done him that very day.—In order to this the Bailiff and other Magistrate went to the Convent, where, in their presence, Barre exorcised the Superior, after giving her the Communion; among other questions that he asked her this was one, Who had introduced the devil into her body? She answered, It was Urban Grandier, the Parson of St. Peter's, in the Market-place. Upon this the Bailiff directed the exorcist to enquire where this pretended magician was at that time?—As the question was in the words of the ritual, Barre was obliged to obey; the possessed replied, that he was in the Castle Hall, at which the Bailiff said aloud, it could not be; for he had directed him to go to a certain house, and he was well assured that he was there; but that every thing might appear clearly, he bid Barre go with one of the Magistrates, and see where Grandier was at that time, and they accordingly did find him there as the Bailiff had affirmed.—However black this might appear, the Bishop of Poitiers granted a fresh order for a new exorcism, which produced such glaring consequences, that Grandier presented a petition to the Archbishop of Bourdeaux, praying that he would give such directions in this affair as might make him easy, clear his character, and set the whole matter in the fullest light; in consequence of this petition the Archbishop directed the following order to the Bailiff of Loudun, in relation to the Nuns who were said to be possessed.

*Order of the Archbishop of Bourdeaux.*

First, As soon as the Sieur Barre shall have notice hereof, he shall take with him Father l'Escaye, Jesuit of Poitiers, and Father Gau, of the Oratory of Thouars; and all three shall in their turns, and in the presence of two others, perform the office of the exorcism, in case that it be needful; they shall separate the possessed from the company of the society, putting her into such a borrowed house, as they shall judge proper for this purpose, without leaving any of her acquaintance with her, except one of the Nuns, who had never before that time been possessed.—They shall cause her to be visited by two or three of the ablest Catholic physicians of the province; who, after their having considered some days, or purged her, if they

think it fit, shall make their report. After the report of the physicians, they shall endeavour, by menaces or disciplines, if they judge it requisite, or other natural means, to discover the truth, and whether the possession be not grounded either on humours, or on her wilfulness, after these things, if they see some supernatural signs, as her answering the thoughts of the three exorcists, which they shall tell their companions secretly, and that she declares many things that were done in a far distant place, or where there is no suspicion that she could know it at the time she is required to tell it or, that in many and different languages, she makes a discourse of eight or ten words congruous and coherent; and that being bound hand and foot, and laid upon a quilt on the ground, where they shall suffer her to lie without any one coming near her, she shall raise herself up from the ground some considerable time.—In this case they shall proceed to the exorcisms, fastings and prayers being previously observed; and in case that they came to the exorcisms, they shall do all their endeavour to make the devil give some visible, and not suspicious sign of his going out, and in executing this present order, any other Priests, if they are not called by the common consent of the three Commissioners, and not suspected, shall not intermeddle upon pain of excommunication, speak to, nor touch in any manner of fashion the possessed.—And in case there are more at the same time, the same order shall be observed. And to the intent that some libertines may not speak ill of the care the Church takes in such an occurrence to shew the truth of the possessions, and of the charitable succours, that its ministers bring the Judges, the Bailiff, and Lieutenant Criminal only, and no others are desired to assist at the execution of the present order; and to sign the verbal process, which shall be made by the person nominated, who shall take for their register the Prior of the Abbey of St Jouin.—And forasmuch as there will be occasion for great expences, as well for the removal of the Nuns, as for calling in physicians, for the charge of diet, for exorcists, and for women to be appointed to attend the sick, we have ordered (considering the poverty of the Convent) that the expence shall be defrayed by us; and for this purpose, we have forthwith commanded the Sieur Barre to order the farmer of our Abbey of St

Jouin, to furnish them with such sums of money as they shall have need of.—And if the above-named Father l'Esclave, and Father Gau, are not at Poitiers, and at Thouars, or for some reason they cannot be met with, the Superiors of the Convent shall supply their default, by furnishing others of an equal merit, if possible.

This order had a most surprising effect, it restored the Nuns to health, it banished the devils from Loudun, and, which was still better, it banished the exorcists, the Nuns, instead of feigned tortures, suffered real ones; people opened their mouths very freely as to their late conduct, and want and infamy made them make pretty free with the character of M<sup>r</sup> and his associates; these men, though disappointed, had neither lost their malice nor their cunning, the former put them upon excising the latter, they sent flattering messages to the Nuns to make them quiet, and begin next to practise upon that wonder-working Minister, Cardinal Richelieu, who had power to do any thing, and a conscience that stuck at nothing. How a man of his eminence could be drawn to violate the laws of God, of nature, and his country, to protect a fiend the most black, the most impious, and which is still worse, the most bungling that ever was attempted, to perpetrate a murder the most barbarous in its manner, the most cruel in its circumstances, and which introduced others by its consequences, and how, in order to effect all this, he could prostitute the name of his master, and the justice of France, must seem strange, and may appear incredible to future ages, especially if ever one should arise so happy as not to have a monster of the same species with the Cardinal, whose crimes may give a sanction to this relation, but it is our present business to know how the enemies of Grandier engaged his eminence in their party; this then shall be delivered in as few words as possible.

“A resolution had been taken in the King's Council, to demolish all the castles and fortresses which were in the heart of France, and to preserve only those of the frontiers. Cardinal Richelieu, who was the author of this design, was not willing to let the castle of the town of Loudun stand; for the demolishing whereof he had particular reasons, and which he had very well pursued, by causing one part of the right and jurisdiction of Loudun to be

transferred and given to his town of Richelieu, although he succeeded not in the project he had formed, to oblige the better sort of the inhabitants to go and people his own town, those who had a mind to retire to change their habitations, having chosen rather to seek for places of protection and safeguard any where else. The commission to raze this fortress was given to Laubardemont. He was one of those men who were absolutely devoted to the Cardinal, and whom he employed when he had a mind to exterminate, ruin, and shed blood unjustly, by observing nevertheless the forms of justice. He had been already made many times a Commissary on the bloody occasions, and had the honour to be often afterwards. He came to Loudun to acquit himself of the employment which had been given him. His principal conversation was presently with Memin de Silly, a creature of the Cardinal's; Mignon and

his friends applied themselves to Memin, he presented them to Laubardemont, by whom they were very kindly received, and who avowed, that he would be concerned for the affront which had been done to all the party, and to the Nuns, whose Superior was his kinswoman. They consulted to find out some means by which they might engage the Cardinal to concur with their designs, by some interest which might touch him in particular, and they could not, for what pretences will not avarice, hatred, and revenge, make use of? And what are they not capable to invent and discover?

“There was at that time about the Queen-Mother, a woman, named Hammon, who pleaded that Princess, upon an occasion in which she had the honour to talk to her; she was born at Loudun, amongst the ordinary people, and there she had spent the greater part of her life. Grandier, who had been her parson, and who knew all the ingenious women in his parish, was particularly acquainted with her. There had been published, under her name, a poignant satyr against the Ministers, but above all against the Cardinal, whereby many particulars of his life and ministry were laid open, for which he shewed much displeasure, and a very deep resentment. The conspirators judged it convenient to attribute this piece to Grandier, and to give out that he kept a constant correspondence by letters, with the said Hammon, of whom he must needs learn what was contained in that satyr.

There was so much the more probability in this accusation, that the satyr had been published during the disgrace of the Cardinal, who, formerly, when he was but Prior of Coussu, had little priques against Grandier, who pretending himself the first of the Ecclesiastics of Loudun, would no ways yield in any thing to the Prior of Coussu. This contrivance was approved by Laubardemont as very excellent, and likely to produce in the mind of the Cardinal an eager desire for revenge, to which he was naturally inclined. They brought after this the Commissary, to see the grimaces, postures, and convulsions, of the Nuns, who had by this time acquired new degrees of perfection in their management, by the practice of which they were found very dexterous and expert in the art of counterfeiting devils. Laubardemont at least seemed exceedingly satisfied, and promised to second their endeavours as soon as he was at Paris, whither he returned as soon as the castle was entirely demolished.

"At his departure he left at Loudun the devils, which his piety had recalled thither, though they had been dispersed by the presence of the Archbishop of Bourdeaux. They returned then, as into a house swept and garnished, fit to receive many others, who failed not to accompany them thither. The Superior and Sister Clin had not the honour only to receive these guests; they took possession of five other Nuns, besides six which were beset, and two bewitched. They took also a turn to the town of Chinon, where they lodged themselves, as it were, in the house of a friend and acquaintance, with two very devout secular maids, whose Confessor Baire was, as Mignon was of those of Loudun, possessed, beset, or bewitched. There was written afterwards by these Priests, or by their friends, a book intitled, *The Demonomania of Loudun*, wherein are contained all the names of the devils, and of all the maids who were tormented, whose pains and sufferings being therein described, without doubt, excited an extraordinary compassion in the hearts of all good persons who read it, and gave credit to all that was there related.

"Whilst the devils were thus employed, to the great astonishment of all people, who believed that they would never presume to return, and who could not comprehend or divine upon what ground they had that

confidence, Laubardemont, who was at Paris, made such high use of his credit and application in their favour, that he received an order to go back to Loudun, to be the arbitrator of their practices, and preside at all their commerce. He arrived there the 6th of December, 1633, at eight of the clock in the evening, and came to the house of Paul Aubin Sier de Bouneot, and son-in-law to Memin. His coming was so secret, because of the hour and situation of the place, which was in the suburb, that Grandier and his friends had no knowledge of it. Memin, Herce, and Menuin being quickly come to him, he boasted his coming in the prepossession the Cardinal, who was highly provoked, and put him into his hands the care of

and afterwards gave them proofs of the diligence he had used, by shewing them his commission, dated but the last day of November, and the contents whereof were as follow. That the Sieur Laubardemont, Counsellor of the King, in his Council of State, and Privy Council, shall go to Loudun, and other places, as there shall be occasion, to inform with diligence against Grandier, upon all the facts of which he has been heretofore accused, and others which shall be anew laid to his charge concerning the possession of the Ursuline Nuns of Loudun, and other persons, who are said to be possessed and tormented by devils, the sorcery of the said Grandier, and of all that which has past since the beginning, as well of their exorcisms, as otherwise upon the fact of the possession to make reports by the verbal processes, and other acts of the Commissaries delegated thereunto, to assist at the exorcisms that shall be made; and of all to make a verbal process, and otherwise to proceed as shall be fitting, for the proof and absolute verifying the said facts; and upon the whole to decree, instruct, make, and cause to be made, process against the said Grandier, and all others whom they shall find complices in the said case, even to a definitive sentence exclusively, notwithstanding any opposition, appeal, or recusation whatsoever; for which, and without prejudice to the same, it shall not be delayed, even considering the quality of the crimes, without having regard to the appeal, which may be demanded by the said Grandier: his Majesty commanding all the Governors, Lieutenant-Generals of the Province, and all the Bailiffs, Seneschals, &c. and other officers of the town, and persons

whom it may concern, for the execution hereof, to give all assistance, and aid, and imprisonment, if there be cause, and that they shall be required.

"He showed also two ordinances of the King, signed Louis, and lower Philippeaux, dated the same last day of November, 1633; ordaining the said Laubardemont, to cause the said Grandier and his complices to be imprisoned, with the like command to all the Marshals, Provosts, &c. and other officers and persons, to assist the execution of the said ordinance, and to obey for the doing thereof all the orders that should be given by the said Laubardemont, and to the Governors and Lieutenant-Generals, to give all assistance which should be required of them. This large and extraordinary power which was given to Laubardemont, very pleasingly surprised the company which came to hear it read, but when it was published, it was not less surprising, although after a very different manner, to all the honest people who beheld this affair with a just and disinterested eye; they could not sufficiently wonder that he had again been allowed to inform upon all the facts of which Grandier had been heretofore accused, and upon those which should be laid to him again, as the Commission imported. The astonishment however increased yet, when they saw with what violence they used the authority they had in their hands; for they began, contrary to all the rules of Justice, with the imprisonment of Grandier, before they had made any information against him, to the end that this blow might be considered as coming from the hand of the King, or rather as an anathema darted by the Cardinal, and which was sufficient to dishearten all the friends of Grandier, encourage the witnesses whom they would produce against him, and give the Nuns more liberty and confidence to act the parts which were appointed them. For this purpose William Aubin, Sieur de la Grange, brother of Bourneuf, and Lieutenant of the Provost, was sent for by Laubardemont, who imparted to him his commission, and the ordinance of his Majesty, by virtue of which he ordered him that next morning betimes he should seize the person of Grandier. As this officer did not believe himself obliged to be altogether of the opinion of Memin, the father-in-law of his brother, he caused Grandier to be secretly acquainted with the orders he had received.

"Grandier, who did not think himself

guilty, returned thanks to Grange for his generosity, and sent him word, that, confiding in his innocence, and the mercy of God, he resolved not to go aside. so he rose next morning before day, according to his custom, and went with his breviary in his hand to the church of St. Cross, to assist at Matins. As soon as he was out of the house, la Grange seized on him, and arrested him prisoner, in the presence of Memin, and a great number of his other enemies, who were desirous to feed their eyes with this spectacle, and to watch the proceedings of Grange, of whose intention they were not assured. At the same instant the seal royal was set upon his chamber and presses, and all other places of his house, and upon his moveables, and John Pouquet, Archer of the Guards to his Majesty, and the Archers of the Provost of Loudun and Chinon, were commanded to conduct him to the castle of Angers, there he remained above four months in prison, where Michelon, commandant of that place, ordered him to be put. He showed, during that time, much resignation and constancy, writing often prayers and meditations, the manuscript whereof, which was twelve sheets in quarto, was produced at his trial, but very unservicably, as also the advantageous testimony which was given of him by Peter Bacher, a monk, who was his confessor, and who gave him the communion during his confinement at Angers.—Laubardemont deferred not long to search the house of the prisoner, and to make an inventory of his books, papers, and moveables. he found nothing sufficient to hurt him, but a treatise against calumny, writ with his own hand, and two sheets of French verses, which were never published, but which his Judges treated as lascivious and immodest, without declaring that they were writ, and much less composed by him. They were not contented to seize these pieces, they carried away all the papers, evidences, sentences of absolution, which the person accused might have made use of in his defence, notwithstanding the complaints and oppositions of Jane Esticore, his mother, then seventy years of age. As they did not proceed continually, and without intermission, in making this inventory, it was not finished 'till the last day of January, 1634, and in the mean time they failed not to begin an information on the second of the precedent month. Peter Fournier, an advocate, performed the office of the



King's attorney: the mother of Grandier seemed much afflicted, because he was the son-in-law of Richard, a proctor, against whom she had complained, for that he went at midnight into a house, to persuade two women to depose falsely against her son; but Fournier required very quickly after to be discharged of his commission, in the execution whereof, one may very probably conclude, that he found his conscience touched, because through all the course of his life, before and since that time, he was always accounted a man of honour and integrity.

"This first information was not so soon finished, but that there was another made the 17th of the same month, and the 30th they began to draw up in writing the depositions of the Nuns. The friends and counsel of Grandier's mother did their utmost to oppose the torrent of so strange and violent a procedure: she presented, by their advice, the 17th of December, a petition to the Commissary, wherein she appealed from him, because he was kin man of the Superior of the Nuns, that he lodged at the house of one of her son's enemies, that he had made him a prisoner before any information or decree was made against him; that he had made the Lieutenant of the Provost one of the assistants, who was one of Grandier's mortal enemies, when they seized upon his person; that he had deprived him of all means to defend himself, by seizing on all his papers, and by causing him to be carried out of Loudun. But far from allowing of so just reasons for an appeal, this is the order which Laubardemont writ at the bottom of the petition: "That considering his petition, and not being informed from any other part of any just and true cause to supersede, he should proceed to the execution of the said commission, notwithstanding and without regard to the said petition, and without prejudice to the petitioner, to address herself to his Majesty, if it shall seem good to her so to do." They urged him to declare concerning the truth or falsehood, the allowing or disallowing, of the facts contained in the petition, but he would do nothing, and never answered but in general terms. Without the clause which empowered this Commissary to proceed, notwithstanding any opposition, appeal, or recusation, it is certain all his proceedings would have been disannulled. For besides the causes of appeal before produced, there were every day new ones presented which were lawful.

Mignon, Memin, and Menaun, Mousaout and Heroe, were always at his elbow, and he made no difficulty to hear the witnesses in their presence. There were, however, some who stuck not to depose for the discharge of the person accused, but depositions were not taken in writing, and they went away with many threats, to the end that those who were examined next should not follow their examples.—They published also a monitory, glossed with many additions, done by several hands, and stuffed with infamous facts, the reading whereof one could not hear without horror. The name of Grandier was mentioned therein, and the crimes, the knowledge whereof they sought for, were so foul and abominable, that the ears of all good men were scandalized.—Mourret, the priest, who had had a suit against him, and who had been a witness in the first affair, of which mention has been made before, was chosen to make this publication, as if they had a mind to make use of persons suspected, and that they gloried in trespassing upon all the forms of justice, and bounds of equity."

To dwell on all the extraordinary circumstances which attended the prosecution of this unhappy man, would require a much larger space than can be allowed here; I shall content myself, therefore, with observing, that those who conspired against this poor man's life, went on openly, and without caution, procuring an order from the King and Council, to support their proceedings, notwithstanding any appeal which might be made to the Parliament of Paris. An order was also published, prohibiting, under an excessive fine, any person to speak slightly of or dispute the possession of the Ursuline Nuns, though the practices made use of by them to continue their convulsions, and their accusations of Grandier were so gross, that multitudes saw through them.—The Bishop of Poitiers, when he saw the King and Cardinal so violent, readily undertook to act a part in this tragedy himself, in contempt of his ecclesiastical superior, the Archbishop of Bourdeaux; he caused the Nuns to be exorcised in his presence, and publicly declared he did not come to be satisfied himself, but to oblige others to be satisfied. At last these things grew so flagrant, and Mons. Laubardemont and his associates went on with such rapidity, that all the people of sense and probity in Loudun were not only offended, but terrified thereat; they therefore wrote a most humble letter

to the King, representing the true state of things, beseeching his Majesty to put such a stop to their manner of going on, that people need not be in fear of being reputed sorcerers, for not being in their interest — This had no effect, Commissioners well instructed were sent down to hear and determine, and though Grandier behaved with much composure and resolution; though he took such measures after all his suffering, as would have effectually convinced any impartial man of his innocence, yet after much grimace, and pretending to a great deal of charity and regard to justice, they published the following extraordinary sentence —

“We have declared, and do declare, the said Urban Grandier duly attainted and convicted of the crime of magic, sorcery, and the possessions, happened by this act to the prisoners of some Ursuline Nuns, of the town of Loudun, and other seculars, together with other causes and crimes resulting thereupon, for reparation whereof we have condemned, and do condemn, the said Grandier to undergo an honourable Amand, bare-headed, a rope about his neck, holding in his hand a burning torch, of two pounds weight, before the principal door of the Church of St. Peter, in the Market, and before that of Ursula in the said town, and there upon his knees to ask pardon of God, the King, and the Court, and this done, to be conducted to the public place of St. Cross, and there to be tied to a post upon a wood pile, which shall be made in the said place for this purpose, and there his body to be burnt alive, with the pacts and magical characters remaining in the registry, together with the manuscript by him made against the celibacy of Priests, and his ashes to be cast into the wind — We have declared, and do declare, all and every of his goods to accrue and be confiscated to the King, after there has been raised by the sale of them 150 livres, to be employed for buying a copper-plate, on which shall be engraved the extract of the present sentence, and the same to be set in an eminent place of the said Church of the Ursulines, to continue there to perpetuity. And before the execution of the present sentence, we command that the said Grandier shall be put to the torture, ordinary and extraordinary, upon the article of his complices. Pronounced at Loudun to the said Grandier, and drawn up the 18th of August, 1634.”

Having given the reader the sentence, I shall proceed with a very exact relation of

all that happened to this miserable man to the moment he expired. On the day the sentence bears date, Francis Fournneau, surgeon, was sent for by Laubardemont, and although he was ready to obey willingly, and at that instant, nevertheless they hurried him from his house, and carried him as a prisoner to the place where Grandier was detained. Having been introduced there into the chamber, Grandier was heard to speak to Mammour in these words, “cruel hangman, art thou come to dispatch me? Thou knowest, inhuman wretch, the cruelty thou hast exercised upon my body; here continue and make an end of killing me.” Then one of the Exempts, great Provost of the Hostel, whom Laubardemont caused to be called an Exempt of the King’s Guards, commanded Fournneau to shave Grandier, and to take from him all the hair upon his head and face, and all the parts of his body. Fournneau going to execute his order, one of the Judges told him, that he ought also to take off his eyebrows and his nails. The patient expressed that he would obey, and let him do it, but the surgeon protested that he would not do anything in it whatsoever command he might receive, and prayed him to pardon him if he laid his hands upon him. I believe, said Grandier, you are the only person that has pity on me, whereupon Fournneau replied to him, Sir, you see not all the world. There were seen upon his body but two natural spots, or little moles, the one placed near the groin, and the other higher upon the back, which the surgeon found very sensible. When this was done, they gave him not his own cloaths, but others very bad, afterwards, although his sentence of condemnation had been pronounced in the Convent of the Carmelites, he was conducted by the Exempt of the grand Provost with two of his guards, and by the Provost of Loudun and his Lieutenant, and by the Provost of Chinon, in a close coach, to the palace of Loudun, where many ladies of quality were sitting, on the Judges seats in the Chamber of Audience; Laubardemont’s lady taking the chiefest place, although she was inferior to a number of others who were there present. Laubardemont was in the usual place of the clerk, and the clerk of the Commission was standing before him. There were guards round the palace, and all avenues, set by the major Vemin, who was also in the palace, standing near the King’s Attorney of the Commission, and below the ladies.

When Grandier was entered into the

palace, they caused him to stay some time at the bottom of the hall, near the Chamber of Audience, and after he had been introduced, and that he had past the bar, he fell upon his knees, without putting off either his hat or his cap, because he had his hands bound. The clerk having raised him up, to make him come near to Laubardemont, he put himself again into the same posture, and the clerk and the Exempt taking off buskily, the one his hat, and the other his cap, they cast them on one side of Laubardemont. Lactance, and another recollect, who had accompanied him from his prison to the palace, were attend in their Albs and Stoles, and before they made him enter into the chamber, they had exorcised the air, the earth, and the other elements, as also the patient himself, to the end that the devil might quit his person. Being thus upon his knees, and his hands joined, the clerk said to him, "Turn thee thou wretched man, adore the crucifix, which is upon the Judge's seat," which he did with great humility, and lifting up his eyes towards Heaven, he continued some time in mental prayer. When he had put himself into his former posture, the clerk read to him his sentence, trembling; but he heard the reading of it with great constancy, and a wonderful tranquillity. Then he spake, and said, "My Lords, I call to witness God the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost, and the Virgin Mary, my only advocate, that I have never been a magician; that I have never committed sacrilege; that I know no other magic than that of the Holy Scripture, which I have always preached, and that I have had no other Belief than that of our Mother, the holy Catholic Apostolic and Roman Church. I renounce the devil and his pomps; I own my Saviour, and beseech him that the blood of his Cross may be meritorious to me; and you, my Lords, I beseech you to mitigate the rigour of my punishment, and put not my soul in despair."

When these words, accompanied with tears, had been pronounced, Laubardemont caused the ladies to withdraw, and all persons who, out of curiosity, were in the palace, and had a very long conversation with Grandier, speaking to him softly in his ear, whereupon the patient desired; he did not cause it to be given him, but told him aloud, in a very severe tone, that there was no other course to induce the Judge to remit something of the rigour of the sentence, but by ingenuously declaring his accomplices; whereunto he

answered, that he had no accomplices, and protested his innocence, as he had always done before. Houmain, Lieutenant Criminal of Orleans, and one of the reporters, spake to him also in private for that same end, and having received alike answer, they ordered him to be put to the torture, ordinary and extraordinary, which is done at Loudun by putting the legs of the patient between two planks of wood, which they bind with cords, between which they put wedges, and make them enter by the blows of a hammer, to squeeze the leg, which are more or less, according to the bigness of the wedges that are used, which sometimes go so far that the bones of the legs do crack and fall in pieces when they are unloosed; and that those who have undergone this torture, die in a little time after. They gave Grandier two wedges more than they usually did to the most criminal; but they were not big enough to the liking of the Monks and Laubardemont, who threatened the man that had the care of the planks, and other instruments of torture, to deal with him severely if he did not bring bigger wedges, from which he could not excuse himself, but by swearing that he had no bigger.—The Recollect and Capuchins, who were present to exercise the wedges, he planks, and the hammers for the torture, fearing that the exorcism had not sufficed enough, and lest the devil should use the power to resist the blows of a profane man, such as the langman was, they themselves took the hammer, and tortured this unhappy man, pronouncing against him terrible imprecations. *Tu fac Animus calidulus Ira?* Can so much gall enter the soul of devout person? Yes, and with just reason; for a magician, a sorcerer, a magician deserves not to be spared, when the glory of God is concerned, by which one may discern the degree of his zeal and fervour, by the degree of he transport he has against the crime, and the criminals.

The patient swooned many times during the torture, but they recovered him out of his swoon by redoubled blows; when his legs were shattered, and that they saw the marrow come forth, they gave over the torture, took him out, and laid him on the pavement. He shewed in this condition an example of firmness and constancy, which one cannot sufficiently admire; he let not escape one word of repining, nor complaint against his enemies; on the contrary, he uttered, during his torture, a proper and fervent prayer to God; and

being thus extended upon the pavement, he pronounced again *adieu*, which the Lieutenant of the Provost writ down, whom Laubardemont forbid to let it be seen by any body. This unfortunate creature maintained always, in the midst of the anguish and blows which mangled him, that he was neither a magician, nor sacrilegious person; acknowledging, that as a man he had abused the pleasures of the flesh, for which he was confessed, and had done penance; but he prayed his Judges, who urged him to explain himself further, that they would not oblige him to name any body, nor to specify the sin for which he believed he had obtained forgiveness, by his repentance and his prayers, which he affirmed to be such as a true Christian ought to make.—He renounced again three or four times, the devil and all his pomps, and protested that he never saw Elizabeth Blanchard, but when she was confronted to him, very far from having known her after that manner which she had declared. He swooned once again after he had been taken from the torture, and he came not out of that fainting fit, but by the help of a little wine, which the Lieutenant of the Provost caused speedily to be put into his mouth; afterwards he was carried into the Council Chamber, and put upon straw near the fire, where he demanded an Augustin Friar for his Confessor, whom he saw then before his eyes, who was also denied him, as well as Father Gillan; and he was committed, against his will, into the hands of Father Tranquille, and Father Claude, Capuchins. When they were withdrawn, they severely forbid those who guarded him not to let him speak with any body, and so he was not seen during the space of almost four hours, but thence by the Clerk of the Commission, by his Confessors, and by Laubardemont, who was with him more than two hours, to force him to sign a writing which he offered him, and which he constantly refused to sign.

About four or five in the evening he was taken from the Chamber by his torturers, who carried him upon a hand-barrow; in going, he told the Lieutenant Criminal of Orleans, that he had said all, and that there remained nothing more upon his conscience. "Will you not," says this Judge to him then, "that I pray to God for you?" "You will oblige me by doing it," replied the patient to him, "and I beseech you to do it."—He carried a torch in his hand, which he kissed, as he went from the palace; he looked upon all the people modestly

and with a settled countenance, and desired those whom he knew that they would pray to God for him.—As soon as he was come out of the palace, they read to him his sentence, and put him in a kind of little chariot, to bring him before the Church of St. Peter, in the Market, where Laubardemont caused him to come down from the chariot, to the end that he might put himself upon his knees, whilst his sentence was read to him once again; but having quite lost the use of his legs, he fell flat on the ground upon his belly, where he tarried without murmuring, or any word of displeasure, till they came to lift him up; after which he desired the assistance of the prayers of those that were about him. Father Gillan came to him at this very time, and embraced him weeping, "Sir," said he to him, "Remember that our Lord Jesus Christ ascended to God his Father by torments, and the Cross; you are an able man, do not ruin yourself, I bring you your mother's blessing, she and I do pray to God that he would be merciful to you, and that he would receive you into his paradise."—Grandier expressed great satisfaction at the hearing of these words, and his countenance seemed very cheerful; he thanked the Cordeher with much mildness and serenity, and conjured him to be as a son to his mother, to pray to God for him, and to recommend him to the prayers of all his friends, assuring him, that he went with comfort to die innocent; and that he hoped that God would be merciful to him, and receive him into his paradise. That edifying conversation was interrupted by the blows that the Archers gave to Father Gillan, whom they thrust with violence into the Church of St. Peter, by the order of their Superiors and Father Confessors, who would not suffer the standards to be witnesses of the condition in which the conscience of the patient was.

He was conducted then before the Church of the Ursulines, and from thence to the Place of St. Cross; upon the way from which he espied Le Frene Moussant, and his wife, to whom he said, "That he did their servant, and that he prayed them to pardon him."—When he was arrived, he turned himself towards the Friars who accompanied him, and requested them to give him the kiss of peace. The Lieutenant of the Provost would ask him pardon. "You have not offended," said he, "you have done but what your office obliged you to do."—Rene Bernier, Curate of the town of Troismontiers, prayed him

also to pardon him, and asked him if he would not forgive all his enemies, even all those who had deposed against him; and if he would, that he should pray to God for him, and to say next day a mass for his soul. He answered him, "He forgave all his enemies whatsoever, even as he desired God to pardon him; that by all means he would oblige him, by praying to God for him, and by remembering him often at the altar."—Then the executioner put upon him a hoop of iron, which was fastened to a post, making him to turn his back towards the Church of St. Cross. The place was filled with people, who flocked in shoals from all parts to this diurnal spectacle, and came thither, not only from all the provinces of the kingdom, but also from foreign countries.

The place appointed for the execution was at last so crowded, that those who were to assist there could not put themselves in order, whatsoever endeavours the Archers used to make the people retire with blows of their halbert-staves, they could not effect it, and less yet to drive away a flock of pigeons, which came flying round the pile of wood, without being frightened by the halberts, with which they were commanded to strike in the air, to drive them away, or by the noise that the spectators made in seeing them return many times.—The friends of the possession cried out, that it was a troop of devils who came to attempt the rescuing of the Magician, and were much troubled to abandon him. Others said, that these innocent doves came for want of men to give testimony of the innocence of the sufferer.—All that one can affirm here is, that all the facts, or at least the principal of them, are generally found in all the relations that have been kept of them, that most of the people of Loudon (who are this day alive), have been informed of it by their parents, who had been present, and that there remain some still living in that and foreign countries, particularly here in England, who can attest it, by having been witnesses thereof.—The Fathers exorcised the air, and the wood, and asked the patient afterwards if he would not confess? To whom he replied, "That he had nothing more to say, and that he hoped to be this day with his God." The Clerk then read to him his sentence for the fourth time, and asked him if he persisted in what he had said upon the rack? He answered, "That he persisted therein, that he had nothing

more to say, and that a was true." Whereupon one of the Monks told the Clerk, that he had made him speak too much.

The Lieutenant of the Provost had promised two things in their presence, the first, that he should have some time to speak to the people; the second, that he should be strangled before the kindling of the fire.—But to hinder the performance of either of these promises, these are the courses which the exorcists took; when they perceived that he was disposed to speak to the people, they cast so great a quantity of holy water in his face, that he was thereby utterly confounded; and seeing that he opened his mouth a second time, there was one who went to kiss him, to stop his words, he understood the design, and said to him, "There is a kiss of Judas."—Upon which their spite rose to so high a point, that they hit him many times in the face with an iron crucifix, which they offered to him as if they had been willing to make him kiss it, which obliged him to content himself in desiring only a *Stile Regina*, and one *Ave Maria*, &c. and to commend himself to God, and to the Holy Virgin, pronouncing these last words with joined hands, in 1000 little to heaven. The exorcists returned to their office, and asked him once again, if he would not confess? "My Father," answered he, "I have said all, I have said all, I hope in God, and in his mercy."—These good Fathers, to hinder his being strangled, according to the second promise the Lieutenant of the Provost had made him, had themselves knotted the rope when it had been put into the hands of the executioner, who, coming to put fire to the wood pile, the patient cried out two or three times, "Is this what I was promised?" And saying these words he himself lifted up the rope, and fitted it.—But Father Lactance took presently a wisp of straw, and having lighted it with a torch, he put it to his face, saying, "Wilt thou not confess with a man, and renounce the devil?" "It is true, thou hast but a moment to live." "I know not the devil" (replied Grandier), I renounce him and all his pomps, and I pray God to have mercy on me." Then, without waiting for the order of the Lieut. of the Provost, this Monk taking upon him publicly the office of hangman, put fire to the pile just before the eyes of the sufferer; who, seeing that cruelty and unfaithfulness, cried out again, "Ah! where is charity, Father Lactance?" This is not what was promised me. There is a God in heaven who will judge thee and me; I summon thee to appear before him within a month."—Then addressing himself to God, he uttered these words, *Deus meus ad te Vigilo, miserari mei*.—Then the Capuchins began again to throw all the holy water in his face which they had in their holy water-pots, to prevent these last words being heard by the people, and their being edified by them. At last they said aloud to the executioner, that he should strangle him; which it was impossible for him to do, because the rope was knotted; and that he was stopped by the increasing of the flame, into which the sufferer fell, and was burnt alive.

# COBBETT'S WEEKLY POLITICAL REGISTER.

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## SUMMARY OF POLITICS.

**LIBERTY OF THE PRESS.**—In so far respects this country, not much can be said, at any time, in favour of our boasted liberty of the press. But inasmuch as it is likely to extend its beneficial influence over other nations, it becomes a subject of interest and importance. It was stated by the Abbé Sieyès, during the revolutionary period of France, that “the press has changed the fate of Europe, and will change the face of the universe.”—I doubt much, however, whether that change has been of real benefit to society. I am afraid that we have still to look for the fruit which, at first, we were led to expect when the tree was planted. In place of the liberty of the press proving a blessing which, under proper encouragement, would have done, I find that it has hitherto only been used as an instrument in the hands of corrupt and unprincipled knaves to enslave the human mind, and to eradicate from the earth every vestige of liberty; as a stepping stone, by which the lettered scoundrel mounted to public favour; as a tool in the hands of the crafty courtier, who, to secure the ear of his master, and, at the same time, obtain popular applause, scrupled not to abuse the one, while he insulted and trampled upon the other.—Though we are every where told that freedom of discussion is a *natural* right, and though we see that the “Liberty of the Press” has become a standing toast in this *enlightened* country, yet I cannot shut my eyes to the many instances which I find, in our own history, of innumerable individuals, who, in attempting to exercise this legitimate, this *natural* right, have fallen victims to what, they had been taught, from infancy, was the mere exercise of the faculty of thought.—of that faculty “the most noble which man had received from his creator.”—Instead of the press being the sentinel and safeguard of public liberty; instead of its being the protector of the Constitution; instead of its being the channel of conveying truth; it has ever

been the foe of freedom, the subverter of every valuable law; and the vehicle through which the public mind has been contaminated by sophistry, by jesuitical argument, and by unblushing falsehood. If there are a few, amongst the vast multitude of public writers that supply materials for our press, who seem to wield the pen with some degree of *boldness*, this, in fact, will be found, on a little attention, to be merely its *appearance*. It is only because they stand alone in their opposition to corruption that they attract any notice, and were they not to be extremely guarded in what they say, they even would not long enjoy the liberty of publishing what they write. Let all the other newspapers assume a tone equally independent, and then some ground would be laid for anticipating the period, when we might think of *beginning* to exercise the liberty of the press. At present we enjoy about as much of it as the people of Spain and Portugal, where the Inquisition has so benumbed the human soul, that scarcely one word issues from the Press of a scientific nature, in the course of a century. All is absorbed in monkish rites, ceremonies, and observances—the fear of offending the church, or giving umbrage to some favourite saint, keeps the mind in a state of constant imbecility. In like manner, with us, the dread of libelling the Government; of speaking disrespectfully of the Prince, of professing the doctrines of religion; and, above all, of giving offence to the clergy; are circumstances calculated to produce a similar effect; to deter even the most fool-hardy against taking up his pen, and, in so far respects the science of Government, the most interesting of all sciences to man, to fix him down in a state of comparative insensibility, in which a thousand circumstances hourly combine to retain him for life. In the midst, however, of this gloomy and discouraging prospect, it is with some degree of pleasure that the attention is turned towards the discussion going on in the French Legislature, as to the Liberty of the Press. I am hopeful,

though not very sanguine, that the fulfillment of the prophecy of Abbe Seyes may be the result of that discussion—that the Press may not only yet change the fate of Europe, but the face of the Universe. It was one of the articles of the Constitutional Charter proposed for the acceptance of Louis the Eighteenth, that “the Liberty of the Press should be respected.” This stipulation has been considered of such vast importance by all parties, that it has occupied the first attention, which the Crown and the Chamber of Deputies could bestow on the formation of the laws. The King, in virtue of the right which he enjoys by the Constitution, submitted, in the first instance, a project of the intended law to the Chamber. In that project it was proposed to have a censorship on the Press; that is a discretionary power conferred on two persons, appointed by the Crown, to authorize or restrain the printing of anywork which they might approve or disapprove of. The subject having been referred to a Committee, it appears from their report, that a majority disapproved of the appointment of censors, while it seemed to be the general opinion, that some regulations should be established as to proprietors of newspapers, in order to render them accountable for their writings. Whatever way this business may terminate, it seems to me, at present, that the French people are fully impressed with the importance of a free press, and, as they now enjoy the right of discussion, both in the Legislative Body, and in their journals, to a greater extent than they enjoyed at any former period, I do not think they will easily consent to the introduction of a law, which would infallibly reduce them to the degraded state they were in before the Revolution. It is not proper they should; for the people of France are now a very different people from what they were twenty years ago. They have tasted of the sweets of liberty; they have been accustomed to discussion; and they know well that they are able, independent of hereditary power, to command the respect of Europe. Neither is it the interest of Louis, that his people should be restrained in the use of the press.—It was that restraint which kept his predecessors and their subjects both in the dark, and but for which France might have escaped the greater part of those misfortunes which have afflicted her. If sovereigns exercise the power conferred on them by the people, with a proper regard to the peoples rights, they have no occasion to dread the censure of the press. Individuals may arise, who, from frenzy, or disappointed motives, may overstep the bounds of propriety, but this is a case which rarely occurs, and when it does happen, it is only a very few indeed, if any, who can be influenced by such productions. The great body of the people always applaud a virtuous prince. They never even openly condemn, unless the sovereign has given up all shame, and abandoned himself to the practice of every vice. In the course of the discussion, which has taken place in France on the Liberty of the Press, one of the Deputies recommended, that the crime of libel should be clearly defined, and the punishment to be inflicted for every offence distinctly specified. It was a fundamental article in the French Constitution of 1795, the best Constitution, in my opinion, the world ever saw; it was a leading article there, that “no man can be hindered from speaking, writing, printing, and publishing his thoughts. Writings cannot be subject to any censure before their publication. No man can be responsible for what he has written or published, but in cases provided by the law.” The reasonableness and justice of this regulation is obvious at first sight. No Government ought to have the power of prosecuting its subjects for offences of its own creation. No judge should be placed in a situation which may give him an opportunity of gratifying his personal resentment against any man who may have offended him, and who may have the misfortune to be placed at his bar to hear sentence passed upon him. Such is the propensity in some minds to have their revenge gratified, that there are few judges who would hesitate to seek that gratification, if they found their enemy so situated. Where, therefore, there is a chance of discretionary power being abused, it ought never to be conferred in any case. This observation applies with equal force to the appointment of a previous censorship of the press. But I would rather give the preference to a Licensor of the press, than I would leave the definition and the punishment of libel to the dictum of any judge. In the one case, every writer is certain of impunity for what he may write and submit to the censor; he can besides write without any restraint, and much that would otherwise be repressed, from the dread of punishment, would be suffered to pass by a



licenser. In the other, he is constantly under the influence of fear, which not only destroys the beauty and force of his writing, but frequently renders him incapable of judging aright as to the import of a libel. Hence it is, I believe, in most cases, that many public writers, who had no idea of involving themselves either with the Government or with individuals, have unexpectedly found themselves made the subjects of an *ex-officio* information, and subjected to the severest penalties; not by any existing law, which might serve as a landmark, but by the whim and caprice of a Judge, who, in this respect, is placed above the law, and actually possesses legislative authority, in its utmost extent, independent altogether of King or Parliament. I have before observed, what cannot be too often repeated, that Blackstone, though a very able hand at drawing distinctions, has failed in this particular. He says that our press is *free*, "that is to say, it is subject to *no previous licenser*, every man may write and publish *what he pleases*, but then he must be *responsible* for so doing."—I am quite *free* to trespass upon my neighbour's land, and if he be weaker than I, I may, if I *please*, knock him down into the bargain. But then I am *responsible* for these acts, and am liable to be punished for them in my purse, and in my person. Properly speaking, therefore, I am *not free* to do these things. I may not do them if I *please*.—I am *free*, quite *free*, to eat and drink, and sleep, I am quite *free* to walk along the highway; I am quite *free* to whistle; I am quite *free* to buy or sell, the money or property being my own, and provided I pay the tax imposed on the sale or purchase by the Government. I am *free* to do these things, because there is no one who can *punish* me for doing them. But the same cannot be said of writing or publishing, because those are acts for which a man may be punished, and because there are *no laws* to point out what I *may*, and what I *may not*, write or publish, without exposing myself to punishment. If there were *boundaries*, if there were landmarks to guide the writer; if the law told him that he must keep himself within the bounds of *truth*; that he must not pass that boundary without incurring punishment. If he were told that he must not censure any man in power; that he must find fault of no act of the Government; that he must never *insult* any foreign Potentate, unless we

were at war with him; and so on—the writer would then know what he was about; and he would, as far as the law permitted him to go, be *free* to write.—But while there is no boundary, while all is left to the opinions and the taste of others, can any man be said to be *free* to write? Besides, there is the *power of prosecution* lodged absolutely in the breast of one man, appointed by the Crown, and removeable from his office the moment the Crown pleases. This man, the Attorney-General, can prosecute any writer for *any thing*. He has nothing to controul him but his *own discretion*. It matters not what the writing be, he can, if he pleases, and without consulting any one, prosecute any writer, or any printer, or any publisher, for any thing. He is not even limited as to *time*. He may, if he please, go twenty or eighty years back, and prosecute a man for what he *then* wrote or published, so that he who has once written or published, is, for his whole life-time, liable to prosecution for having done so.—But the grievance does not stop here. When the prosecution has been commenced; when a writer or publisher has been charged with a criminal act; when it has become notorious that he stands accused in the courts as a criminal, when this has been done, the Attorney-General may, if he please, *suspend* any further proceeding for one, two, three, or any number of years. On the other hand, he has the power of *withdrawing the charge*, of putting an *end* to it when he pleases.—He may charge and discharge at his sole will and pleasure. He may bring to trial, and the accused may be convicted, and even after that, he may drop the matter if he is inclined. He may call the poor wretch up for judgment at once, if he pleases, at the very next term; he may let him remain undecided for any number of years; and may at last call him up; or he may never call him up at all. The laws passed during this reign renders it impossible for the author of any work to escape exposure. Every printer or publisher is now compelled to keep one copy of every thing he publishes, with his name written on it, and is bound, if called on by the Attorney-General, to declare who the author is, or, at least, by whose authority he has printed or published it. The *proprietors* of newspapers are compelled to deposit with the Stamp Commissioners, an *affidavit* of their *names* and *places* of



*abolé*, as are also their printers and publishers. No press can send out any thing privately, for no man must have a press and types without a previous declaration and enregistrement. All the printing presses are now enregistered, and not even a billad can be published without bearing the printer's name, under a terrible penalty in case of disobedience of the law. If the author of a newspaper only remove his residence from one street to another, or even from one door to another, he is compelled to go to the Stamp-office and give information, nay, even swear to the fact. In the case of an author, who may have expended several hundred pounds for paper, and printing a work, the punishment for libel becomes peculiarly severe and unjust. The book is produced by the labour perhaps of many years. He writes it with the most benevolent intentions, he dreams of nothing but the benefit of mankind, and an adequate remuneration for his time and trouble; he lays out his last shilling to pay for advertising it; when, just at the moment he consoles himself with the idea of reaping the sweets, the iron hand of power lays hold of him, and, in the form of a criminal information for libel, suppresses his book, robs him of all his prospects, consign him to ruin and disgrace; and if he is so unfortunate, which is very likely, to have contracted any debts, to a prison for life. Add to this, a numerous family of children depending upon him for existence, and you have as complete a picture of human wretchedness and misery as can possibly be conceived. Now all this would be prevented, if the law of libel were so defined as to be within the reach of common capacities, as to be understood by every man, at least, who is capable of writing a book or a newspaper. In any case, indeed, would a licenser of the press, in this country, to a practice attended with so many dreadful consequences, and which has not even the semblance of a law in all our constitutional code, to give it the least countenance.—Could an author go with his MSS. in his hand to the Censor, he would be certain that all passages dangerous to his liberty would be expunged. At least, if any strong passages were permitted to remain, he would continue secure from the grasp of corruption, under the license of the person legally appointed to sanction the publication of his work. Who, on viewing

the subject in this light, would not rather prefer the establishment of a Censorship over our press, than submit to the arbitrary control by which it is now regulated? I observe from the Report of the French Deputies, which I have given below, that very incorrect notions prevail in France, as to the extent of the Liberty of the Press enjoyed in this country. The reporter speaks of the *restrictions* which exist here, as having been confined only to the year 1635, when the influence of the Star Chamber was paramount to all law; or to those periods in our history when it was necessary to suspend the *Habeas Corpus* Act. He says, that "when the English, in 1686, published the Declaration of Rights, they did not condescend to stipulate for the liberty of the press, regarding it as a right innate in every people having a Constitution, and a representative Legislature. And since the true establishment of English liberty, the press has never been fettered, and it is by its freedom that the balance of the Constitution has always been sustained, and a spirit excited eminently national." It is very true, that our forefathers regarded the liberty of the press as a *natural* right, of which no power on earth could legally deprive them. Neither do we at this day give up the point. Even our newspapers, the most deluged in the service of corruption, are continually extolling the great freedom, the unbounded liberty, which we enjoy in this respect.—But, alas! this is mere vapour and bubble blowing. It is a representation of the shadow only, the substance, as I have already shown, being no where to be found. Those who talk of the English press being unfettered, seem to have taken their lesson from that portion of it, such as the *Times* and the *Courier*, in which the most indiscriminate and virulent abuse is indulged, of all who differ in opinion with them as to politics; while the most fulsome and hypocritical adulation is heaped upon their own creatures, however infamous their principles, and however obnoxious their characters. This mistake, however, as to the extent of liberty enjoyed with us, fully warrants the supposition, that the French Legislatures have correct ideas as to what constitutes real liberty of the press. Conceiving that the press is no way fettered here; believing that we enjoy it to its fullest extent as an *innate right*; persuaded that its influence has excited

amongst us a spirit *eminently national*. Viewing the subject, I say, as these Legislators appear to do, in this advantageous light, there is little danger of their adopting a law which would prove injurious to the country. Though nothing distinctly appears stated in the Report, as to the definition of the law of libel, and this may arise from the Report itself having been imperfectly given, yet I entertain no doubt that, with the Constitution of 1795 before them, and their own profound judgment, they will come to such a determination as will render the use of the press beneficial to all parties in the State, and a terror only to the Despot and the depraved. But rather than see the press of France in a state similar to what it is here, I would give the preference to the establishment of a Censorship there, even though it were as rigorous as that which existed under the reign of the Emperor Napoleon.

#### REPORT ON THE LIBERTY OF THE PRESS.

CHAMBER OF DEPUTIES, AUG. 1.—M. Raynour began by observing, that before solemn laws had proclaimed the Liberty of the Press in France, a just and wise toleration there favoured the publication of writings, which the severity of the censorship would have repressed, or of which the authors would have refused to appear before its tribunal. The Government only yielded to the irresistible force of public opinion; and the condiscension of the Ministers of the King was an homage paid to the progress of knowledge, and the authority of reason.—In 1788, the Parliament of Paris solicited this Liberty of the Press, “saying the right of repressing reprehensible works, according to the exigency of the case.”—After the storms of many political revolutions, which have at least left the French the counsels of experience, and the lessons of calamity, Louis the Desired, recalled to the throne of his ancestors, has recognised the wish of the nation which demanded the liberty of the press, as one of the bases on which the social edifice was henceforward to rest. The King, on considering the plan which was proposed to him, pronounced that one of the guarantees of the liberal Constitution which he was resolved to adopt, shall be—“The Liberty of the Press respected, saving the necessary precautions for the public tranquillity.” The 8th Article of the Constitution in consequence declares, “The French have the right of publishing and printing their opinions, while conforming to the laws which must repress the abuses of that liberty.” His Majesty’s Minister for the Interior had since presented the plan of a law on the subject, which he called, “The Necessary Complement of the

Article of our Constitutional Charter;” and it was in the careful examination of this plan that their Committee had been long employed. He had now to deliver the Report of that Committee.

The faculty of thought was the most noble which man had received from his Creator; but it must remain imperfect had he not also the power and the right of expressing his thoughts, either by fugitive sounds, or by permanent signs. To speak and to write, therefore, were only the exercise and development of the same faculty the use of a gift of nature. A charter may recognise and respect that right, but does not confer it. It comes from a loftier source.—Before the invention of the art of printing, no law appears to have forbidden or embarrassed the multiplication and circulation of writings; the profession of copyist was, however, so common, it became easy to reproduce, in very great number, copies of a dialibre or a satire. Since the invention of printing, that fortunate means of multiplying writings, requiring considerable mechanic apparatus, and the employment of workmen, the operation of the art remain under the eye and hand of the police, and because thus it became easy to stop the communication of thought, Governments have conceived that they could arrogate the right to do so. Booksellers, also fearing competition, often obtained from Popes, Emperors, and different Kings, exclusive privileges for the sale of works in their dominions.—For a considerable period of time, books of all kinds circulated in France, without the Government thinking to subject them to any previous examination. Our ancestors certainly enjoyed the liberty of the press.—Under the reign of Francis I. religious controversies beginning to disturb France, the Parliament of Paris declared, that the Faculty of Theology of the University had the right of judging new books in regard to orthodoxy; but most commonly this examination did not take place till after publication. In 1554 this Faculty published a list of the books which it had prohibited, and at which it was the duty of Government to prevent the circulation, these books being printed.—Almost all the theological books printed since the middle of the 16th century, contained the *imprimatur* of two doctors. As to other works they were at that period rarely subjected to previous examination. Louis XI. it is true, directed that the Chancellor should examine all new books; but he granted the express privilege of exemption from censure to certain authors whom he judged worthy of silence. In 1699 Telmaque, a work which was supposed to contain so many attacks upon authority, was printed at Paris with the King’s privilege. Twenty-four years afterwards, (i. e. in 1723) another production could not be printed in France.—This was the *Henriade*, which was filled with allusions to the glory of the French

arms, and to the good Henry the father of his people.—Between the publication of these two celebrated works might, perhaps, be fixed the period of the establishment of that previous censorship, which fortified different works with the seal of its approbation.—In every country, however, where civil and political liberty is established on fundamental laws, the citizens ought necessarily to enjoy the liberty of the press, which is its first and surest guardian. The agents of authority always made it a sort of duty to extend and aggrandise the power of their master; they hoped thus to strengthen their own authority. This excess of devotedness always threatened the liberties of a nation. What, then, were the means of confining them within the limits which the laws prescribed? There was only one—it was prompt and effectual, it was the liberty of the press, which at once, without shock or danger, instructed both the monarch and the nation, which summoned before the tribunal of public opinion the errors of a minister, and the crimes of his agents, thus checking the mischief in the bud, and preventing the greater mischief of its consequences.—We may be told that the assiduous zeal of the great bodies of the State will prevent the violation of public rights; but these bodies are not always assembled to exercise that useful vigilance. What is to be done during the recess of their sittings? How was a great injustice to be arrested before its consummation, or a pernicious measure before its execution? Was it not only by giving to just and wise reclamations that rapid publicity which denounced the danger both to the Prince and the people? And even when the great bodies of the Legislature were assembled, was it not by exercising the liberty of the press, that useful truths could be submitted to them? And if they acted unjustly or erroneously, what other hope remained of bringing them back to sound principles? The Charter subjects the Ministers to responsibility, but if they can only be tried for great offences, if they are not otherwise responsible for their errors or acts of injustice, does it not become a matter of rigorous necessity that those errors and acts of injustice should be pointed out to the wisdom of the Monarch, the investigation of the great Bodies of the State, and the judgment of public opinion? And how, otherwise, can the citizens successfully exercise the right of petitioning? Are not petitions, on most occasions, the cry of citizens who complain of some act of injustice, or some abuse of authority? What means would remain to them of making themselves heard, of interesting public opinion in their favour, and of enlightening the Members of the Legislature, who must pronounce on their reclamations, if they could not assemble them by means of printing? The liberty of the press is no enemy to the beneficial use of the right of petitioning.

Having made these preliminary observations, M. Raynouard next proceeded to the discussion of the plan of the law presented by the Minister. He quoted that part of it which went to establish a previous censorship appointed by the King, and by which, if, in the opinion of two censors, a work contained any thing libellous, contrary to good morals, or the public tranquillity, its printing should be stayed; giving, at the same time, an appeal from the author to a Committee of the two Legislative Bodies, who might, if they saw cause, reverse the decision. The establishment of this previous censorship excited alarm, and appeared to him incompatible with the liberty of the press, that right which was secured by the Charter. The means also of repairing the injustice or error of the Censors were equally illusory. Sometimes the whole recess of a Session must expire, before an author could exercise his right of complaint; and the stoppage of a work ordered during one of our sessions, could not be decided upon till the opening of the next. What reparation, in the mean time, was the author to receive, whose work was unjustly delayed? None whatever; and yet it was often of great importance to the honour or the fortune of a citizen, that his work should appear at a certain determinate period. What punishment also was to be inflicted on the injustice of the Censors? There was none. What guarantee could be found in their fear of being reprobated; for even if their decisions were reversed, what security was there for the condemnation being public? But were their acts of injustice even proclaimed and posted up, still the spirit of party would easily console them for the public disapprobation.—Besides, would it be difficult to mention administrations where excess of zeal, though publicly discouraged by the heads of Government, might yet be excused, and even rewarded in secret? Thus every thing in the establishment of a previous censorship appeared equally unjust both in substance and form.—The plan of the law, however, proposed exceptions. The 1st article allows the free publication, viz. without previous censorship, of every work of more than 30 sheets, which form 480 pages in 8vo, or 720 in 12mo. The 2d article grants equal liberty to writings in dead or foreign languages, to episcopal charges (*mandemens*), to memorials in law-suits by advocates, and to the memoirs of learned societies. Here every one, doubtless, must remark the singularity that foreigners may print and publish their books and pamphlets in France, and find there that liberty of the press which was not promised to them; while the French, to whom the right has been secured by solemn charter, will not enjoy the same favour! The work printed in German, without previous censure, whether at Strassburg, or in any of the Departments where that language is vernacular, may circulate there, and yet cannot

be translated into French, without previous *supprimatur*! When some just and honourable exceptions were proposed, why not renew the ancient privilege which all academies had in France, not only of publishing their memoirs, but of authorizing by their approbation, the works of their own members, of their correspondents, and of the authors who were competitors for prizes?—If, as the Minister declared in his discourse, "care was taken to exempt all writings whose authors afforded in their character and situation a sufficient guarantee," why was it not thought proper to extend to many others an exception made in favour of ecclesiastics and advocates? Would not Members of the Chamber of Peers or of Deputies, Counselors of State, Public Functionaries, Chief Members of the University, of the Chamber of Commerce, and many others, be equally entitled to be included in the number of those who by their character or situation presented sufficient guarantee? By article 9, journals and other periodical writings were not to appear without the sanction of the King. This article, so short and incomplete, was only the more alarming for the liberty of the press. It would have been proper to explain, whether it was only meant to apply to the establishment of future journals, or whether every morning the journalist would be obliged to deserve a sanction. We should at least have learned how this sanction was to be obtained, or on what grounds it might be refused, whether censors or co editors were to be appointed, and up to what point, injurious both to public and private rights, those who shall have the direction of the journals may exclusively distribute praise and blame, or pass judgment on men and things, for the purpose of leading astray or putting down public opinion. By article 10, "authors and printers may demand the previous examination of their works and if approved, the author and printer are discharged from all responsibility, except towards private individuals who may be injured."—What an alarming power does this confer on a couple of censors? In this way the most immoral book, works injurious to every public right or institution, outraging even the sacred person of the King himself, would be screened from all future enquiry! The author would be freed from all responsibility, because two censors may have accorded their, perhaps, guilty approbation. But at what period, or in what country, have Magistrates ever been prohibited to exercise the rights of public justice, notwithstanding the *imprimatur* of doctors or censors? The 32d article, declaring that the law shall be reviewed within three years, announces sufficiently that it is not meant to be a temporary, but a definitive law; and, besides, it has appeared to many, that the period of revision was too distant. These different motives, which have had more or less weight with the Members of the Committee, have determined

them to declare unanimously, that the plan of the law, much as it has been proposed, cannot be adopted without some modifications. The question then arose, whether this plan was easily susceptible of amendments, by which it might be corrected, at the same time adopting its principal basis. That basis is previous censorship. On this question the Committee decided by a mere majority of voices, that previous censorship ought not to serve as the basis of the law.

Here M. Raynouard recapitulated a variety of reasons that were urged by the partisans of previous censorship: such as, "that it was necessary to watch over and restrain agitators; that journals and pamphlets were the chief cause of our first calamities and civil troubles; that the same causes would produce similar effects; that the English, when circumstances required it, suspended even their *Habeas Corpus* Act, and for a long time also the exercise of the liberty of the press; that the law proposed was not meant to be perpetual," &c. It appeared, however, said M. Raynouard, that these reasons were by no means sufficient to counterbalance those which demanded the rejection of the principle of previous censorship. Let the following observations, he said, be present to you. The liberty of the press is necessary to the right of petition. The representative leaders assemble only at stated periods. The liberty of the press can alone compensate the dangers of their absence. But a censorship, so far from ensuring this liberty, would menace its existence, and with it that of civil and political liberty. Should the censorship be given to the opponents of Government? Would not this be prejudicial to the respect due to the Monarch? Should it be given to the Minister's discretion? Would not this be to abandon our free institutions, our checks on the authorities, in short to abandon all to his discretion? Nay, more, would not this be dangerous for Ministers themselves?—These principles are hard to be answered. But, then, we are brought to the peculiar circumstances of the time, and are told, that even if the censorship were contrary to the charter, it ought to exist for the objects of secure government. But are those imaginary dangers to be compared to the real evils of a censorship? To suspend the liberty of the press, is to suspend the Constitution. Have circumstances changed, since its liberty was proclaimed by the King? Doubtless they have, but then they have changed for the better: the public affections have rallied with increasing strength round the throne. For months together have we not now enjoyed the full liberty, nay, the license of the press; and what evil has followed? What writings have troubled the public tranquillity? Has it not been useful in preventing agitation? Has it not produced inferences, even on the present subject, which ought to and must influence our decision? Doubtless there have been times, when the circulation

of pamphlets and journals was dangerous but their virulence was less the cause than the effect of the disorders of those times. But every Frenchman must see, that the whole spirit of things has changed. Anarchy was publicly preached up. A transitory Government showed its want of moral and physical force. It had no hold on public opinion. Are the same excesses to be ever dreaded again? Have we not now tribunals strong enough—penal laws, and may they not be strengthened if found wanting? If a fool should be found to put his name to a libel on the Government, what licensed printer would give up his press to him? Would not he know his exposure to capital punishment? and how could this black libel be circulated? Besides, all restraints on public rights ought to be of a provisional nature.—But the yoke of censorship once fixed on, what can shake it off? Is it not notorious, that at the first real danger, we are determined to invest Government with all the necessary force? But ought the welfare of the nation to be sacrificed to empty terrors? The journals are feared. How? The Government has hitherto made no complaint of those already established, though they have almost entirely shaken off the yoke of censorship. Does it fear more those which are to be established in future? But may not the undertakers of journals be put under the same obligations as the printers? May not sufficient pecuniary security be required of those persons in the first instance? This answers the *first*. May we not have the signature of the licensed proprietor, and this answer personal convictions? May not a law determine the suspension or abolition of a journal, subjecting the proprietors to severe or even capital punishments, and will they then expose themselves? At this moment the establishment of a journal is extremely expensive; large sums must be laid out before the requisite circulation can be procured. Those great literary speculations are always the work of subscriptions, and will the subscribers be likely to compromise their fortune? It is supposed that the British Government has felt it in an alarming state whenever it has found it necessary to suspend the Habeas Corpus Act. But this suspension prejudiced the rights of only a few individuals. If the Government abused it as a measure, the press was the safeguard of the people. It is true, that the exercise of this right was formerly restrained among the English. But by whom, and when? First, by an ordinance of the Star Chamber. And what was that Star Chamber? Was it a tribunal established by the Kings of England, to secure the just prerogative of the Crown? The limitations of the Star Chamber on the press, put into law in 1635, might be actually considered as attacks on the liberty of the nation, and were probably among the principal causes of dissatisfaction to Charles I.—If the Parliament, after having abolished the

Star Chamber, in 1649, ~~restrained~~ <sup>obtained</sup> for its own objects certain of the restrictions, I shall not say that the religious quarrels or the civil struggles of the English offered its excuse; but I will say, that the Parliament in that day of calamity and trouble, availed itself of that terrible arm of censorship against the royal partisans, as the latter had used it against the public liberty. Under Cromwell there was no liberty of the press. It would, probably, have saved the life of Charles. When the Royal Family returned, how fortunate for it would have been that liberty: its wise and generous advice might have saved his family from the catastrophe under the Second James. Even James might have escaped his misfortunes, if he could have been told that his religious and political despotism was alienating the hearts of his best subjects. But the liberty of the press was not in existence to tell him this, and he knew his danger only when it was too late.—Finally, when the English, in 1688, published the Declaration of Rights, they did not condescend to stipulate for the Liberty of the Press, regarding it as a right innate in every people having a Constitution, and a representative Legislature. And since the true establishment of English liberty, the press has never been fettered, and it is by its freedom that the balance of the Constitution has been always sustained, and a spirit excited eminently national.—It has been said, that we have not that species of national spirit which ought to precede the liberty of the press. Let the effect of the press to form one be tried. But will the censorship prevent the publication of clandestine libels in foreign countries?—Let us be allowed to use the language of a distinguished writer, speaking of the advantages derived from the freedom of the press in England (*Picture of Great Britain*, v. ii.) Such is in fact the fortunate effect of the preponderance of publication and public discussion, that, in every concern of State, Ministers are compelled, however feeble their personal understandings, or dark their views, to adopt the course most advantageous to the State. Their interest, as much as their glory, compels them to gather round them all the talents of the Nation. But is England the only country that has thus benefitted, or is it unknown how many other countries have shared those advantages which are held up to us? But must not this censorship carry to foreign presses the employment which would naturally fall to ours? The trade must be affected. Thus, Gentlemen, the censorship is at once unjust and dangerous. We will now prove it unconstitutional. What is the free publication of our opinions, in other words, the Liberty of the Press? "The Liberty of the Press," says Blackstone, "consists not in exempting publications from punishments after they are produced, but in allowing no restriction on them before." But the Minister himself tells us this without our turning

to strangers. The first article allows of the unrestrained printing of every work above thirty pages.—The comment of the Minister is, that to submit all works to censorship would be to abolish the Liberty of the Press. Thus the absence of censorship is the Liberty of the Press. But the Charter has promised us that liberty; the question is at once decided. But the letter is as adverse as the spirit of the Charter. To *repress* is not to *prevent*. The latter prohibits the existence of the evil; the former its growth. The law which punishes the crime after commission represses. The Minister says, repressive laws are insufficient against effects of which you cannot punish the author, till they have become too serious. In subjecting the press only to repressive laws, it is plain that the Constitution has not contemplated the possibility of the censorship. We have examined whether rejecting the principle, some temporary modification might not be allowed to the exigencies of the time. We have decided that the question cannot be proposed unless the Minister should lay before us the project of the law, with its peculiar motives, and that such project should be attached to the law, fully establishing the Liberty of the Press. The King will see in our decision the success of the liberal institutions to which he has given birth; and the Nation, convinced of our fidelity, will be only the more disposed to obey the law which we may hereafter sanction.—It is painful, doubtless, to think, and to announce that the first plan of law proposed to the Chamber must be rejected; but this accident, which it was not in our power to prevent, becomes the occasion of proving to the Monarch and the nation the strength of our attachment and respect to the Charter.—We have passed through times, during which to speak the truth was a dangerous virtue; now it is only a simple duty, as agreeable as easy to be performed. The King loves truth, and is worthy to hear it. But how secure this triumph to truth, if not by means of the liberty of the press? Let it exist in France, and be combined with wise laws for the repression of its abuses. The Reporter concluded with paying a tribute to the memory of M. de Malherbes, whom he denominated the eloquent and virtuous Magistrate who long filled the department of Superintendent of Literature, who knew how to defend the rights of his country as well as the person of his Sovereign, and who, by a generous devotion, deserved to be associated in his misfortunes. "If Malherbes were still amongst us, he would exhort us to defend those rights which can alone guarantee the charter, and which must secure the glory and prosperity of France; yes, if he were still amongst us. But has not his genius survived him? That work which we owe to the exercise of the right which we vindicate—that work, which he has left as a legacy to his country and posterity, will assist

you in your meditations: yes, the opinions of that wise man have directed ours, and they solicit with us the rejection of the law proposed."

#### LORD COCHRANE TO HIS CONSTITUENTS.

The ill-natured things which were said in the House of Commons against my Lord Cochrane, has induced his Lordship again to come forward in defence of his character. This was not necessary for the satisfaction of the reflecting part of society, who have long been convinced, that his Lordship was marked out, from the beginning, and without any just cause, as a victim to the basest corruption, and the most unparalleled villany. But it was proper, for the sake of weak minds, who are always the prey of designing knaves, that the explanation should be given. That it did not appear sooner, cannot be attributed to any procrastination on the part of Lord Cochrane, but must be laid to the door of his Solicitors, who, instead of promptly furnishing his Lordship with such a statement of facts (which they were bound in honour and justice to do), as would have enabled him immediately to refute the new calumnies of his enemies, these *very honourable* Solicitors, after keeping his Lordship's letter by them unanswered no less than *sine days*, deigned at last to return it *with their bill of costs*, and a *positive refusal* to give my Lord Cochrane any answer to the queries he had put to them.—The long silence of these gentlemen produced an effect, which it is more than probable, they intended. During the interval an unfavourable inference was drawn from his Lordship's silence, highly gratifying to his persecutors. Over this, however, he has again triumphed; but I question much whether Messrs. FARRER and Co. will have so soon reason to congratulate themselves, on account of their reputation being cleared from the stigma which attaches to it, in consequence of the unmanly and ungenerous part they have taken against his Lordship.—I observe, that corruption is exulting in having, as it again thinks, degraded Lord Cochrane. It is said, in all the newspapers, that the banner of the Order of the Bath, belonging to his Lordship, which hung in King Henry VII's Chapel, Westminster Abbey, was, on Thursday last, "*kicked out of the Chapel, according to ancient form, by the King at Arms.*"—Those who suppose that Lord Cochrane will consider this as an *insult*,

are total strangers to what *noble feelings* mean, and altogether unacquainted with that *conscientious attitude* which always elevates innocent suffering, and consoles it amidst the most diabolical machinations and malicious triumphs of its most inveterate foes.

# TO THE ELECTORS OF WESTMINSTER

King's Bench, August 11, 1811

GENTLEMEN,—It is fresh in your recollection, that when Lord Ebrington, contrary to my opinion, which was conveyed by letter to his Lordship, and at my request read by him to the House, made his motion for a remission of that part of the sentence passed upon me, which was to have been executed this day, Lord Castlereagh was empowered to state that the Prince Regent had already done that which it was the object of Lord Ebrington's motion to effect. You will also remember that Lord Castlereagh, instead of immediately making his communication and preventing an unnecessary, and consequently improper discussion, withheld it from the House for a considerable time, and thus afforded the Attorney and Solicitor-General and himself an opportunity of making a few and violent assault upon my character and conduct. Although many of their arguments had been previously refuted, and others were well answered at the time, yet it was impossible for those Honourable Members who entertained a favourable opinion of me to answer every accusation which the Solicitor-General and others brought forward by surprise. It remains therefore for me to offer some observations in my own defence, in which your eyes will appear for having suffered some delay to occur in the execution of this important duty.—In the course of the Solicitor-General's speech, he asserted, that, in my defence, I had mis-stated the circumstances of the transaction, and had charged my Solicitors with a gross dereliction of duty. I shall shew that I have neither mis-stated circumstances, nor made any unfounded accusation. He further asserted that he would take upon himself to say that the Brief had been drawn up from my own instructions. The fact is, I have never denied that I gave instructions for the Brief. It is true, however, that I give no specific instructions to Counsel and attended no consultation; but it is obvious that without some instructions, or some information from me to my Solicitors, there could have been no Brief at all. My Solicitors themselves applied to me for written instructions, and I, of course, furnished them with such particulars as occurred to me on the subject, which are written on one sheet of paper, and might have been written on one page. This paper is endorsed by my Solicitors, "Lord Cochrane's Minutes of Case," and may be seen in my possession.—I apprehend that it was the duty of my Solicitors to have sent me a copy of the Brief, which, however,

they did not; and I repeat, that previous to the trial I never read it. It appears that I particularly called my attention to an unimportant circumstance which they had inserted in the Brief, or the examinations attached, in consequence of an erroneous communication from my servant, who had confounded a circumstance of two different occurrences. This was the *one* "particular" which the Solicitor-General says that I myself corrected. I admit that this error was expunged by my authority, and opposite the four lines which contained it, is written, "read this to Lord Cochrane," which I think is an argument that the greater part of the Brief was not read to me, particularly as there are 12 lines expunged in another place, opposite to which my name does not appear. My Solicitors, however, assert that though I did not read the Brief myself they read the greater part of it to me. and on their assertion I will admit that they did so, though I have no recollection of the fact. But it it could be shown that they drew my attention to every line of the Brief, except only to that one most important point, the description of De Berenger's dress, which immediately follows the touch expunged, I will think that they were guilty of very reprehensible negligence. In my affidavit which was before them, and was introduced into the Brief, the coat worn by De Berenger is sworn to have been *green*; and in the examinations attached to the Brief it is stated to have been *red*. It is impossible that this most important difference could have escaped their observation, and yet it is true that they never called my attention to it. I may affirm, without fear of being again contradicted, that I did not know that the dress of De Berenger which I had sworn to be green, was in any part of the Brief, much less in the examinations of my servants, described to be red; because it is impossible, unless I had been absolutely insane, that I should not only have been visited with a Brief which authorized my Counsel to contradict my own affidavit, but have been anxious to send my servants into Court, to give evidence against me.—If my Solicitors actually read this part of the Brief to me, it is obvious that I was not giving that attention, which a man conscious of guilt naturally would have given. The word "*red*," if I had heard it, must have instantly excited my particular notice. But, "if the difference between red and green escaped my observation," what did my Solicitors think of it? My accusers chiefly depended for my conviction on proving that De Berenger appeared before me in the red coat in which he committed the fraud. Is it possible that one of my Solicitors should have read it to me, and not have said, "You observe Lord Cochrane, that this is contradictory to your Affidavit?" To have read it to me without a pause, and have suffered it to pass without observation, as, I think, as



negligent as not to have read it at all; and is wholly irreconcilable with the assertion of Mr. Abercrombie, that both parts of the Brief were read over to me with the utmost care.—If, in my defence in the House of Commons, I did not state the manner in which I apprehend the difference between the Brief and the Affidavit originated, it was because I could not have stated it without throwing more blame on my Solicitors than I felt inclined to do. I have been challenged by the Attorney-General to unseal the lips of my Solicitors and Counsel. My Solicitors, however, did not wait for me to unseal their lips, as is evident by what is called the Counter-Statement, with which they thought proper to furnish Mr. Abercrombie and others, and I think it rather unreasonable to require me to unseal the lips of my Counsel to qualify them to give evidence against me, when I could not succeed in unsealing their lips on the trial to speak one word in my behalf. My own Counsel, Mr. Topping and Mr. Scarlett, whom I fully expected would have advocated my cause, never spoke in my defence. In saying this, however, I cast no blame on those Gentlemen, because I have no doubt that, under the circumstances then known to them, they acted as they thought best. Neither do I mean to blame Mr. Serjeant Best (the Counsel for Mr. Johnstone), who, contrary to my expectation and direction, defended my cause in conjunction with that of his own Client. He made as able a speech as any advocate could have done, with the information he possessed, and under his then circumstances; but he estimated at the time, and afterwards authorised me to assert, that he was not able to do justice to the cause, and it is a just ground of complaint, that after Mr. Serjeant Best had been exhausted by fifteen hours close attention and confinement, he was not allowed a few hours to recover himself and prepare for the defence.

To return: I do, however, accept the daring of the Attorney-General, and freely release my Solicitors and Counsel from every obligation of secrecy. I might, perhaps, have done this sooner, but the delay has not been occasioned by any doubt on my mind as to the propriety of the step, or fear of the consequences. I thought, however, after the statement which has been circulated by my Solicitors, that it was my duty, in the first place, to put to them certain questions, which I was not aware would have occasioned much delay; but after a lapse of nearly a fortnight, they wrote to inform me that they thought it would be improper to answer those questions. I now lay them before the public.—I particularly authorise the Counsel employed for the defence to state their reasons for determining to defend me conjointly with Mr. Johnstone, contrary to the opinion of Mr. Adam, expressed on the 6th of May, contrary to their own opinion expressed on the 24th of May, and contrary to my opinion

and direction expressed on the 29th of May; and I also particularly authorise them to assign the reason for their opinion that no witnesses ought to be examined on my part; and especially their reasons for not examining my servants on the subject of De Berenger's dress, notwithstanding my earnest desire to have them examined. I am also willing, nay, I am anxious, that Mr. Serjeant Best should state, whether, when he admitted that the coat was red, and not green, he did not imagine that I had sworn falsely by design? I know that in his speech he attributed my description of the coat to error only, but I am anxious to know whether he did so from his feelings as a man, or his sense of duty as an advocate? Until I am better informed I shall incline to the opinion that he was actuated by the latter feeling only; because, if he really imagined that he had to defend an innocent man, I do think that he would not, without previously communicating with me on the subject, have had recourse to the dangerous expedient of admitting that to be red which I had sworn to be green; however embarrassed he might have been by the confusion in his Brief, or exhausted by the fatigues and long confinement which he had undergone—I stated in the House of Commons that I gave no instructions to Counsel, and attended no consultation. I now see the folly of this negligence; for if I had personally attended to my interests, and conferred with my advocates on the subject, I have no doubt that I should have fully convinced them of my innocence. I believe that subsequent to the trial there is not a single individual, with whom I have conferred on the subject, who has not left me with that impression.

To come now to the manner in which the error in the Brief originated, I have no hesitation in acknowledging that I am at issue with my Solicitors on that point. Their account is, that two of my servants whom I had sent to their office to be examined as to the colour they could give on the trial, admitted that De Berenger wore a red coat with a green collar. My servants, on the contrary, assure me that they did not, and could not admit that it was a red coat, because, when they saw De Berenger he wore a great coat buttoned up, and they neither saw the body nor the skirts of the under coat, but the collar and so much of the breast as they saw were green. But they admit, that on being questioned by my Solicitors, whether they could swear that it was not a red coat, they confessed that they could not, and admitted that it might be red, and that the green which they saw might be green from a military coat; but they have constantly declared that no part which they saw was red, and they deny that they ever admitted that they saw any red.—My Solicitors were in possession of their previous affidavit, describing De Berenger to have worn a grey great coat buttoned up, and a coat with a green collar underneath. I shall not deny that my Solicitors



considered the admissions of the servants to amount to an acknowledgment that the coat was red; but I shall ever believe that such admissions actually went no further than that, since they did not see the body of the coat, it might, for aught they knew, be red—and possibly, that they supposed it was red, because the wearer, having a sword and military cap, they conceived him to be an army officer.—The description which my Solicitors introduced into the Brief, in consequence of this examination, namely, a red coat with a green collar, neither accords with my description, nor with the coat actually worn by De Berenger on his way from Dover, which, as proved by the witnesses on the trial, was either wholly scarlet, or turned up with yellow.—If I had been a party to the fraud, and had sworn falsely as to the colour of the coat, I doubtless might have been wicked enough to have endeavoured to suborn the servants to perjure themselves in my behalf; but I should hardly have ventured to send them to my Solicitors to be examined on the subject, without previously instructing them myself; and it can hardly be supposed, that if they had been on their guard from any previous instructions of mine, that my Solicitors in the common course of examination would have obtained from them any evidence which militated against my own statement. I should naturally, too, have felt some anxiety to know the result of their examination: yet the truth is, that I never asked them a single question on their return from the Solicitors' office. Indeed, if I had questioned them as narrowly as one might suppose a guilty man, who had sent his servants on a guilty errand, of so much danger and importance, would have questioned them, I should in all probability have discovered whether they had or had not executed that errand to my satisfaction. At all events, I should have been anxious to know the result of their examination as entered in the Brief, and if it be true that it was actually read to me by my Solicitor, I must, under such circumstances, have lent too attentive an ear to have suffered the rumourous word *red* to have escaped my observation. I must, too, have shown certain symptoms of uneasiness on hearing that word which could not have escaped the observation of the reader, particularly as the contradiction between that word and my oath must have been present to his mind. And lastly, with the knowledge that the Brief contained a flat and fatal contradiction to my own affidavit, out of the mouths of my own servants, I should hardly have suffered it to have gone to my Counsel in that state; and then have pressed, in the way in which I did press, to have those servants examined on the trial. How my Solicitors could admit so fatal a contradiction into the Brief without drawing my attention to it immediately by letter, it is for them to explain; yet they admit that they never wrote to me on the subject. They very quietly however

inserted it, and let it remain in the Brief until I should happen to discover it; which, as I have pretty clearly proved, never did happen previous to the trial. It was on the second day of the trial, and not before, that to my very great surprise I discovered in a newspaper the admission of my Counsel in contradiction to my affidavit. "Yet," says the Attorney-General, "there was no mistake and no surprise—if there had, the Judges would have dispensed with their rule, and granted a new trial—but no! there was nothing of that sort here."

In whatever way my Solicitors took the examination of my servants on the subject of De Berenger's dress, it is indisputable that nothing can justify their neglect in not immediately drawing my attention to the difference between the result of that examination and the statement in my own affidavit.—"It never can be permitted," said the Solicitor-General, "that a person accused should try in the first instance how far he could go without his own witnesses, and then, should the result prove unfavourable, how far he could go with them." How unjust this observation is, as applied to me, is well known to my Solicitors—they well know how anxious I was to have my witnesses brought forward in the first instance.—Those witnesses would and could conscientiously have sworn to the green collar, which would have sufficiently corroborated the description in my affidavit, as it never was pretended that De Berenger wore a green collar to his scarlet coat. It was asked by the Attorney-General, "If the servants could have confirmed the affidavit which was the Advocate who could have been stupid enough to hesitate to produce them?" It is possible, however, that Advocates may be prejudiced, may be mistaken, and may be misled by their Brief. I hope that it will now appear to be satisfactorily proved, not only that I did not see De Berenger in his scarlet coat, but that he did not come to my door, nor even enter the hackney-coach in that dress.—(See the annexed affidavits.)

In reply to the Solicitor-General's observation, that I had sought to establish my own innocence by re-examination upon the Judge and Jury, I shall at present merely ask the Learned Gentleman, whether he is of opinion, that a like sentence for a like offence would have been passed on any Nobleman, or Member of Parliament, on his side of the House? Would a punishment which, according to the unfortunate admission of the Attorney-General, is calculated "to bow down the head with humiliation ever after," together with fine and imprisonment, and the privation of every office and honour, have been thought little enough for a Ministerial Defendant on such a charge? And if the candour of the Learned Gentleman impels him to answer in the negative, is it not fair to enquire, whether he thinks that such an one would

even have been convicted on similar evidence? The Attorney-General observed, "that he was glad that the period had arrived when the trial could be read at length, and thus do away the effect of those imperfect statements which misled the public mind." Reserving my remarks on the trial for a future opportunity, I said at present just ask the Attorney-General how it comes that he who is so anxious that the public mind should not be misled, should have made the unfounded assertion that I not only pocketed a large sum of money by the fraud, but put off absolute ruin? "Such an assertion is the more inexorable in the Attorney-General, who had every facility of obtaining more correct information. His own Broker could have told him, that the Omnium which I possessed on the 19th of February, when the fraud must have been in agitation, could have been sold on that day at 2½. The average cost was 97½, so that the whole loss on the 139,000l. Omnium, if sold on that day, would not have amounted to above 400l. And when it is considered that the result of my previous speculation was a gain of 4,200l. received, and 830l. in the hands of my Broker, how does the Attorney-General make it out that I had so embarrassed myself by such speculations, as to have no other than fraudulent means of escaping absolute ruin? Besides, I can assure the Learned Gentleman, if he is not already apprised of the fact, that if I had held the Omnium till the 1st, 3d or 4th of March, I should have sold it at a profit, and if I had held it till the 4th day, which I must of necessity have sold it, I should not have lost one half of the sum I had previously gained. But if, upon the whole, I had lost a few hundreds, or even thousands, how would the Attorney-General be justified in inferring my absolute ruin? It is well known that I had been more successful at sea than almost any other Officer of my standing in the navy and that I have constantly lived, not only within my income, but at less expence than almost any other person of my rank in society. On what grounds, therefore, is the Attorney-General warranted in representing me as a person in such desperate circumstances, as to be obliged to have recourse to the lowest knavery in order to avert absolute ruin?

With respect to the assertion, that I pocketed a large sum of money, in consequence of the transactions of the 21st of February, did not the Learned Lawyer know that the Stock Exchange Committee had seized not only 1,700l. of my money, which was my actual profit from that day's sale, but also a further sum of 770l. to answer their exaggerated calculation of that profit? and that the aforementioned sum of 830l. was also lost through the proceedings of that Committee? If the Learned Gentleman knew nothing of all this, I can only observe, that he ought to have informed himself on

the subject before he made such statements in the House of Commons. I have the honour to be, Gentlemen, with great respect, your most obedient and faithful servant,  
COCKBURN.

GENTLEMEN,—In consequence of what passed in the House of Commons, on Tuesday last, I felt my duty to call upon you, as my Solicitors on the late trial, for answers to the following questions:—

Did I ever give you in writing any other instructions for the Brief, than a few observations contained in one sheet of paper, which was afterwards endorsed by you, "minutes of Case?"

Was not the description of De Berenger's dress, as contained in those minutes, namely, "a grey great coat, without any trimming, and a green coat or a coat with a green collar under it," understood by you to have reference to what could be proved only, and

I to imply a doubt in my mind as to the colour of the

namely to intimate that the witnesses might only be able to speak to the colour of the collar, on account of the body of the coat having been concealed by the red coat?

Did I not at your request send my servants, Thomas Dewar, and Mary Purpo, to your office to be examined by you preparatory to your drawing the Brief? And were not you previously in possession of my affidavit, in which the coat worn by De Berenger in my presence, on the 21st of February, is sworn to have been green? And were not you aware that my said servants had also made affidavits, that the officer they saw at my house on that day wore a grey great coat buttoned up, with a green collar under it?

Did you not particularly question them as to the colour of the under coat? Did you not expressly ask them whether it was a red coat? And whether they could swear that it was not a red coat? when they could not, because it was worn under a great coat which was buttoned up.

Was it not in consequence of repeated questions that they were induced to admit that the under-coat might be red? Did either of my servants admit that any part which he or she saw of the under coat was red?

Did you not, in consequence of the examination of my servants, insert in the Brief that the under-coat worn by De Berenger was a red coat with a green collar?

Did you ever call my attention to that part of the Brief by word or letter? and do you really believe that I was privy and consenting to the act of my Counsel being authorised by the Brief to admit that coat to be red, which I uniformly declared to you was green, and which I had sworn to be green?

Did you read the whole of the Brief to me, or merely detached parts? Did I peruse it myself in your presence, or to your know.

ledge? Did you ever, previous to the trial, furnish me with a copy of it?

Did I ever make any alterations in the depositions of the servants, or in any part of the Brief, relative to what they could depose on the important subject of De Berenger's dress? Did I ever desire you to re-examine them on that point?

Did I ever, as far as you know or believe, give instructions to my Counsel? Did I ever attend any consultation? Was not my defence mixed with Mr. Johnstone's contrary to my orders? and did you inform me that Mr. Johnstone's Counsel, and not my own, was to plead my cause?

Was I not, as far as you know and believe, absent from London for near three weeks, previous to and up to the Monday preceding the trial?

Did you ever call the attention of the Counsel, by word or letter, to the difference between the statement in the Brief and the affidavits of myself and servants, respecting the dress of De Berenger? When did the Counsel, to the best of your belief, discover that difference?

Did I not send my servants to Guildhall on the 8th of June, the first day of the trial, to be examined? Did I not send you a note by them to inform you that I had sent them for that purpose? Did I not send them again on the second day of the trial, and did I not write to you on that day, particularly requesting that they might be examined? When did you receive my second letter? Was it not prior to the close of my defence? and if subsequent, was it not at least several hours prior to the close of De Berenger's defence? Had the Counsel, to your knowledge, resolved at all events not to examine my servants? Did you communicate to me such their determination? Have you any reason to believe that I had the least knowledge, prior to the trial being closed, that my servants would not be, or had not been examined?

If I had been informed, that the Counsel had refused to examine them, might I not have gone into Court, and personally demanded the examination of my witnesses?

I am, &c.

COCHRANE

Messrs. Farrer and Atkinson.

Lincoln's-Inn-Fields, 3d August, 1814

MY LORD,—We were duly honoured with your Lordship's Letter of the 25th ult. requiring our answers to many questions relating to the late prosecution; but, after what has passed, and the communications we have already made, we hope your Lordship will agree with us in thinking, that it would be highly improper in us now to answer any more abstract or partial questions. We have, agreeable to your uncle's desire, made out, and now beg leave to inclose you, our bill in that business, in which you will find most of the facts to which your

questions relate stated as they occurred.—We are, &c.

FARRER and Co.

The following Affidavits are the voluntary and disinterested acts of the respective Deponents:—

London (to wit)

James Miller, of Marsh-gate, Westminster-bridge-road, in the county of Surrey, butcher, maketh oath and saith, That on the 21st day of February last, between eight and nine o'clock in the morning, as he was standing at his door in the said Westminster-bridge-road, he saw a Dirlford chaise and four stop at the coach-stand opposite to his house, when several persons assembled and enquired of the postboys whom they had brought in the chaise, they answered, "a Messenger from France, and the bearer of dispatches that Bonaparte was killed and cut to pieces by the Cossicks." That deponent saw the supposed Messenger, dressed in green, with a grey great coat, get out of the said chaise into a hackney-coach, and deponent positively declares he saw no red upon any part of his dress. That deponent asked the waterman, who attends the coach-stand, where the gentleman was going to? and he replied, "the Coachman is ordered to drive over the Bridge." And this Deponent further saith, that about seven o'clock in the morning of the said 21st of February, as he was going to market, one of the collectors of the tolls at the said Marsh-gate told him that a chaise and four, with a Messenger, went through the said gate towards town, between six and seven o'clock, that morning.

(Signed)

JAMES MILLER.

Sworn at the Mansion-house, London,

this 22d day of July, 1814

(Signed)

Wm. DOWVILLE, Mayor.

London (to wit.)

Joseph Rayment, of the Westminster-bridge-road, in the county of Surrey, fishmonger, on his oath saith, that to the best of his recollection, on the morning of the 21st of Feb. about nine o'clock, he saw a post-chaise and four pass his house, which is near to the Marsh Turnpike-gate, and was informed that it brought intelligence that the French army was cut in pieces and Bonaparte killed, on which he went out to learn the fact; when he saw the said post-chaise draw up along side of a hackney-coach, and a person got out of the chaise into the hackney coach; that on getting out his great coat, partly open, enabled Deponent to see the coat underneath, and it appeared to him to be dark green. Deponent fancied he was a foreign officer, as the dress was like that of the sharpshooters. When Deponent returned to his house, he mentioned to his wife the intelligence, and described to her the dress in which the person appeared, which fact she is ready to testify.

(Signed)

JOSEPH RAYMENT.

Sworn at the Mansion-house, London,

this 22d day of July, 1814.

(Signed)

Wm. DOWVILLE, Mayor.

London (to wit.)

Charles King, of Westminster Bridge road, in the county of Surrey, stable keeper, maketh oath and saith, That some time previously to the trial of Charles Randon De Berenger, and others, he saw William Crane, the hackney coachman, and one of the witnesses on the said trial on behalf of the prosecution, passing by deponent's stable-yard, in Westminster-road, in company with Sayer the Bow-street officer, on his way to identify the said Charles Randon De Berenger, who was then in custody. A day or two afterwards deponent met the said William Crane, accidentally in the said Westminster-road, and asked him, what he had been doing with Sayer?—He answered, "He had been to see the Berenger, in order to identify him, but he could not swear to him, as many faces were alike," but he said using a profusion in the most horrible language too beastly to repeat, "he would have a hackney-coach and horses out of them," meaning, as the Deponent believe the Prosecutor. During this conversation a person passed by them dressed in a grey great coat, whom the said William Crane, pointing to him, said he (meaning De Berenger) was dressed just like that gentleman, only he had a Cap on, and he (the said William Crane) did not see his under-dress, as his coat was closely buttoned up. And Deponent farther saith, that after the said trial he saw the father of the said William Crane, who told him he was going to look after the money (meaning the reward), as his son was considered a first rate witness; when Deponent asked him how he could consider his son in that light, as he knew so commonly well, that had he (Deponent) appeared he must have lost him out of the Court; the father replied, "if he had beat him, there was the place where the clothes were brought and the Post boys;" that on Deponent being severe in his remarks, the father said, "I do not know what they did with the boy, they had him two days locked up in the Police Officer's house, that he might not be tampered with by the other side." Deponent asked him if there had been any advances by the opposite party, he said, "None." And this Deponent farther saith, that he has seen the said William Crane since the said trial, who on Deponent accusing him of having gone too far in his evidence, he said, using the same unnatural protestations, "that he would swear black was white, or any thing else, if he was paid for it." And Deponent further saith, that previously to the said trial the said William Crane's coach and horses were of a most miserable description, but that since the trial he has purchased a hackney-coach and horses of the best description. And Deponent farther saith, that the said William Crane's general character is most infamous, and his mode of expressing himself so obscene and blasphemous, as to preclude De-

ponent from stating the exact words made use of by the said William Crane. And this Deponent lastly saith, that the man-servant of Mr Kjer, of Bridge-street, Westminster, and the group of Colonel Taylor, of the Custodian-house, were present on or about the 2d day of July, when Crane declared, "that he would swear black was white, or any thing else, if he was well paid for it."

(Signed) CHARLES KING.

Sworn at the Mansion-house, London, this

22d day of July, 1814.

(Signed) WM. DOWVILLE, Mayor.

London (to wit.)

Richard Baldwin, of No 7, Bridge-street, Westminster, in the county of Middlesex, servant to Mr George Keir, of Bridge street, aforesaid, on his oath saith, that on or about the 2d of July, he was present at a conversation which took place between Charles King and William Crane, one of the witnesses on the trial of Charles Randon De Berenger, and others on behalf of the prosecution, when he heard the said William Crane (in reply to the said Charles King, who had accused him of having gone too far in his evidence) say, that "he would be damned if he would not swear black was white, or any thing else, if any one would pay him for it."

(Signed) RICHARD BALDWIN.

Sworn at the Mansion-House, London,

this 22d day of July 1814.

(Signed) WM. DOWVILLE, Mayor.

London (to wit.)

Thomas Critchfield, of Westminster-Bridge-road in the county of Surrey, coach-maker, on his oath saith, that he knows William Crane, one of the witnesses for the prosecution on the trial of Charles Randon De Berenger, and others, and that he heard him say previously to the said trial, when speaking of his father, that "he did not care a damn for his father, that he was twenty-one years of age, and he should soon have more money than ever his father had." And deponent also saith, that since the said trial, the said Wm. Crane has been enabled to purchase a very good hackney-coach, with horses and harness, though previously to the said trial his coach and horses were of a most miserable description. And deponent lastly saith, that the said William Crane is a man of the most infamous character, and this deponent positively declares, that he would not believe him on his oath.

(Signed) THOMAS CRITCHFIELD.

Sworn at the Mansion-House, London,

this 22d day of July, 1814.

(Signed) WM. DOWVILLE, Mayor.

London (to wit.)

James Yeowell, of Silver-street, Falcon-square, in the city of London, ticket porter, maketh oath and saith, That a few days after the 21st of February last, William Crane, hackney-coachman, and one of the witnesses on the late trial of Charles Randon De Be-

renger, and others, for a conspiracy, informed him, this deponent, that in his evidence given before the Stock Exchange Committee, he said, that the person whom he took from a post-chaise and four, at the Marsh-gate, on the 21st of February, was no other than Lord Cochrane himself; and this deponent said, that, on his interrogating the said William Crane as to the person of his Lordship, he, William Crane, said, he knew him as well as him, this deponent, and that he had driven Lord Cochrane from the Opera House, and other places of amusement, 20 times; and further declared, that it was Lord Cochrane whom he took from the post-chaise and four aforesaid, and described his Lordship as a tall man, taller than him, this deponent, with a long face and red whiskers. And this deponent further said, that, after the trial of the persons aforesaid, he, deponent, having met the said William Crane, accused him of perjury, in having sworn to the person of De Berenger, as the man taken up by him from the chaise at the Marsh-gate, when he had previously declared before the Stock Exchange Committee, that Lord Cochrane was the person, and told him, Crane, that he should be careful how he took an oath on such occasions, upon which the said William Crane refused to converse with him, this deponent, on the subject, and this deponent lastly said, that having again on the same day met the said William Crane, he inquired if he had received the reward offered by the Stock Exchange Committee, when he, the said William Crane, admitted he had received a punt, and that he expected more.

JAMES YCOWELL.  
Sworn before me, at the Mansion House,  
this 9th day of April, 1844.

(Signed) WM. DAVILLE, Mayor.

(London to wit)

James Lovemore, of Clement's lane, Lombard-street, in the city of London, maker of oaths and saths, that a few days after the 21st of February last, Wm Crane, hackney coachman, one of the witnesses on the late trial of Clara Rindom De Berenger and others, for a conspiracy, informed him this deponent and others then present, that in his evidence given before the Stock Exchange Committee, he said, that the person whom he took from a post-chaise and four at the Marsh-gate, on the 21st of February last, was no other than Lord Cochrane himself; and this deponent said, that on James Ycowell, a friend of his, interrogating Crane as to the person of his Lordship, he, William Crane, said, that he knew him as well as he did him, James Ycowell, and that he had driven Lord Cochrane from the Opera-house, and other places of amusement, twenty times; and further declared, that it was Lord Cochrane whom he drove from the post-chaise and four aforesaid, and described his Lordship as a tall man, taller

than James Ycowell, with a long face and red whiskers.

JAMES LOVEMORE.  
Sworn before me at the Mansion House,  
this 9th day of April, 1844.

WM. DAVILLE, Mayor.

If it were necessary to multiply Affidavits, there are two other persons who could depose to the fact of Crane having asserted, that in his evidence before the Stock Exchange Committee, he declared that Lord Cochrane was the pretended De Berenger; a circumstance which, perhaps, explains the following passage in the Report of that Committee:—"They are in possession of still further information on the subject, which it is considered not proper to disclose at present, and which they hope and expect will eventually crown their efforts with complete success."

It appears by the testimony of Thos. Shilling, who drove the chaise which conveyed De Berenger from Dartford to the Marsh-gate, that on his being disappointed of a hackney-coach at the Lambeth-bridg, he drew up the blinds of the chaise (vide Trial, p. 113), and it appears by the following questions which have since been put to Shilling, and his answers thereto, which he is ready to repeat upon oath, that De Berenger might have changed his dress in the chaise without being observed.—

Q Do you think it possible, that De Berenger might have changed his dress while on the road from Dartford to the Marsh-gate?—A Yes, I think he might, but I did not see him do it.

Q Had he a package or a small portmanteau with him that might contain a coat?—A When he got out of the chaise, he had a parcel of some kind large enough for that purpose, I always thought he had two coats, and I think so now.

Q Can you swear that De Berenger had a red coat on, when he got out of your chaise into the hackney-coach?—A No, I cannot.

Crane himself deposed, that De Berenger had with him a portmanteau, "big enough to wrap a coat up in." (Vide Trial, p. 123).—This circumstance was partly overlooked by Lord Ellenborough, who, while he admitted the portmanteau, acquainted the Jury that it did not appear that De Berenger had any means of changing his dress!—(Trial, pp. 477, 484.)

It can further be proved, that De Berenger himself, notwithstanding his virulent and self-confuting attack on Lord Cochrane, has admitted since his confinement, that the coat in which he went to Lord Cochrane on the 21st February was dark green.

SUMMARY OF POLITICS.

THE EMPEROR NAPOLEON.—We were lately led to believe, by the *Morning Chronicle*, that this interesting personage had quitted the place of his retirement, and had landed on the adjacent Continent, with the concurrence of the agents of the Allies. This statement was given on the authority of a gentleman, who, it was said, had arrived here from the Mediterranean, and who was off the island of Elba, where, it was also said, he received his information, on the 5th of July.—If this occurrence had been true, it certainly would have been of vast and incalculable importance, in the present unsettled state of European affairs. It seems, however, from the long period which has elapsed since the pretended departure of Bonaparte from Elba, without any accounts of this coming from other quarters, to have been altogether incorrect. It appears, besides, to be unfounded, from two official articles which appeared, first in the *Vinna Court Gazette*, and afterwards in the *Paris Papers*, the one dated the 19th and the other 28th July, in both which Napoleon is said to have been then at Elba, enjoying good health, and engaged in active pursuits, similar to those which occupied a great portion of his time when he wielded the sceptres of France and Italy.—Whatever may be the ulterior views of the Emperor Francis, in thus so curiously giving publicity to any circumstance, having a tendency to keep alive the recollection of a man, whose memory all the ancient royal families in Europe have every reason to wish consigned to oblivion; it would be a difficult task in any one to attempt to develop. But it would be still more difficult to account for the *Paris Papers* readily devoting their columns, as they have done in this instance, to a detail of circumstances respecting Napoleon, not only calculated to keep the remembrance of him alive in the minds of the people of France, but also to recal to their recollection his splendid talents, the great military

glory he conquered for France; and, above all, the incalculable advantages which he procured for his country, by the establishment of that admirable Code of Laws which now exists there, and which secures to the people, what they never enjoyed before, an equal distribution of Justice. Had the Emperor Napoleon paid the debt of Nature, had he even ceased to occupy himself with affairs of State, and sought refuge, like Francis I, from the tumults of life in the recesses of a cloister, his name might then have been noticed even in Court Gazettes, without exciting any particular interest; and his splendid achievements might have been recounted, as if they had been the deeds of some warrior of a former age. They would have given birth to no other feeling than that which arises in the mind, when it recurs to the exploits of a Caesar or a Pompey, of a Charlemagne or a Marlborough.—But when the existence of the man, who was so lately considered the Disturber of the World, the Destroyer of Nations, and the Subverter of Thrones, who, within those few years, was in possession of the capitals of the greatest sovereigns in Europe, and there dictated treaties upon his own terms; when not only the name of such a man, but the most favourable circumstances connected with his present pursuits are considered topics deserving of particular and reiterated attention, in the Gazette of a monarch who, no less than four times, was indebted to the Conqueror for his political existence as an Emperor. When, I say, so marked an attention as this should still be paid to Napoleon, by those who have had so much cause to wish his name consigned to oblivion, it is very plain, that those sovereigns who act, thus, do not view this surprising man in the contemptible light which the newspaper press of this country would have it to be believed. It is clear, that they either still dread his influence on the Continent, and wish to maintain a good understanding with him; or that they calculate on availing themselves, at no very distant

period, of his extraordinary talents, to enable them to accomplish some of their favourite schemes of aggrandizement.—

Whichever of these views are to be taken it is unquestionable, that the Emperor of Austria has, of late, been uncommonly anxious to bring Napoleon's name upon the carpet, and the Paris Papers have been equally prompt in re-publishing the articles in which it appeared.—The following are taken from the latter.—“VIENNA

“JULY 19.—(From the Court Gazette.)

“All the acts which emanate from Napoleon in his island, are drawn up in the name of his Majesty Napoleon, Sovereign Lord of the Island of Elba, signed by him, and countersigned by Gen. Drouot. This General, who looked on himself as a man disgraced, offered himself voluntarily to the Ex-Emperor, after his abdication, to remain with him during his life. *The Emperor has built at Porto Ferrajo an hospital and an aqueduct, and has planted public walks, and is occupied in drawing up a Constitution for his subjects; he has announced to them, that it is his intention to promote amongst them a taste for the arts and sciences.* His guard is composed of 1500 men, all French soldiers, who have followed him of their own accord. He is all day on horseback, and passes a part of the night at work in his closet. It is supposed that he is writing a history of his life, and that he will leave to posterity confessions, in which he will develop his conduct and his views, without dissembling his faults. If he does not succeed in justifying himself, he will at least relieve his conscience from the enormous weight which must press on it, and his memoirs may mitigate the sentence which will be passed on him by posterity.”—

“VIENNA, AUG. 1.—Our Gazette of the 28th of July contains the following article.—According to accounts from the island of Elba, the Emperor Napoleon continues to enjoy good health, and to exhibit every sign of content. He resides at Porto Ferrajo, in a small house, till the palace which he is building outside the town shall be finished. A great number of strangers, and particularly of English, put into the island, and come to see the Emperor. He continues to lead a very active life, employed alternately in his Cabinet, or inspecting the different public works which he has ordered to be executed. He expends considerable sums

“on these works, and has invited the most celebrated artists from different parts of Italy for the execution of them.”—On

the information contained in these two paragraphs, I observe, the *Times* writer remarks that, “it is rather singular we should hear of Bonaparte at Elba by the way of Vienna and Paris, or that any public mention should be made of this person or his relations.” This virtuous Editor, in lately speaking of the amiable desire expressed by the Empress Maria Louisa to visit her husband, who, he admitted, had evinced “a strong sympathy in his fate,” actually counselled her father to prevent, by force, the intended journey. After giving such proof of his malignity, of his enmity, and of his hostility to the gratification of all those feelings which ennoble the character of man; after recollecting his recommendation of the *cudgel* and the *halter* to Napoleon himself; and after finding him, on so many occasions, denominating the entire family of Napoleon “a race of thieves, sharpers, and vagabonds,” one need not be surprised at any *viperation* that may now come from the pen of so servile a wretch. It is remarkable, however, that the language now used in this Journal respecting the Emperor Napoleon, is somewhat more considerate than it used to be. Whether the winter has exhausted his Billingsgate artillery, or that he is become tired of using scurrility in place of argument, does not appear any way material; but, it is plain, that, since the Emperor Francis thought it good policy to recognise Napoleon in the highly honourable manner he has lately done, our corrupt press, which formerly teemed with all sorts of abuse against him, has somewhat relaxed, and seems to treat the former object of their implacable hate with a little more respect. It is not by the appellations *murderer*, *assassin*, *robber*, and *miscreant*, they now usually designate him. They speak of him in terms disrespectful enough;—they express surprise that “public mention should be made of his person, or of his relations;” but they seldom indulge in the infuriated declamations which filled their columns, previous to, and about the period of his abdication. Whence has this apparent regard for decency arisen? To what cause are we to ascribe so marked and sudden a change?—Not, I am afraid, to any thing meritorious on the part of these creatures of corruption, or of the vile faction which they



support; but to the influence alone which the magnanimous conduct of other States is calculated to produce. Instead of exulting over Napoleon as over a man who had fallen through imbecillity, or want of courage, our allies have all along respected his superior talents, acknowledged his great personal courage, and treated him: a person who had been forced to yield only to circumstances which no human power could controul; and now that he shews every symptom of contentment, in the retired situation he has chosen, and there occupies himself unceasingly, night and day, in promoting the happiness of mankind, do these same powers, by a voluntary acknowledgement of this, exhibit a splendid example of justice and impartiality, worthy the imitation of all other nations. But though the altered and more moderate tone of our corrupt press may, in some respects, have been produced by this dignified example; though the tools of corruption may, in some measure, be shamed out of their low and scurrilous invective, by the manly and well-bred language of a neighbouring press; and though the tenderness, which even all the French Journals, as now influenced, show towards Napoleon and his family, may have had a partial effect upon the generality of our newspapers, and have led them to adopt a more temperate style; yet there is still to be discovered, still to be seen, a strong predilection lurking with the conductors of these infamous vehicles, to calumniate, and to detract from the merits of the Emperor Napoleon. —The *Times* writer affects surprise at the name of Bonaparte being mentioned in the Vienna Court Gazette, and in the Paris papers, although scarcely a day passes in which he does not frequently introduce that very name into his own columns. One would indeed suppose, from the frequency in which he does it, that it possessed the peculiar charm of being always present to his mind; that it constantly occupied his daily thoughts, and formed the subject of his nightly visions; that it was both his God and his Devil—the object of his perpetual devotion, and the source of all his fears. Whether he discusses the politics of France, of Italy, of Russia, of Austria, of Spain, of Prussia, of Sweden, of Denmark, of Norway, or of this country, he always contrives to introduce the name of Napoleon. He cannot even speak of the petty States of Barbary, or of the Ionian Isles, without calling it to his aid; and as to America, it

does not appear how he could contrive to ~~eke out~~ even a dozen of lines, without the assistance of this powerful auxiliary. It is not the using the name, therefore, of Bonaparte that surprises this writer. I verily believe he has made as much by that name alone, as induces him to wish, notwithstanding all his professions to the contrary, that Napoleon Bonaparte may live and agitate the world for other twenty years to come. It is the favourable things said of him; the accounts, now sanctioned by official authority, of his enjoying good health; of his being employed in beautifying Porto Ferrajo, as he did Paris; of his being occupied in drawing up a Constitution, and giving, as he did to France, good laws to his subjects; in promoting a taste for the sciences; in passing a greater part of the night, as well as the day, in his closet; and in expending large sums of money on useful undertakings, instead of lavishing it upon pimps and parasites. It is because he is employed in a way so beneficial to the happiness of his subjects; in a way which demonstrates how he conducted himself formerly; and (the facts being now put beyond all question, by the manner in which they have been announced) in a way which proves the falsehood, the complete falsehood of his former calumniators. —It is because of this, because the infamous lies of the *Times* writer have now been detected and exposed, that he startles at the name of Napoleon; that he affects to censure and to sneer at the Courts of Vienna and St. Cloud, for “the public mention they have made of *this person* or his relations.” —*Well may the jaded mare wince.* It is time, it is high time, that the enemies of truth, the vilifiers and traducers of character, should feel some of the pangs which they have so long inflicted upon others with impunity. It is proper, it is but paying them home in their own coin; it is no more than justice, to make their villany manifest. Yes, they may pretend mere surprise only at the Emperor of Austria, and the King of France, mentioning the name of Napoleon. A very different feeling actuates their breast. They are indignant that his merits should be acknowledged, and they are sore that this should be done in a way which amounts to a proclamation of their former perfidy. I am not here vindicating all that Napoleon has done. I have no intention to retract anything that I have already said respecting apostacy from liberty, and his emperor-



ing the means which a brave and generous people put into his hands for the destruction of despotism, in giving it new energies. I am still convinced that he owed his fall, in a great measure, and that justly, to the alliance he formed with royalty, to his contemptible vanity, to his hankering after hereditary fame, and to his sacrificing many of the political rights of his people to his cursed ambition, and his moral duty to aggrandise his own family. In so far as this went, I have always condemned him. I have always said, that on these accounts he merited the disgrace which had overtaken him; that for this he deserved to be driven from the thrones of France and Italy. But I cannot, while condemning him for what I consider *wrong* in his conduct, refuse him credit for what I hold to be *right*. I cannot, while censuring him for an improper act, forbear justifying him, when he is improperly attacked by the malignant and the spiteful; when motives are attributed to him which his actions belie, and when he is charged with crimes, by a wicked and prostituted press, of which his most intimate friends are totally unacquainted, and which have no other existence than what is given them by the fruitless invention of his enemies. — It was thought by some, that it was with the view of counteracting the unfavourable impression, which the late *Eloge* of France was calculated to give of the government of Napoleon, that the Court of Vienna sanctioned the publication of the articles respecting him, which I have quoted above. But then, how are we to account for the influence he has thus obtained over the Emperor Francis? — Should it be said, that it is natural for a father to aid in the justification of his son-in-law, I would ask, how both articles came to be so readily admitted into the French papers? not on the same day, but at periods sufficiently distant to prevent the appearance of the second, had the first been any way obnoxious to the Government. — But whatever their *secret* views may be, the Emperor of Austria and the King of France have given a decided proof of their good sense, in acting so open and undisguised a part; and whatever the corrupt press here may say, either of their conduct or of that of Napoleon, they, I am persuaded, will not have occasion to regret what they have done, should they ever again be placed in a situation to owe any thing to their former conqueror, for, amidst all the

crimes with which he has been charged, I do not recollect that the sin of ingratitude formed any part of the catalogue; although it has been often said, and I believe with great truth, that it was the want of this virtue, on the part of his Allies, which was the beginning of his misfortunes. Neither Francis nor Louis may ever need Napoleon's assistance; but whether they do or not, they have no occasion to be ashamed of an act of justice, even though the object of that act is their enemy; far less is there occasion to regret the performance of it, from any thing that can be said by the vile press of this country, which is always more forward to commend vice, when it is practised in the higher ranks of society, than to applaud virtue, when it appears conspicuous in the more humble walks of life; to laud and exalt the splendid villain, while it levels its shafts against the virtuous unfortunate, merely because he is the child of affliction, to strengthen the hands of corruption, while it discourages every attempt to unveil and punish public peculators; to countenance injustice in the Judge, while the victim of his malice, however innocent he may appear, is denied a single plea in his defence; and, in fine, to justify every act and deed of any faction, however contrary to law, to justice, and to humanity, that may usurp public right; while it stigmatizes, with the opprobrious epithets of Jacobin and leveller, all who, from motives of real patriotism, endeavour, at any time, to restore the Constitution to its original vigour and purity. — It is said, in the *Vienna Court Gazette*, that the Emperor Napoleon is supposed to be writing a history of his own life. I am sure if he does execute it with fidelity, that many of those who have been most forward in calumniating him since his downfall, and who are now enjoying the fruits of his labours, will have as much, if not more, occasion to blush for the part they have taken against liberty, which they had sworn to protect, than Napoleon himself. — But whether he intends being his own biographer or not, it must form a very leading and prominent feature in the delineation which may be given of his public character, write it who may, that almost all the beneficial institutions, which he consolidated in France, all the excellent laws which operated, under his sway, so much to the advantage of the French people, and the people of other countries where their influence was allowed to be felt, have been com-

announced by his successor, have been fully sanctioned by Louis XVIII, and by the Government now established in France. So high a compliment paid to Napoleon, is sufficient of itself to put to silence all that his enemies can say against him; and when we devote a little attention to the state of France as he really left it, and recollect what it was before the Revolution; nay even before the management of public matters fell into Napoleon's hands, we will see no reason for being surprised that a great majority of the French people should still entertain favourable sentiments respecting him.—Although the power of the clergy was in a great measure broken during the progress of the Revolution, and the exaction of tithes put an end to by that event, it was not till Napoleon assumed the reins of Government, that a concordat was obtained, by which the clergy of every persuasion were paid out of the public funds. No step whatever towards introducing any new regulation in the Church, catholic or protestant, could be taken without the approbation of the Government. All improper influence on the part of the Pope was, of course, destroyed, and the right claimed by the priesthood to levy money, at pleasure, upon the people, was thus annihilated, the *freedom of worship* and conscience restored; and an end put to those bloody scenes, of which the whole history of religion is full, and which are always the consequence when priests are not restrained by salutary law.—Notwithstanding all that was said here about the *freedom of speech* during the reign of Napoleon, I have been frequently assured, by persons who had resided in Paris and other places in France, and on whose veracity I could rely, that greater liberty, in this respect, existed there than in England. Both in private and in public, the measures of Government were discussed without the least apprehension.—No *hab-cas corpus* law existed, and though the murmurs of the people of France were said to be loud against Napoleon, on account of the conscription, few instances, if any, were heard of, where it was even pretended, that the Government had called any one to account for his political sentiments.—As to the *liberty of the press*, I readily admit that the regulations established by Napoleon were not such as, in my opinion, ought to exist under a free Government; that the establishment of a Censorship was contrary

to all my ideas as to what constitutes the liberty of the press. But the Government of Napoleon, it will be recollected, in so far as respected matters of State, was not a free Government. It was the will of one man which regulated these matters, and though I do not find that Napoleon abused the extensive power which he possessed, yet I cannot admit the principle which gives a control over the press to any Government whatever. There, however, that have been in the practice of abusing the French Emperor, for his interference in this particular, will now have the less to say when they see that the new Government have sanctioned regulations similar to those upon which he acted, that they have taken the management of the press into their own hands, and that no man dare publish his opinions on politics or religion in France, unless he has previously submitted them to the examination of the Censors appointed by the Crown.—This, I admit, is an encroachment upon the natural liberty of man; but, as I have shewn in the last RECIPIER, it is not more so than the practice in this country, nor attended with half so many bad consequences. I repeat it, that I would rather see the press of this country subjected to a previous Censorship, which would effectually guarantee a man's safety for what he writes, than have it left as it is—a snare to entrap the unwary, and put it in the power of a wicked Judge, at any time, to gratify his own revenge, or that of a faction, against any individual, no matter how virtuous, that might be supposed to have given umbrage to him or his party. Notwithstanding the restraints upon the liberty of the press, it appears that the *arts and sciences* were never in a more flourishing state in France, than they were under the reign of Napoleon. Not even the extensive war, that occupied so much of his attention, could divert him from these pursuits; and France will be found at this moment, a century, as to knowledge, in advance of many other neighbouring States which enjoyed years of profound repose, while Napoleon was carrying his arms to the most distant corners of Europe. He even found leisure to organize public schools and colleges, to visit them occasionally, and to provide them with masters properly qualified to superintend the education of youth. France owes also her present organization of *charitable institutions* to the exertions of Napoleon.—

In the hospitals, the care of attending the sick was committed to persons chosen with the greatest circumspection; the old and infirm, and particularly the insane, were under the special protection of the Government. An asylum was built for the reception of foundlings, and here, as well as in the schools for orphans, the children were brought up in the habits of industry, and taught the first principles of education; after which they were apprenticed to such occupations as suited their inclinations. Even in the workhouses, of which there were comparatively few in France, every one who was able to work was furnished with employment, by which a fund was raised that rendered the exaction of poor rates merely nominal. But what may be considered of greater importance than even all this, was the establishment of a code of civil and criminal laws, under the general designation of the CODE NAPOLEON, which effectually secured to every Frenchman an equal distribution of Justice, without any chance of the judges or other public officers being influenced by the Crown. To give the reader a correct idea of this part of the subject, I shall repeat what I said respecting it, in my answer to the Bourbon proclamation (No. 3 of vol. 25 of the REGISTER), the accuracy of which no one has yet ventured to dispute. I there stated, that "the law is the same in all parts of the country; judges are not of local origin, but proceed from the nomination of the Crown; no man can be punished, or even imprisoned, for more than twenty-four hours, without substantial evidence of his guilt being made appear upon oath, to the satisfaction of, at least, two inferior judges. No man can be punished until found guilty by a jury, impartially taken, and not then, unless three out of five judges concur in the sentence. No man can be kept, in any case, more than three months in prison without being tried. The Judges of Assize sit every three months, and are compelled to decide all cases and causes before they quit the places of sitting respectively. The Attornies-General, of which there is one in every district, are for the protection of the people, as well as of the rights of the Crown. If a house be robbed, for instance, information is immediately given of it to the Attorney-General, who is personally to attend at the spot, collect the evidence, cause search to be made for the offender; and, if he be found, to bring him immediately before an inferior

tribunal, with a WRITTEN account of all the facts and of all the evidence on which he has proceeded. That inferior tribunal, consisting of not less than three Judges, are then to decide whether the evidence be such as to justify their commitment of the accused. They are not only to read the written account of the proceedings, but are to re-examine upon oath the several witnesses. If they find any difficulty in deciding, they themselves are to proceed to the spot where the offence has been committed. And, after all, unless two out of the three are for the commitment, the accused is set at liberty; and in no case, can any one be confined more than twenty-four hours, unless these Judges decide for his commitment.——Compare this with the operation of 'the ancient Ordinances and Customs of the realm,' and say, who can, that the people of France are likely to wish for the return of the Bourbons.——I have read the Code Napoleon with great attention, and with no less admiration. Till I read it, I had no idea that it was possible for any Code of laws so effectually to provide for the security of property and of personal liberty. The man who has been robbed, or otherwise injured criminally, has no trouble, no plague, no expense, to encounter in pursuit of the criminal. It is the duty of the Attorney General to do every thing necessary to detection and conviction, and the expense is wholly borne by the public. There is some sense in calling such an officer an Attorney General.——What, then, are we to think of these men, who are daily telling the people of England, that Napoleon has thousands of Bastilles? Who daily assert, that his Government is a military despotism; that he imprisons and punishes people without any form of trial; that no man's property or life is safe for a single hour: what are we to think of these men? Why, doubtless, that they are wholly ignorant of the subject on which they write; or, that they knowingly make use of the press for the promulgation of the most daring falsehoods."——Another great advantage under Napoleon's Government was, that all party distinctions were disregarded; all were admissible to public offices, and places of trust, without any regard to their religious or even political opinions;—whether they were catholics or protestants, royalists or republicans. The Emperor's grand object was to select men of talents, and to unite them together in

giving effect to the vast schemes he had conceived for the glory of France. But he did not leave the affairs of State to be managed by these men alone. There was nothing relating to foreign Courts in which he had not the chief superintendence, and he directed in person every thing that related to the concerns of the Departments. He seldom dismounted from his horse but to retire to his study, and the greater part of that time which other Statesmen usually devote to pleasure, and to repose, was employed by him in his closet on matters that concerned the welfare of the State. As a military chief, he was equalled by none, whether his conduct respected the formation of the army, or the superior skill which he displayed in the field of battle. Promotion was the reward of merit only, and no one knew better how to stimulate his troops to deeds of valour, by honourable recompenses, than the Emperor Napoleon. By the military schools which he established all over the country, an army was created in France, that ever all the Powers of Europe could not make an impression upon, until means, which some have thought not very justifiable, were employed to accomplish this. The pitch, however, to which Napoleon had previously raised the glory of the French arms was greater than ever it had been under any of their former sovereigns, and bids fair to ensure to France a more elevated rank as a military power, in the scale of nations, than ever was enjoyed by Rome or Carthage, or any of the States of Greece. In person, no soldier ever achieved so much as Napoleon, and no one ever made so many conquests for his country in so short a period. His successor, who very prudently has placed his reliance upon the Marshals and Generals of Napoleon's creation, and his confidence in the army, cannot but be grateful, that he found France, on his restoration, animated with so many brave warriors, and every one more zealous than another to defend the integrity of the empire, instead of dispirited and exhausted troops, who, as the enemies of the country wished, would have been prepared to compromise its happiness and its independence. Much as has been said about the severity of the conscription, it will be found, that it never was regarded in France in that rigorous light in which it was represented in this country. After the ballot was over, a conscript seemed in reality to have forgot the past; he cheer-

fully joined his companions, who all spontaneously marched to the place of their destination with as much vivacity as if they had been aware that they were originally destined for the ranks. Those who have witnessed this, have assured me of the fact. Occasionally, as in all armies, there were deserters; but not to a great extent; and if these were bound together and marched to head-quarters, that was nothing more than was necessary, and what has been seen practised every day in this country. The conscription, however, is not to be compared for a single moment to our impress service. In the former, the ballot gave a chance of escape; in the latter, not even the most sacred pleas of humanity can avail the unfortunate individuals, who are subjected, by their profession, to man our navy at the pleasure of Government. In the French army, a strict and regular discipline was maintained; but the usual punishment of a soldier for misbehaviour, was confinement. It was only when his crime was of a very aggravated and heinous nature, that the lash or the galley were resorted to. Indeed, the criminal laws in France, established by the *Gde Napoleon*, are far from being so severe as they are here. A public execution is seldom witnessed, and this only happens when the culprit has been guilty of premeditated murder, or of any other atrocious crime. The galleys, for a term of years; and, in some cases, for life, is the punishment inflicted for most of the offences deemed capital with us. In other matters equally important to the happiness of France, Napoleon was constantly watchful and active. He was particularly careful not to create, by loans or otherwise, a national debt of any magnitude. This kept the Government always unembarrassed and the people free from a load of overwhelming taxes. The entire exclusion of a paper circulating medium, whether in the shape of Bank notes, or Exchequer bills, was one of his favourite objects.—Although he had to provide for the support of an army, nearly equal to all those of Europe besides, he accomplished this by means of specie only. Thus relieved his subjects from all the difficulties and privations attendant on the depreciation of a paper currency, and, at this moment, insures to France the most incalculable advantages in her mercantile intercourse with other nations. So many advantages, so much glory, procured to France, could not

ful to create a general impression in favour of Napoleon throughout the country. Accordingly, we have the testimony of thousands who have visited France, in support of this fact. Were it proved, an appeal need only be made to what has occurred, even since Napoleon has ceased to reign, in that country. In many cases, the most unequivocal testimonies have been made in his favour, this not by the army merely, but by numbers of the inhabitants, who for years, under his sway, have appreciated the benefits he had conferred on the nation. The very act of his being celebrated, in a high degree, by his friends amongst all ranks, he had been betrayed by those his friends; though the Allied armies were in possession of Paris; and though represented here, that his fall was inevitable; it is a well known fact, that if Napoleon had not preserved the tranquillity of France to his own personal rights; if he had not resolved to sacrifice all, rather than involve the country in a civil war, he would have had sufficient to render the contest more than doubtful in his favour. But he devoted every thing to the glory of France. His whole conduct, indeed, shows, that he was prepared for what might happen for, in the whole arrangement which took place respecting his future establishment, and that of his family, he displayed a nobleness and presence of mind, a dignity and command of his passions, which could be no other than the result of having previously prepared himself for that reverse of fortune, which the critical nature of his circumstances must have led him to foresee, was not to strike him. I am aware, that the enemies of liberty, who are always the enemies of truth will be galled by the many truths which I have now brought forward respecting the Emperor Napoleon. But while I have always reprobated what I considered reprehensible in the celebrated man's conduct, I shall never be induced to suppress what I consider favourable in it, either by the frown or by the smiles of the corrupt. And I have no doubt that Napoleon will always live, in every country, as he now has in France, the subject of the truly virtuous, for the good he did, and intended to do for mankind; while he will as readily merit their execration, whenever he deviates from the path of honour and rectitude.

## ON CAPITAL PUNISHMENTS.

MR. COBBETT,——It is with feelings of unfeigned regret, that I observe, on looking over our provincial newspapers, so many symptoms of the increase of crime, in multiplied accounts of executions, which are daily, and almost every where, taking place, of individuals who have forfeited their lives to the laws of their country. No less than five of these unhappy wretches, it is said in the London papers, are to be executed at the Old Bailey, on Monday next! It was a circumstance which, I am persuaded, every good man must deplore, that the Bill, some short time ago, brought into Parliament by Sir Samuel Romilly, for the purpose of abolishing the punishment of death, in the case of stealing in a shop to the amount of *five shillings*, was thrown out of the House of Lords, though it had previously passed the Commons by a great majority.—It is not my intention here to enter upon the question, whether the higher House have a right to legislate for the people in opposition to the measures carried in the lower House; but I cannot help remarking, that it appears to me rather a singular feature in our Constitution, that the wishes of the people, expressed in a solemn vote of the House of Commons, the only representative body known in the country, should, in any case, be defeated by an authority which exists independent of the people, or, in other words, over which the people, with whom all authority originates, have no manner of control. Whatever may have been the individual motives which actuated the learned and noble Lords who opposed the Bill, it seems to me that they did not consider the subject either in reference to its principle, or as philanthropists animated with a sincere desire to ameliorate the condition of their fellow men. As far as I can judge, from the report of the debate, they took it for granted, that the right exercised by the magistrate, of putting criminals to death, was unquestionable; and seemingly influenced by the cold-blooded policy, that innovation is always dangerous to society, they did not give free scope to those benevolent feelings which, more or less, are implanted by nature in the breast of every man.

To me it appears, that depriving a man of his life, in any case, is an infringement of the laws of nature; a profane attempt to interfere with the moral government of the world.—The vital spark, which animates

the human breast, flowed originally from a source uncontrollable by man. As, therefore, he did not, nor could not, confer life on himself, it is presumptuous in him to attempt to dispose of the life of others; it is arrogating the prerogative of that Being, by whose sufferance he himself exists; and it is attempting to determine the fate of others beyond that boundary, which the Author of Nature has fixed as the limits of human influence. Hence the general indignation against the murderer; hence the stigma which attaches to the memory of the suicide. The self-murderer, in particular, is regarded as a person who, in the highest degree, has violated the laws of God, who has rendered himself undeserving of forgiveness by the commission of a crime, of which, he previously knew, he could never availingly repent, and which is the more aggravated that it deprives him of an opportunity of atoning for previous offences. —The plea, that God himself hath authorised the punishment of death, does not seem, at this time of day, to be entitled to any weight.—I readily admit, that this sanguinary part of the judicial, or rather of the patriarchal system of jurisprudence, once had the divine sanction and authority, that, in the days of man's ignorance, when the human passions were unrestrained by civil institutions, it was found necessary to check a crime so unnatural, by giving blood for blood. But when society advanced in its progress towards perfection, when the mind became more humanized, and when the thirst for blood, which mistaken views of human nature had introduced, was supplanted by the introduction of a more tolerant religion; the law, which required an eye for an eye, a tooth for a tooth, was forever abrogated; all *violence* was utterly disclaimed, not only as it respected the conduct of professors of the Christian religion as *Christians*, but as it immediately regarded the power of the civil magistrate. Even under the former system, we were assured, that the Almighty had "no desire for the death of the wicked, but rather that they should turn to him and live." For man then, not only to *desire* the life of his fellow man, but actually to *deprive* him of that life, and that for the mere infringement of laws which, in point of purity, fall infinitely short of the divine laws, seems wholly unreasonable, and contrary to the generally received opinions of religious professors. If, as it appears to me, the author of our beings gives

no power of life or death to any man, it seems obvious that no man can confer that power upon another. He may give up the controul of his person when his *services* are concerned, and for this he may receive an equivalent; but he cannot transfer his *life*, nor the right to take it away. It is *life* which constitutes the union of soul and body, and *death* the dissolution of that union. Nothing can pass to the purchaser by such dissolution, and nothing as a return can be received.

In the case of the public magistrate, it is well understood, that the *preservation* and happiness of individuals was originally the end of all associations, and the laws, or rules, which these associations came under, were so many means of obtaining that end. To secure these advantages more effectually, each gave up a portion of his goods, and even submitted to partial restraints on his liberty. Any additional concession, from which the power of the magistrate to deprive individuals of life could be inferred, was, in effect, attempting to dispose of an *unalienable* gift of nature, for the *preservation* of which all the other privations had been submitted to. To admit such a power, is placing mankind in a state worse than that of nature, in which no man ever claimed the right of taking away the life

another, and to contend for the exercise of that power, is to maintain, that it is in *civilized society only* that the operation of this inexorable law is rendered necessary. In civil society, I repeat, we only give up a *part* of our natural rights, for the purpose of more effectually securing those which we retain. The law which has subjected to its controul the disposal of the *whole* of these rights, is unjust and impolitic, and calls for immediate repeal.

As to the *prevention* of crimes, the putting of a criminal to death, whatever may be his offence, does not appear to be an example to any one. Nothing is more common than to find the pickpocket committing depredations under the gibbet; and nothing is more certain, than that capital offences, instead of *decreasing* by the frequency of public executions, are becoming more and more numerous. The reason is plain: no means are used to reclaim the wicked when they are first detected perpetrating a crime; they are associated in prison with those who have become old in iniquity; they, of course, become hardened in their guilt, totally regardless of the

shame of a public expiation, and, at last, calculate on the gallows as being but a momentary punishment—a bad half-hour in their wicked career. In some cases the unfortunate culprit has been known to exhibit symptoms of penitence, but when one real instance of this has occurred, ten others, of a contrary description, could be adduced. Even when a criminal dresses penitent, this never produces any good effect on the vicious. A public execution may excite curiosity; and curiosity, I am afraid, is the only excitement which leads the multitude to witness these spectacles, but they never mend the heart. The frequency of these exhibitions has also a tendency to familiarise the mind of the profligate to an untimely end, and thus prepare him, in the cant philosophy of villainy, “to make his exit as becomes a man.” The punishment of death, then, cannot be held as an example to the *bad*, and it is not necessary to restrain the *good*. The latter are influenced by very different motives; and should their duty or their inclination ever lead them to witness a public execution, it never fails to harrow up their feelings, and to excite their compassion for the unfortunate wretch, whom they consider the victim of an inexorable law, which they would gladly and instantly repeal, of a law truly shocking and disgraceful in a country which boasts so much of its *refined* ideas, and *high cultivation* of manners.\*

If capital punishments do not restrain the commission of crimes, neither do they promote the interest of society.—On the contrary, they for ever deprive the public of the advantages which would result from the labour of criminals; and they frequently involve numerous families in ruin, who, if they should escape the fangs of poverty, are generally forced to abandon the society in which they have been accustomed to live, in order to avoid the

stigma which attaches to the relatives of those who suffer an ignominious punishment.—Were those who violate the laws, instead of being put to death, exposed, in some disgraceful manner, to public view, and afterwards compelled to work, this would serve as a practical example to others. The endurance of the punishment would effectually deter them from the practice of vice, and, to the guilty sufferer, it would be a more certain and salutary punishment, than rapidly hurrying him off this mortal scene, as is often done, with all his sins upon his head, while the produce of his labour would afford subsistence to his family, and thus the public of a burden, which is too often imposed on them by a mistaken policy. If the criminal had no family, what he earned above supplying his own wants might form a common fund, to be applied in other laudable purposes, immediately connected with the prevention of crime. In the case of a murderer, how often do we see the person murdered, as well as the culprit, leave a family behind them totally unprovided for. No provision is made for this, two families are thus frequently reduced to beggary, which might, in a great measure, be prevented, if the produce of the labour of the survivor was applied to the support of both.

The benefits which have resulted from the wise policy adopted by the citizens of other States, respecting the prevention of crimes, and the reformation of criminals, particularly in America, are incalculable; and if a similar policy were to influence those who have the power of enacting laws in the mother country, the dreadful crimes which are so frequently perpetrated here, and which excite terror and dismay among all ranks, would cease of their own accord. Instead of our Legislators employing themselves in the enactment of *new* penal codes—how gratifying would it be, to find them as zealously occupied with the education of the poor; that class of society of all others the most addicted to vice, because they are the most ignorant. How pleasing would it be, to find the Government recognising in their enactments this salutary principle, that to educate the people, is to inspire them with virtuous sentiments, to habituate them to do homage to virtue, to detest crimes, and to shrink from disgrace. Such an education would prove highly beneficial, by the examples which it would constantly produce of talents and virtue acquiring

\* The following shocking account appeared in the *Courier* of the 17th inst.—“Saturday, at noon, *Wm. Vincent* was executed at Devon gaol drop, pursuant to his sentence at our late assizes, for being concerned with several others (muggers) in the murder of *Thomas Wallis*, an excise-man, at Brixham, upwards of nine years since. About seven o'clock, on the above morning, the unhappy culprit cut his throat with a knife he had obtained, but not so effectually as to deprive him of existence. He was brought in a bed to the gallows, apparently almost lifeless. Immediately as he was turned off, the blood gushed from the wound, flowed over his body and arms, and descended in a shocking sight to the spectators. The body, after hanging the usual time, was conveyed to the Devon and Exeter Hospital for dissection. (See *Water Flying Post*.)



honour and fortune, while those who indulged in vice, met their reward in contempt and infamy. Nothing, besides, would tend more to give stability to a virtuous Government than to promote the diffusion of knowledge amongst its citizens. Neither the crimes of treason nor sedition would be heard of. The security of the State would be interwoven with the security of the people. Whatever dangers threatened the one, would be considered involving the fate of the other; and both united on the basis of just and equitable laws, might safely calculate on escaping those dreadful convulsions which have so often overthrown States and empires.

This is a subject upon which much could be said; but, as I have already exceeded the bounds of an ordinary letter, I may, perhaps, entreat you to indulge me, on another occasion, with the insertion of some additional remarks.—Yours, &c.

BENEVOLUS.

*Kingsland, 18th August.*

NORWAY.—An article, which appeared in the *Moniteur* of the 15th instant gives some colour to the opinion, that the Allied Powers have resolved to withdraw their co-operation from Sweden, in the reduction of Norway. Should this be the case, the struggle between these two Powers is expected to assume a more interesting aspect than it has yet done; and the friends of humanity may probably, ere long, witness the triumph of justice over oppression, in the successful resistance which, it is more than probable, the Norwegians may still oppose to the Swedes.—The annexed official documents give a very lucid view of the nature of the dispute; and in whatever way it may terminate, the conduct of the individual, whom the Norwegians have thought proper to raise to the throne, must always command the admiration of Europe, and lead us to regret, that the history of the world afforded such few examples, as that of Napoleon and Christian, in which two Sovereigns, who had been called to the throne by the voice of the people, have, in these latter times, evinced a disposition to relinquish their crowns, and to submit to any sacrifice, rather than involve their countries in a destructive war for their personal rights.

#### STATE PAPERS.

CHRISTIANIA, JULY 28.—On the 30th of June came the following Envoys from the Allied Powers, through Sweden, to Christiania; namely, General Baron de Steigerson-

tesch, for Austria; Major-General Orloff, for Russia; Augustus J. Forster, for England; and Major Baron de Martens, for Prussia.—Some days afterwards they had an audience of his Majesty, and on the 7th instant presented the following:—

#### NOTE A.

The undersigned, charged by their respective Courts with a Special Mission to his Highness Prince Christian Frederick of Denmark, have the honour to address to him the present Official Note. The cession of Norway, produced by the Treaty of Kiel, was guaranteed by the four Powers, allies of Sweden. That decree of policy was irrevocably fixed. The Allied Sovereigns consider the union of Norway to Sweden as one of the bases of the new system of equilibrium, as a branch of indemnities which it is impossible to replace by any other.—The events which latterly occurred in Norway, the opposition which the decision of Europe found there, and the resolution which his Highness has taken to put himself at the head of that opposition, determined the Allies of Sweden to take the necessary steps for effecting the union of Norway. It is with this object that the undersigned have repaired to his Highness.—They are charged to express to him the painful impression which his proceedings have produced on their Sovereigns, to summon him formally to return within the line of his most sacred duties, and to declare to him, that should he refuse to yield to the general wish of Europe, which recalls him to Denmark, an unequal war will arise in the North, and arms will infallibly produce what persuasion has in vain attempted. For this purpose, the army of Gen. Count Beningsen, as well as a corps of Prussian troops, have been placed at the disposal of Sweden, and the general blockade of Norway has been resolved upon in common concert with Great Britain. At the same time the King of Denmark, compromised in the eyes of Monarchs the guarantees of his word, and of the treaty of Kiel, was justly irritated against his late subjects for the non-execution of his will. His Majesty resolved in consequence, through the intermedium of the undersigned, to transmit his final orders to the Prince the Heir of his Crown, who, in quality of first subject, is bound to set the example of obedience to his Majesty's subjects in Norway, Danes by birth, who, by refusing to return, will become guilty of rebellion; and to the Norwegians, in fine, from whom, as a last proof of his affection, he should endeavour to avert the horrors of a destructive war.—The adoption of this resolution by his Danish Majesty, and the orders which the undersigned have received from their respective Courts, characterise the nature of their special mission. The undersigned deem themselves compelled to declare, that they are by no means mediators between Norway and Sweden, but rather Commissioners,—heralds at arms, if the expression may be



used—charged with carrying into execution in its full extent the treaty of Kiel, and the stipulations guaranteed by their Sovereigns. However, the known character of his Highness, the rectitude of his intentions, the general esteem of Europe for the Norwegian nation, and the wish to effect the union of the two kingdoms without the effusion of blood, have induced the undersigned to enter into modifications which they acknowledge are not within the literal meaning of their instructions; they have yielded to the wish to furnish his Highness with the most honourable means of descending from the eminent place to which circumstances have unfortunately raised him, and they have with pleasure lent themselves to every arrangement which could prevent the character of his Highness from suffering, and to stipulate immunities for the Norwegian people.—They have thought, that in so doing, they in no respect departed from the liberal intentions of his Swedish Majesty, but they could not regard the following arrangements to which they have acceded, as articles stipulated and agreed upon, until they had received the assent of that monarch.—His Highness Prince Christian Frederick has positively declared, that he could only replace in the hands of the Diet, the rights which he had received from the nation. The convocation of the Diet was in consequence deemed necessary, and the time for effecting this convocation and securing its deliberations becomes the object of negotiation. A truce was proposed by his Highness; the undersigned were anxious to second his wishes, but the various conditions which they proposed were all successively rejected. At length, upon mature deliberation, they have the honour to submit to his Highness the expression of intentions from which they cannot depart.—The basis of the armistice are:

1. A solemn engagement from his Highness to the King of Sweden and his august Allies, to resign into the hands of the nation assembled by its representatives, all the rights which he has received from it, and to employ all his influence with the people, to induce them to consent to the union.

2. The country between the Glommen and the Swedish frontier shall be evacuated by the Norwegian troops, as well as the isles of Walcheren, and the fortresses of Frederickstadt, with its citadel, Fredericksball, Fredericstein, and Kongsvinger. The country shall be declared neutral, and the fortresses shall be occupied by Swedish troops.

3. After the occupation of the fortresses, the garrisons of Norway shall be raised, in respect to the ports of Christiansa, Christiansand, and with the necessary modifications, and during the period of the truce.

After giving in this ultimatum, with regard to which the undersigned demand a categorical answer, they also address themselves to his Highness, in order to learn his resolution in regard to the letter of his Danish Majesty. They have, at the same time, the honour to declare to his Highness, that whatever may be his answer to this Official Note, they will consider their negotiations as terminated, and will demand their passports, whether for the purpose of continuing to bring about the union of the two kingdoms in a pacific manner, or to follow up an ineffectual negotiation by more efficacious measures. They seize with eagerness this opportunity of presenting to his Royal Highness the expression of their profound respect.—(Signed)

SILVERSTEN, ORLOFF, FORSTER, MARLUS.  
*Christiana, July 7, 1813.*  
 To his Highness Prince Christian Frederick  
 of Denmark.

#### THE ANSWER OF HIS MAJESTY

To the Note from your Gentlemen, the Envoys of the Courts allied to Sweden, charged with a special mission to Norway, I hasten to reply conformably with my duties to the people of Norway, and to the regard due to the overtures you are commissioned to make.—The happiness of Norway is the sole object of my actions. The Norwegian nation, delivered from the oath of fidelity to the King of Denmark, and not acknowledging his power to cede them in full sovereignty and property to the King of Sweden, as well as justly irritated by learning it was a principal condition that Swedish troops should take possession of fortresses never occupied by Danish troops during the union, wished to avail themselves of those rights, which in similar cases belong, according to public opinion, to every nation.—Aware of this general sentiment; which an inveterate hatred between bordering nations rendered more marked than ever, I perceived that internal disturbances and anarchy would result from a forced union; and I put myself at the head of the nation, in order to prevent these calamities. The regard due to the Sovereignty which resides in the nation itself, made me assemble a Diet, and it formed a Constitution calculated to consolidate the happiness of the people. Their affection and confidence offered me the Crown, which I then thought it my duty to accept; and desirous of contributing to the happiness of the people, I was persuaded that the independence of Norway, under a Government which the nation itself had formed, and an alliance with Sweden, guaranteed by the great Powers, which should secure the repose of the North with that of the Norwegian people, who wish only to live free among their rocks, would be the most desirable state of things for Norway. I founded my hopes on the application, in our favour, of the same principles in support of which such generous efforts had been lavished in Germany and in Spain. The great Powers of Europe have

otherwise decided; the declarations which you have made, persuade me that the safety of Norway demands that we should yield to the law of the strongest; and I perceive that these same Powers, not wishing to bring the calamities of war on Norway, are desirous of attending to every thing that may secure as much as possible the happiness of Norway united to Sweden. I even see it in my power to stipulate for the welfare of Norway, by the sacrifice of a situation personally flattering to me. I do not hesitate to make such a sacrifice, in a manner worthy of a man of honour, worthy of the crown which I wear, and of the people who have conferred it on me. You have recognised that it is only into the hands of the Diet that I can resign my rights; and it is also only that assembly of the representatives of the nation which can decide, whether the nation should prefer an unequal struggle for its independence to the honourable conditions which shall be offered to Norway as a kingdom united to Sweden. I acknowledge it to be my duty to make known to the nation the dangers to which it is exposed, and to represent to it the advantages which must be secured to it on its acceding to a constitutional union with Sweden. but you know me sufficiently to be convinced, that, faithful to my engagements, I will never separate my fate from it's, in the event of a brave, though useless, resistance against the united forces of Europe, being preferred to an honourable reconciliation, for which I shall employ all my credits. It is to this effect that I have written the letter to the King of Sweden, a copy of which herewith subjoined, and by which I accede to your first basis for the truce which you also have deemed necessary, and which I demand of the King of Sweden, on honourable and admissible conditions.

To the second basis of the truce, I reply, that if the point at issue be the rupture of negotiations which can alone lead to an amicable union, I will accede to the evacuation of the country, between the Glommen and the Swedish frontier, as well as of the isles of Hualoerne, and the fortresses of Fredericksteen and Fredericstadi, by the Norwegian troops, on condition that the territory, as well as the fortresses, be neutral during the armistice. Kongsvinger being on the north bank of the Glommen, and a league on this side the neutralized ground, I think it will not be proper to insist on its evacuation. In regard to the occupation of the fortresses by Swedish troops, I deem it my duty to represent to you, that conditions which have once already animated the whole people to the defence of the country ought not to be re-demanded, if it is wished to soothe the public mind; that the inevitable consequence of the entrance of Swedish troops would be a general rising of the people, and that, in that case, I must prefer war against the enemy to the civil war which I should have occasioned

by outraging the Constitution in the eyes of the whole nation, by a criminal weakness. If the King of Sweden wish an amicable union and not war, he will not insist on this, and will accede to the proposal which I have made to him of leaving the two fortresses of Fredericksteen and Fredericstadi in the custody of the citizens of these cities. The evacuation of these two fortresses by the Norwegian troops, which leave them without the necessary defence, will give every military advantage to the Swedes; and when I consider the generous sentiments which should guide his Swedish Majesty, I trust that that Monarch will at the same time be satisfied to fix the neutral ground on the east bank of the Glommen to a circle of three leagues around these fortresses. With respect to the third basis, I must also observe to you, that the proposed raising of the blockade of Norway, which I consider as a condition inseparable from the truce, and as an unequivocal mark of the humanity and benevolence of the Allied Powers towards the people of Norway, must also be extended to all points of the coast, if it is wished that it be regarded as a real benefit. Any other condition would give rise to embarrassments and perpetual quarrels, which might too easily lead to a rupture of the armistice, and of the negotiations consequent thereon. I have also demanded this of the King of Sweden, and I hope that he will acknowledge the truth of all these observations on the subject of the raising of the blockade, if it be wished to avoid every thing that might yet bring on a disastrous war in the North. I will furnish Major General Petersen and my Aide de-Camp, Captain Holsteen, with my full powers to conclude the truce at Fredericshald, or at Swinemund; and I sincerely wish that this negotiation may be happily terminated, and be only preliminary to reconciliation and amicable union. I demand the guarantee of the Allied Powers for the truce, and for the propositions regarding the bases of union, to which his Swedish Majesty shall please to accede. On the subject of the King of Denmark's letter, as to which I abstain from all reflection, I shall beg of you to take charge of my reply. It will contain in few words the declarations which my present position and my honour have required my making to you, and of which you have acknowledged the weight. It will shew his Majesty that it is impossible for me to follow his orders until the Diet, or the fate of arms, shall have decided the future condition of Norway; and for the rest I must leave it to his wisdom and his conscience whether he judge it proper to carry into effect his threats against me and the Danish officers, which, however, would change greatly my personal situation, and the line of conduct which I have resolved to pursue. This Note being the last I shall have to hand over to you, Gentlemen, Envoys from the Allied Courts, I seize this opportunity of begging you to be persuaded of the very particular consideration

with which I subscribe myself,—Your affec-  
tionate,

(Signed) CHRISTIAN FREDERICK

HOLTEN.

*Christiania, July 13, 1811.*

LETTER TO THE KING OF SWEDEN.

Sir and Brother,—There is nothing on earth so valuable to me as the satisfaction of a good conscience. This I have never forfeited; and I still desire, that my conduct may be directed, as honour and as duty prescribe.—It is with these sentiments I have been induced to place myself at the head of a people, who, released from their allegiance to their King, sigh only for independence, and have tendered to me all their affections and confidence. I have sworn to defend the Constitution, and shall readily lay down my life in support of their rights and independence. I have not forgotten, however, that I am likewise responsible for their happiness. Now that all Europe has declared against Norway, against that cause which I defend with no other means than those afforded by my country, such considerations present a necessity against which it would be impossible to contend.—That I have never been misled by personal motives, I shall evince by restoring the crown into the hands of the nation who conferred it on me. I choose rather to give Norway than to reign over her: but before I consent to separate myself from a people to whom I am at present united by the most sacred ties, I am anxious to secure their happiness by a guarantee of the Constitution, and other stipulations, to serve as bases to the union with Sweden. I shall assemble the Diet, and make the conditions known to the nation. I shall point out to them all the perils to which they will be exposed by a brave but fruitless perseverance in the contest. If the nation accept the conditions, I shall instantly abdicate the Throne: if they reject them, my fate shall not be separated from theirs. Before, however, I convoke the Diet, I desire that two important points may be previously arranged.—First, That the bases of the union be accepted by Sweden, under the guarantee of the four Powers whose Envoys are present.—Secondly, That the deliberations be free and mature, and to this end that a suspension of hostilities be agreed on.—I am sensible that the advantages to result from a suspension of arms demand sacrifices on my side. These sacrifices are expressed in the *project* of armistice which I annex. The Envoys of the Allied Powers have contended that the Swedish troops should occupy the fortresses; but I have not been able to concede this point, both because the Constitution restrains me, and because I well know, from the character of my nation, that they would not suffer, without opposition, the entrance of Swedish troops within their frontiers. I am compelled, therefore, to prefer the misfortunes of a foreign to the horrors of a civil war. I

project  
undmissible, and entail upon the Swedish nation as many calamities as on the people whom you desire to govern, and whom you cannot conciliate so effectually as by measures of mildness, by a respect for public opinion, and a relaxation of the blockade; measures which will be considered as derived from your generosity, and your regard for the welfare of this people.—My situation is painful, but my affection for the Norwegians remains the same.—If you accept the terms of the armistice and the bases of the union, I pledge my word to employ all the influence I possess in persuading the people of Norway to submit to the union as the only means of security in their power.—Honour me, Sir, with your confidence. I have deserved it, in cheerfully subscribing myself, your Majesty's, &c.

CHRISTIAN FREDERICK.

*Christiania, July 13, 1811*

NOTE TO THE ENVOYS OF THE ALLIED POWERS.  
NOTE B

Although you, Gentlemen, Envoys of the Allied Powers, charged with a special mission in Norway, have declared that you are not mediators between Norway and Sweden, it is doubtless inseparable from your character to be the guaranties of such stipulations as shall be agreed to between the two kingdoms. It is with this view that I invite you to give me the assurance that you will guarantee the bases of union which the King of Sweden may accept, as well as the armistice, in all the points that may be definitively arranged for the period of its duration.—If the Commissioners of the Allied Powers acquiesce, I am equally desirous that they should assist in settling differences of a serious nature, which may arise during the armistice; and I shall submit to their decision whether the period ought to be so far prolonged as to enable the Diet to close its deliberations without interruption. I require of you to guarantee, so long as the armistice shall continue, the raising of the blockade by the maritime forces of England and Russia, in order that commerce and free navigation, both with regard to importation and exportation, be restored to the ports of Norway, and likewise that permission to ship grain and other provisions for Norway be immediately given in Denmark, and in the ports of the Baltic, as well as in England, Holland, and the White Sea. If the exportation of corn from Archangel for the province of Drontheim, for Nordland and Finmark, must be limited, I require 35,000 zets rts.—I would again call your attention to the situation of the King of Denmark, as it affects this country. You will admit that the King of Denmark has done the utmost in his power to carry the treaty of Kiel into effect. The evils which

he assists in imposing upon his antient subjects, who have given to him unexampled proofs of their fidelity, exceed those limits which humanity prescribes to Sovereigns. It is fit that he revoke these rigorous measures. The circumstances in which I am placed direct my conduct; the King of Denmark can have no influence on the fate of Norway. It is consequently cruel to make him answerable; and I invite you to employ your good offices with your respective Sovereigns to relieve him from this obligation, and that his subjects, after so many sufferings, may have no more numerous an foreign armies to maintain.—I require your answer to this Note, Gentlemen, before you quit Norway, accompanied, be assured, by the good wishes of all those who have had the opportunity of knowing you, and who have learned to esteem you as highly as does, you, &c. CHRISTIAN FREDERICK *Christiana, July 12, 1814.*

ANSWER OF THE ENVOYS TO HIS HIGHNESS  
PRINCE CHRISTIAN FREDERICK.

The undersigned have received the communications which his Highness Prince Christian Frederick of Denmark has thought proper to transmit to them—in presenting their Note of the 7th ult. they had flattered themselves that in entering into the views of his Highness for the convocation of the Diet, and the negotiation of an armistice, they would probably succeed in removing every considerable difficulty, and obtain a confidence which might admit their propositions without restriction. Not one of the three points, however, submitted by the undersigned has been fully accepted as part of the basis of an armistice. Each has suffered modifications which, if they do not annul the general effect, at least render doubtful the concurrence of his Swedish Majesty.—Without entering into any details which could only give rise to fresh discussions, they feel themselves obliged to declare, that the concessions demanded as bases of the union are not compensated by any advantages afforded by the proposed armistice.—The undersigned are therefore compelled to rest their hopes of the success of their negotiation upon the generosity of the King of Sweden; and painful as it is to see all their efforts for the accomplishment of a pacific union frustrated, they are still happy to submit entirely to the conscience of his Swedish Majesty, the acceptance of his Highness's propositions, in order thereby to furnish him with an occasion of commencing by a signal benefit the exercise of his influence over Norway.—With respect to the guarantee of the bases of union, the armistice, and of all the points that shall be definitively arranged and accepted by Sweden, the undersigned are convinced, that none of the Powers of whom they are the representatives, nor even Sweden herself, will object

to this act of justice. Indeed, the raising the blockade, if his Swedish Majesty shall consent to it, necessarily involves the revocation of all those belligerent measures which were taken against Norway. The observations added by his Highness with respect to the painful situation of Denmark, induce the undersigned to remark, that the resolution of the Prince to place himself at the head of an illegitimate opposition, is the sole cause of the misfortunes of his true country, and that he might at once have spared to Denmark the suspicions of the Allied Powers, and to the undersigned the chagrin of stating this in an official Note.—At the close of this communication, the undersigned have the honour to ask of his Highness, a last proof of his frankness, in the publication of their official Notes as speedily as possible. They demand this on the principle that Norway should be informed of all the dangers to which she is exposed, and of the real object of their mission.—The departure of the undersigned being irrevocably fixed for Sunday the 17th of July, they have the honour to present to his Highness their homage, and the reiterated assurances of their profound respect.—*STEIGENTESCH, ORLOFF, FORSTER, MARINI, Christiana, July 15, 1814.*

THE SPANISH CONSTITUTION.

(Concluded from the Register of July 23.)

Art. 262. All civil and criminal causes shall be tried within the jurisdiction of their particular courts.—280. All Spaniards possess the right, of which they cannot be deprived, of settling their differences by arbitration, at the will of the parties.—282. The alcalde of every village shall, in himself, exercise the office of conciliator; and he who has to complain of civil and personal injury, shall apply for his mediation.—286. The laws shall regulate the administration of justice, in criminal causes, in such a manner, that the trials may be commenced without delay, and more effectively and promptly punished.—287. No Spaniard can be imprisoned, without authentic information of the deed committed; which must, according to law, deserve corporeal punishment, and an order given by the justice, before whom the deposition was taken, for his commitment.—290. The prisoner, before commitment, shall be taken to the magistrate, who shall make his deposition, unless particular circumstances should prevent it, in that case he shall be kept in custody, as a detained person, and the justice shall hear his deposition within twenty-four hours.—291. The prisoner's deposition shall not be taken

as, on criminal matters, no person shall swear upon his own act.—292. In heinous crimes, every delinquent may be arrested, and any person may arrest and carry him before a magistrate taken into custody, he shall be proceeded against, according to the form directed in the preceding articles.—293. If the magistrate should resolve to commit the prisoner, or detain him in custody, he shall draw out the *caso*, with an order for the same, and transmit a copy to the *alcalde*, who shall enter it on the arrest book without this requisite, the *alcalde* shall admit no prisoner as such, under the most heavy responsibility.—294. Property shall only be put under sequestration when the action is brought for some crime of pecuniary responsibility; and then only to the extent of such amount.—295. No person shall be committed to prison who offers bail, unless under circumstances in which the law expressly forbids accepting it.—296. Bail may be granted to a prisoner, at any period of the trial, should it appear he is not liable to corporeal punishment.—297. The prisons shall be constructed so as to secure, but not to distress the prisoners; the *alcalde* shall therefore be careful to keep them in custody; and, in solitary confinement, those whom the magistrates shall order, but never in subterraneous or unwholesome dungeons.—298. He shall be directed by the laws how often to visit the prisons; when no prisoner shall be excused from presenting himself, under any pretence whatsoever.—299. An *alcalde*, who shall neglect any of the duties pointed out in the preceding articles, shall be punished as guilty of false imprisonment; which crime shall be included in the criminal code.—300. Within twenty-four hours the prisoner shall be acquainted with the cause of his confinement, and the name of his accuser, should there be any.—301. At the time of taking the prisoner's deposition, or confession, all the documents and evidence of the witnesses shall be read to him, with their names; and, should there be any with whom he is not acquainted, every information on the subject shall be given him.—302. From this time all proceedings shall be public, according to the form and manner directed

by the laws.—303. Neither the rack, nor any violence, shall be used to extort confession.—304. The penalty of confiscation of property shall never be imposed.—305. No punishment, for any crime whatsoever, shall fall, in any respect, upon the family; but its whole weight rest on him who has incurred it.—306. The house of no Spaniard can be taken from him, or destroyed, unless under particular circumstances, pointed out by law, for the public good, or in defence of the state.—307. If it should hereafter appear to the Cortes necessary to make a distinction between the magistrates of civil and criminal justice, they shall establish such as may appear to them convenient.—308. It is in the power of the Cortes to decree the cessation of any of the proceeding forms, for personal arrests, in all or any part of the monarchy, whenever particular circumstances, affecting the security of the state, may require it.

#### *Chap. IX. Of Public Education.*—

Art 306. Introductory schools shall be established in every town throughout the kingdom, in which children shall be taught to read, write and cypher; the catechism of the Roman Catholic Religion, and a brief exposition of natural and civil duties and obligations.—307. Measures shall also be immediately taken to found a competent number of universities, and other establishments, for the promotion of literature and the fine arts.—308. The plan of general instruction shall be the same, throughout the kingdom, the Constitution of the monarchy shall be expounded in all the universities, and in the literary establishments where divinity and politics are taught.—309. A committee shall be formed of persons of known judgment and learning, to which, under the authority of the Government, shall be intrusted the direction and inspection of public education.—310. The Cortes, by means of special decrees and plans, shall regulate the important object of public education.—311. Every Spaniard possesses liberty to write, print, and publish, his political ideas, without any previous licence, permission, or revision, under the restrictions and responsibility established by law.

# COBBETT'S WEEKLY POLITICAL REGISTER.

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## SUMMARY OF POLITICS.

LORD COCHRANE.—I have inserted below, an Address of the Inhabitants of the town of Paisley, in Scotland, to the Electors of Westminster; also an Address from the same persons to Lord Cochrane both of which appear to have been agreed upon at a Meeting held at that place, on the 5th instant, for the purpose of celebrating the triumph over corruption, lately obtained by his Lordship.—In coming forward as the *first* in this patriotic cause, the inhabitants of Paisley have shewn an *independence* of mind, which, I would fair hope, will have the immediate effect of inducing others to imitate so proud an example. The Electors of Westminster have undoubtedly had many struggle with corruption," and I cordially agree with their friendly addressers, that notwithstanding all the triumphs which they have obtained over this hydra, they have "in this last instance, if possible, surpassed themselves."—But, if while they "have appeared as the focus of justice;" if, while "it has been their prerogative to give the public feeling effect," this public do not, like the inhabitants of Paisley, receive the impulse, and *re-echo* a kindred feeling, it will be in vain, it will be of no avail, it will tend to nothing, should the Electors of Westminster *every day in the year* give proofs of their patriotism, similar to what they have given in the case of Lord Cochrane. It is true, that corruption trembles, that it stands aghast, when it hears the voice of truth issue from the Hustings of Palace-Yard, and of Covent-Garden. But then this effect is produced only because the voice is near; because the bold and constitutional language is uttered in the *very teeth* of corruption. The effect has hitherto been merely momentary. The spirited remonstrances of genuine patriotism; the animated and eloquent harangues, in support of our constitutional rights, which have so frequently enraptured the Electors of Westminster, and called forth their loudest plaudits;

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the persevering and undaunted efforts which have been so often made by those tried orators "to save a sinking land;" all have proved unavailing; all have failed in resisting the mighty torrent, because none of these struggles to obtain the great object in view, have been seconded in a way equal to what its importance demands. Symptoms of an indication to support the great cause of Reform, have sometimes, I allow, shewn themselves in other places; but these have been so partial, and so short lived, that, instead of malice and injustice being thereby intimidated, they have become ten times more daring in their unblushing career, and the strong hold of corruption has at last become so formidable, that nothing short of the reiterated remonstrances of almost a whole people can induce its partizans to abandon any of their destructive projects. Much as has been done in the case of Lord Cochrane, through the courageous efforts of Sir Francis Burdett, seconded by the no less fearless conduct of his worthy constituents. Great, I say, as has been the triumph thus obtained over the enemies of public freedom, it is still strongly impressed upon my mind, that enough has not been done for the cause of JUSTICE. If Lord Cochrane was *guilty* of the offence for which he was indicted, I admit that he is suffering *justly*; but if he was *not* guilty; if it now appears, that the verdict returned against him proceeded upon a *defect* in the evidence; if it has been clearly ascertained that he would have been entitled to an *acquittal* upon other evidence, which was improperly kept back on the trial; then, I say, that his present imprisonment is *contrary* to all idea that I can form of *justice*. Now, how does the fact stand? My Lord Cochrane offered to *prove* his innocence, if he was allowed a new trial; but this was refused, on the ground that it was *contrary* to a rule of Court. Well, then, his Lordship had no alternative but to appeal to Parliament, who, as the *guardians of the law*, it was naturally to be expected, would correct the application of any regu-

lation of our Courts, which evidently tended to promote *injustice*! But here again Lord Cochrane was disappointed. His renewed offer to establish his *entire innocence*, was met, not by a counter proposal to *prove his guilt*, but by a standing order of the House, that the verdict of guilty was sufficient of *itself*, not only to justify his expulsion, but to warrant a *refusal* of all further legal investigation in his case. This, I believe, it will be allowed on all hands, is an exact statement of facts. But although Lord Cochrane was refused a new trial by the Judge that condemned him, and although all further enquiry was denied him in the House of Commons, this could not prevent his constituents from taking up his cause, nor from examining his Lordship's proofs. Neither could it prevent them from pronouncing an unanimous verdict of *Not Guilty*, as the result of that examination. Nor has this declaration of Lord Cochrane's *perfect innocence* been confined to the Electors of Westminster. It is a sentiment which pervades the whole country, and amongst all classes, except those (thank God they are few) who are either naturally malicious, or interested in the degradation of his Lordship.—In such circumstances, what does reason say? what does common sense dictate? Why, that Lord Cochrane, being innocent in the eyes of nearly the whole population of Great Britain, is entitled to be relieved of *all and every part* of the sentence passed upon him. It is not of the pillory, or of the fine, or of any one particular, of which he has a right to complain more than another. He is *entirely* innocent, and therefore until the sentence is *entirely* revoked, he ought not, and cannot be satisfied.—Every moment he is deprived of his liberty is a real punishment, and that punishment he is suffering *contrary to justice*, because he is suffering for a crime which he *did not* commit. But his Lordship, we are told, must continue in prison in virtue of the *law*. This is as much as to say, that law and justice are *contrary* to each other. Did not the law, however, originate with the people? Are not the people the source of all judicial authority? And have they not a right to remonstrate against every undue and rigorous exercise of the law?—These are propositions which cannot be disputed. Yet, although but one opinion prevails as to the innocence of Lord Cochrane, although no one attempts to suppress his indignation at the

treatment his Lordship has received; it is strange, it is unaccountable, that no measures have been adopted to obtain his release from prison. It has been seen, that he will never condescend to ask for mercy; that his noble and exalted mind will not allow him to stoop to solicit any boon.—But why should this resolution on the part of Lord Cochrane, deter his constituents from doing this for him? Why should they, or the country at large, permit any individual to remain in prison, even for one hour, of whose innocence they are fully satisfied, without *attempting*, at least, to effect his liberty by means which are perfectly constitutional, and which can be so easily resorted to? If the case of a *private* individual, placed in these circumstances, ought to arouse public attention, how much more forcibly does the case of Lord Cochrane call for public interference. As a member of parliament, duly returned, it is for the *honour* of the House that the stigma, which has been attempted to be fixed upon his Lordship, should be instantly wiped away by his liberation. It is for the *honour* of the Electors of Westminster, that none of their Representatives should be placed in a *degraded* situation, and where this has been aimed at, that they should be prompt in the exercise of their privileges, to rescue him from it. It is for the *honour* of the navy, whose rights Lord Cochrane has so often, and so manfully maintained, that he should be released from his present bondage; and it is for the *honour* of the nation, whose battles he has fought with so much success, and for whom he purchased, at the constant risk of his life, more glory, during his short career of victory, than any naval hero that preceded him. Is it such a man as this? is the rival in fame of the immortal Nelson, to be rewarded for his deeds of valour, by being shut up in the gloomy recesses of a prison? Are the people of England become so insensible of their own wrongs? Are they really so callous, so indifferent as to the contumely which has been heaped upon one of their best and bravest warriors, that they permit him, *though innocent*, to waste his precious hours in so shameful an abstraction from his public duty, and from all the comforts of life? No; the people of England may now be *less active* than they were formerly in asserting their rights; but they are not the *less just*. All they require is to be put in the way of doing what is right; all





they need is an example set before them to guide their conduct. Too much praise cannot be given to the Electors of Westminster, for their fearless and upright conduct on every occasion where they could, with propriety, assert the rights of the country; and, as justly remarked in the following Address, they have in this last instance, if possible, surpassed themselves. Still, it appears to me, that something remains for them to perform. To them, in a peculiar manner, it belongs to petition the Throne in behalf of Lord Cochrane, and to urge his entire innocence as the ground, the only ground, why they demand his liberty. Upon them it seems incumbent to give this glorious example to their country. They are well aware of the effect such examples have had on former occasions. In a case like this, where every plea that justice, that gratitude, that humanity can dictate, so powerfully unite, it is scarcely possible to entertain a doubt, that the result would be as favourable as the most sanguine friends of Lord Cochrane could wish. Let, then, the Electors of Westminster follow that line of conduct so clearly marked out by their duty, and by the extraordinary circumstances of the case. Let them be persuaded not to weary in well doing. Let the high opinion so often expressed in their favour, by the country at large, for their unwearied exertions in the cause of freedom, stimulate them to new endeavours; and let them be assured, that they will again meet their reward, not only in the applause of their countrymen, but in the consciousness of having performed a disinterested, a just, and a benevolent act. The Electors of Westminster have unequivocally pronounced Lord Cochrane INNOCENT. It only remains for them to get him cleared of the punishment of guilt.

*Canal-Street, Pauley, Aug. 18th, 1814.*

SIR,—By inserting the following Address to Lord Cochrane and the Electors of Westminster, you will oblige your readers in this place.—Accustomed as we have been to the arts of the abettors of corruption, it is with a mixture of pity and contempt we have witnessed the eagerness with which they have endeavoured to heap every sort of contumely upon Lord Cochrane's head. Thanks to his numerous

friends, they have in this instance been wretchedly disappointed: and though he has been stripped of those honours which "the breath of kings can bestow," he still retains what they have not the power to give or take away—the applause and admiration of his grateful countrymen.—Yours with great respect, JOHN McNAUGHT.  
*W. Cobbett, Esq.*

At a Meeting of a number of Inhabitants of Paisley, in the Salutation Inn, upon August 5th, 1814, for the purpose of celebrating the triumph of Lord Cochrane, the following Address to the Electors of Westminster, and to Lord Cochrane, was agreed to —

#### TO THE ELECTORS OF WESTMINSTER.

GENTLEMEN—The times in which we live have been denominated a new æra. They have produced so many extraordinary and marvellous events, that we cannot help thinking the designation just; but such has been their effect on the Public mind, that we almost cease to wonder at any thing however extraordinary. Were it not for this apathy, this callous effect, scarcely any thing in modern times would have made a deeper impression than the trial and condemnation of your Representative, Lord Cochrane. In spite, however, of this disadvantage, we rejoice to find that this event has produced the very impression it ought to have made; it has produced an impression at once calculated to confound the malice of his enemies, to cheer the heart of every patriot, and to cherish that spirit of justice and independence which has long been dear to every Briton. Allow us, therefore, to congratulate you and our country, on the signal triumph which justice has obtained in your re-election of Lord Cochrane—an election which could only proceed from a universal consciousness of the innocence of his Lordship, and which has placed that innocence on an immovable foundation. You have had many struggles with corruption, in all of which you have appeared as illustrious examples to mankind. In this last instance, you have, if possible, surpassed yourselves; you have appeared as the focus of justice; it has been your prerogative to give the Public feeling effect:

We would by no means be understood to impute any thing to the prejudice of the Jury that tried his Lordship. Trial by Jury we hold so sacred and invaluable, that we deprecate any reflection that would seem to throw a shade on so glorious an institution; but we may freely observe, that, like every other human institution, it



must be liable to abuse. We can easily imagine, that a Jury may be placed in such circumstances as to be rendered absolutely incapable of knowing the truth; a villainous arrangement of the evidence to be produced, a malicious and undue influence on the part of the Judge, &c. may deceive a Jury, and produce as much evil, under the forms of law, as private vengeance could inflict. But while it is said that Lord Cochrane was tried and condemned by a Special Jury, it will also be said, he was tried by the Electors of Westminster; he was tried by his country, and acquitted.

We conclude by expressing our hope, that whenever the Hydra of Corruption shall put forth her head, you will be found at your post, ready to strike it off, or to inflict a mortal wound. The times are still ominous, and the nation has its eyes fixed on you; we trust that you will not relax in your vigilance, till malice and injustice hide their diminished heads, and innocence no longer find its only solace in heart corroding grief.

We are, Gentlemen, with the utmost respect,  
yours, &c. &c. JOHN M'NAUGHT, Chairman

#### TO LORD COCHRANE.

MY LORD There is such a dissonance between conscious innocence and imputed guilt, that an upright mind must necessarily be confounded on receiving an atrocious charge; and even when the falsehood of the charge is made apparent, the recollection of it is often so bitter, and its consequences so injurious, as almost to equal the pangs and the deserved punishment of real guilt. Your case, my Lord, is one of a singular complexion. Trained in the paths of honour; habituated to patriotic deeds and high exploits; and possessing, in an eminent degree, that noble disinterestedness, that open frankness, peculiar to a naval life, to you the recent charge must have been extremely galling. Convinced of your innocence, permit us to approach your Lordship to express the interest we have taken in that extraordinary affair. When the charge was first preferred, we considered its improbability so great as to require the strongest evidence to make it good. We rejoiced to find such evidence was wanting; nay, more, the lofty spirit of independence, the keen sense of honour which you manifested throughout the whole affair; your astonishing Address before the House of Commons, and subsequent illustrations, have destroyed every vestige of guilt, and placed your Lordship's innocence in the most advantageous point of view. The universal sentiment in your favour, but especially the admi-

nable conduct of the Electors of Westminster, have raised you to a higher eminence than that from which you had fallen. You were, indeed, guilty of a crime—a crime unpardonable in the eyes of corruption, you had dictated energy and efficiency to warlike measures; you sought the glory and happiness of your country, you sought for justice to your associates in war, was it then to be wondered at, that malice should make you a favourite mark?—No, my Lord; but, thanks to this enlightened age, her shafts have been diverted in their course, and by their obliquity have centered in herself.

My Lord, allow us to conclude, by expressing our confidence, that the circumstances which have called forth this Address will, if possible, strengthen your habits and elevate your patriotic views, that when the time arrives for resuming your public functions, you will be found the same intrepid, fearless champion of public and private right you have ever been.

Accept, my Lord, the assurance of our regard,  
JOHN M'NAUGHT, Chairman.

#### INNOCENCE OF LORD COCHRANE.

SIR,—I think Lord Cochrane has now nearly established his innocence, or rather *disproved* his guilt. He has shown, 1st, by the evidence of a person hostile to him, viz. De Berenger, that he had no direct participation with the said De Berenger in the plot; 2dly, he has shown, partly by the evidence of persons also hostile to him, viz. his Solicitors, that De Berenger changed his dress before he entered his (Lord Cochrane's) house; and, 3dly, that, if De Berenger thought it necessary to deceive Lord Cochrane, *he did not believe* him to be in the plot. Strong circumstances, you will say, when a man is obliged to prove his innocence. J. B.

22d Aug. 1814.

#### CAPITAL PUNISHMENTS.

MR. COBBETT.—When I addressed you so very lately upon this subject, it was not my intention to trouble you so soon with another letter. A circumstance, however, of considerable importance, has occurred, which I hope will plead in behalf of this communication. In my last, I remarked upon the too common practice of public executions, that they never failed “to harrow up the feelings of the virtuous,” and, as a proof of this, I referred to a case, mentioned in the *Courier*, of a man who was recently executed at *Deton*, who on the same morning had cut his throat, and when he was “turned off,

the blood gushed from the wound, flowed over his body and arms, which rendered it a shocking sight to the spectators."—Appalling as this scene must have been to all who witnessed it, and distressing as it was to me who merely read the account of it, figure, if you can, what must have been the feelings of those who were present on Monday last, at the Old Bailey, and saw the poor *maniac* launched into eternity "with all his sins upon his head."—After mentioning some particulars respecting the other five unfortunate victims, (one of whom named *Maroney*, sufficiently verified the phrase, "that he was determined to make his exit as became a man,") the account of this awful affair, which I also found in the *Courier* of that evening, proceeds thus—"The most painful part is to record the behaviour of the unfortunate *Ashton*, who has been in a temporary state of insanity since the receipt of the awful warrant for his execution. While in the press-yard, he distorted his countenance horribly. He was the fifth who mounted the scaffold, and he appeared anxious to do so, he ran up the steps from the Dictators' door with great rapidity; and having gained the summit of the platform, began to kick and dance, and often exclaimed, "I'm Lord Wellington." The Rev Mr. Cotton, who officiated for the first time as Ordinary, enjoined him to pray, while the executioner was performing his office, to which, however, he paid but little attention, and continued to clap his hands as far as he was permitted by the extent of the cord. Mitchell was next to him, and often invited him to prayer. All that could be done was ineffectual, and it was deemed necessary to have two men, who held him during the awful ceremony.—When they released him for the purpose of the Lord's Prayer being said, he turned round and round, and began to dance, and often vociferated, "Look at me, I'm Lord Wellington." The dreadful state in which he appeared, induced Mr. Smith, the Under Sheriff, to request the Ordinary to dispense with the formality of ceremony, and to give the usual signal for their being launched into eternity. At 20 minutes past eight o'clock, the signal was given, and the platform fell. Scarcely, however, had the sufferers dropt, before, to the awe and astonishment of every beholder, *Ashton* rebounded from the rope, and was instantaneously seen dancing near the Ordinary, and crying out very loudly, and apparently

unhurt, "What do you think of me; and I not Lord Wellington now." He then danced, clapped his hands, and huzzacd. At length the executioner was compelled to get upon the scaffold, and to push him forcibly from the place on which he stood. He seemed to meet his fate in great agony, and died in strong convulsions."—Now, Mr. Cobbett, without saying a single word to increase the horror which every one must feel on a bare perusal of this statement, I should like to be informed, if the laws of this country, like the laws of the Medes and Persians, are so inflexible, so irrevocable, that even the sovereign power, the fountain of mercy, was precluded extending itself to an object that called so loudly, as in this case, for the interposition of that Godlike attribute?—I do not mean to say any thing here respecting the justice, or even the policy, of inflicting the punishment of death on account of the crime for which this man was condemned to suffer. But I cannot, in any possible way, separate from my mind the idea of barbarity, when I contemplate the fact of putting a man to death, who, it is plainly admitted, was at that moment, and had been for at least *two days before*, in a state of *mental derangement*; who had been afflicted with a malady, which rendered him *totally insensible* to the awful situation in which he stood—and was *utterly incapable* of receiving that spiritual aid, which even the law considered essential to the determining of his fate in another world. Where would have been the danger, or where the difficulty, of suspending the execution of the sentence, until it was seen whether he recovered his senses? Even had the Almighty, who deprived him of them, kept him always in that condition, what injury would society have sustained, had he never suffered the punishment awarded for his crime? It was, in fact, no punishment to be criminal to put him to death in these circumstances. On the contrary, such was the dreadful nature of his malady, that it was to him an hour of triumph and exultation; and I am persuaded there were none present who were not fully convinced, as I am, that, if ever there was an object in whose favour mercy ought to be extended, his miserable wretch was one.—There were enough of other examples before the gaping crowd; and it was surely ill-judged, by this act of severity, to familiarize the public mind to greater acts of cruelty, or inhumanity, than what usually accompany

our public executions. Perhaps, after all, no application was made, in the proper quarter, for even a temporary suspension of the sentence. It is more than probable, that no one ever felt so much interest in the wretched man's case, as to lead to a single word being uttered in his behalf.—It is not amongst jailors that we are always to look for the most brilliant examples of humanity. But as others, in whom it might be expected there was somewhat of the milk of human kindness, must have had access to the prisoners after they were informed of the warrant for their execution, it might have been expected that they would not have overlooked this man's case. Had I been the Ordinary, for instance, who attended on this occasion, I would have considered it my bounden duty, not only to have administered spiritual consolation to those who were *capable of receiving it*, but, in a special manner, to have reported the deplorable situation in which I found the unfortunate maniac.—It may be, that he did so, and that his endeavours proved unavailing. In which ever way then the fact stands; whether a man, known to be insane\*, and conse-

\* I am very adverse to comparisons, as they are in general considered invidious; but I cannot omit noticing here, the case of an insane person, who was condemned, by those feeling men called *Inquisitors*, to receive 200 lashes, and to be sent six years to the galleys, *after* he had lost his senses in a dungeon of the Inquisition, where he had been sent by these holy gladiators, for performing a real act of humanity. His name was Peter Herera. He had been appointed prison-keeper of the Holy Office, and his offence was the permitting a mother and her two daughters, who had been put under his charge for some imposed crime against the Church, to have an hour's intercourse together. A few days after, these females were put to the torture, and the keeper, afraid that they might, from the severity of their sufferings, disclose what he had done, resolved to make a voluntary confession, in the expectation that he would escape the punishment, which he knew awaited him, for allowing any of the prisoners to be together, without leave from the tribunal. But mark the *tender mercies* of these pretended saints! Imprisonment in the dungeons of the Inquisition for a whole year, and six years condemnation to the galleys, was the reward of this compassionate man's reliance upon the generosity of his Judges. After he had continued a year in prison, where he became insane in consequence of ill usage, he was tied on an ass, and whipt through the public streets. In the height of his delirium, he threw himself down, and nearly killed the Officer of the Inquisition, who attended the execution of the sentence.—For this he was sentenced, by the Lords Inquisitors, to four years more in the galleys, making the period of his confinement there altogether ten years!!! Such is the way these holy willows reward deeds of humanity, and aggravate the sufferings of those they have already almost destroyed, through pretended zeal for religion, and the laws of their infernal order.

quently incapable of judging as to his real situation, was suffered to be put to death, in these unhappy circumstances, through the want of power in the Sovereign to shew him mercy, or from the neglect of those who had access to know his real state of mind; this occurrence gives additional strength to the many cases already in existence, which plead so powerfully in favour of a revision of our penal code, and which, I trust, will not be lost sight of by Sir Samuel Romilly, and those who are engaged with him in endeavouring to obtain a general amelioration of our criminal laws.

Yours, &c. BENEVOLUS.

25th August, 1814

P. S. I find the public are not altogether inattentive to this interesting subject. The following letter appeared in the *Times* of this morning.—“SIR,—In an account of the recent execution of several unfortunate men, one of them is said to have been in a state of insanity from the time when the awful warrant for his execution was received.—The consequence of such a state of mind with respect to his behaviour at the place of execution is mentioned, as well as the difficulty of carrying into effect the sentence of the law. It is added, that ‘at length the executioner was compelled to get upon the scaffold, and to push him forcibly from the place on which he stood.’—I beg leave to enquire, how far such a circumstance is consistent with the following exposition of the law by Sir Matthew Hale and Mr. Justice Blackstone.—‘If after judgment passed on the prisoner for a capital offence, he becomes of nonsane memory, execution shall be stayed; for per adventure, says the humanity of the English law, had the prisoner been of sound memory, he might have alleged something in stay of judgment or execution.’ —A. I. I.

#### LIBERTY OF THE PRESS.

MR. COBBETT.—The necessity of the liberty of the press to the happiness of mankind, and the well-being of an enlightened State, no person can doubt. It is, therefore, highly desirable that some definite law, settling the limits of discussion, should be established; for unless a law be definite it must leave much to the discretion of Judges, and cannot be perfect. The formation of such a law is said to be very difficult; but still I cannot think it impracticable. To satisfy you that it is not, I send you the following “plan of a law,” which will,

at least, give some idea how far we may go towards settling the difference between libels and the liberty of the press.

1st. I would declare *speculative discussion* a general right; being convinced that any evil which may attend it can bear no proportion to the good. The greatest difficulty is with regard to proposals which may be made for alterations in the Constitution; such as an Elective Senate instead of a hereditary House of Peers; or the separation of Ireland from Great Britain. But even in this case, I can see no evil. If the plan is beneficial, it should be adopted—If it is not, it will not be adopted; for, setting aside the chance that truth will, among enlightened men, always preponderate, we have seen the best of plans, for instance Parliamentary Reform, long resisted, notwithstanding all the clamours of the press. How, then, shall a bad plan be adopted?

2d. I would hold that a libellous publication, which should call upon the people to rise and do any act contrary to an existing law, or in prevention of the execution of the orders of Government; such as a proclamation requiring the people to rescue any person from the officers of justice, or addressed to a regiment going on foreign service, informing them that they were to be carried to a noxious climate, and advising them to mutiny and disobey.

3d. I would distinguish between libels against Ministers or official men, and those against private individuals. With regard to characters of the former description, I consider a person who accepts an official situation in the same circumstances as an author who challenges criticism, and seeks applause at the hazard of censure. It will sometimes, indeed, happen that criticism on a public character, as well as on an author, is unfair. This is rather to be regretted, but cannot be prevented; as, among many opinions, some must always be erroneous. But it is of so much more importance that the truth, with regard to the affairs of a nation, including the happiness of millions, should be known, than that the feelings of an individual should not be hurt—that comparison is set at nought. Besides, there could be no injustice in the case. A public character would accept his office under the condition of unlimited animadversion; and if he felt it disagreeable, he could retire.

4th. With regard to official persons

charged with an act, such as putting men to death contrary to law, or without law, I would allow the publisher to prove the truth of his statement; and if he failed, punish him as a libeller.

5th. I would distinguish an official person's private, from his public character. With regard to libels against his private character, such as a charge of theft, or swindling, I would allow him the benefit of the law as applicable to private individuals.

6th. With regard to private individuals, I would allow the law to remain nearly as it is; that is, I would hold the publication of all *unnecessary* facts, prejudicial to a private person's character, as libellous, and that the greater truth, the greater libel. Consequently he would be entitled to prosecute for damages, or penal punishment, according to his pleasure. But I would hold justifiable, discussion, or the publication of any fact, regarding a private individual, even although prejudicial, which were *necessary for the public good*. I would also hold justifiable, discussion, or the publication of any fact *for the benefit of any public body or institution*, although injurious to a private individual; such as where the publisher were a subscriber to an hospital, and the person against whom the publication was directed, or the charge made, the physician of that hospital. I would likewise hold justifiable, the publication of fact injurious to a private individual, where the publication were necessary to *self-defence*. But provided always the fact stated were true.

7th. With regard to libels against foreign potentates with whom we were at peace, (for in a state of war abuse seems to be fair hostility) I would consider such potentates in precisely the same situation as one of our own Ministers (not the King, for he can do no wrong); and if they did not chuse to prosecute in our Courts, we would, supposing no alternative, go to war with them rather than renounce a right which is certainly as important as many others for which we have gone to war.

Lastly. I would legislate, that no person should be set in the pillory for a libel, nor be imprisoned more than one year, nor pay a fine of more than 500*l.* for any such offence; imprisonment for the above, or any shorter period, and fine to the above or any less amount, to be inflicted at the discretion of the Judge, or conviction by a Jury; and damages to individuals to be fixed by a

Jury according to the loss they had sustained.

The above, in my opinion, would be a moderate and equitable law, applying to every case of libel, or that should be a libel, and consequently establishing the freedom of the press on the basis of justice. I can, indeed, see but one reason against its adoption, and that is, that all improvement in politics or government is to be abhorred. I am, &c. J. D.

August 22, 1814.

#### THE INQUISITION.

MR. COBBLETT.—It is no longer a matter of doubt, that this infernal and dread tribunal has been restored, in all the plenitude of its power, in the dominions of the Pope, in the kingdom of Spain, and in all those countries where the influence of the Catholic clergy predominates. Much as it has been said, and that with great truth, against that horrid traffic the Slave Trade, I cannot but express my surprise, that the re-establishment of the Inquisition in Europe, has excited no apparent indignation in the breasts of those who feel so warmly interested in the case of the injured African. I should be sorry to think that this indifference arose from antipathy to Bonaparte, who, it is well known, abolished the Inquisition in all those places to which his influence extended. I should regret extremely, if the injury Napoleon has done to the cause of liberty, should have so far influenced the friends of freedom, as to render them careless about what he accomplished in the cause of humanity. Either a feeling of this kind is now almost universal as to the cruelties and the injustice practised in the *Holy Office*, or the people of this country are totally unacquainted with the real character of that hellish tribunal, and with the number of innocent victims it has immolated on the altar of its diabolical superstition.—Inclined as I am to attribute the general apathy which prevails on this important subject, to the want of proper information respecting it, I should like to hear that some publication was in contemplation, calculated, at a cheap rate, to put the public in possession of accurate information as to an institution, the existence of which appears to me to be attended with more fatal consequences, and greater disgrace to nations, who call themselves civilized, than even the Slave Trade, infamous and cruel as that abominable traffic is allowed to be. In my enquiries into this

subject, I lately laid my hands upon a small volume, containing a variety of interesting and apparently well authenticated cases of individuals, who had suffered the most unheard of tortures in this *sanctified office*, under the pretence of zeal for religion. This volume wants the title page, but it appears to have been printed about the year 1750. It contains a particular account of the Inquisition; and the cruelties practised there are aptly illustrated by engravings, such as drawing the objects of their fury to the ceiling by a pulley, the cord tied round both hands, while a large weight is fastened to the feet; stretching out the body on a machine until the whole joints crack; burning the soles of the feet; and pouring boiling liquids down the throat—all to *elicit* confession from the accused. Here also is a picture representing what these *sanctified* barbarians call, an *act of faith*, in which the King and Queen of Spain, surrounded by their nobles, are seen witnessing, with the greatest complacency, the tying to the stake, and burning a number of unfortunate wretches who had been doomed, after undergoing the torture, to expiate, in the flames, the crimes said to have been committed against the *holy faith*, but whose greatest guilt consisted in some trifling offence unintentionally given the blood-thirsty Monks, or in being richer than their neighbours, which, with some fanatics, is a more enormous crime than the sin against the Holy Ghost. With the view that this book may be entirely republished, I shall leave it with the publisher of the REGISTER. Meanwhile, I entreat your insertion of the following extract, which, as it contains an account of proceedings witnessed by the narrator, who had been *Secretary to the Inquisition*, is, I think, entitled to the greatest credit—

“Mr. Bower (an Englishman) says, that what first occasioned him to contrive his escape from the Inquisition, was the cruelty exercised there, particularly on two gentlemen whose stories he thus relates—Information having been given to the Inquisition at Macerata, that a gentleman had been guilty of speaking disrespectfully of their office; all imaginable diligence was used to discover him; and advertisements fixed up at Rome, and other places, describing him to be a tall black man with an impediment in his speech.—One of their emissaries happening to be at Florence, in the public walks, met with a person whom he thought answered the

description. Accordingly he spared no pains to insinuate himself into his acquaintance; and succeeded so far, that the gentleman finding him to be a stranger, offered to shew him the principal curiosities of the place; and entertained him, at his house, in a free and hospitable manner.—After some time, the stranger told him that he hoped he would suffer him to return the obligation, by accompanying him to Rome; and passing some days with him at his seat, in the neighbourhood of that city, where he found the gentleman had never yet been.—Accordingly they set out together, and instead of carrying him to any house of his own, he led him directly to the palace of the Inquisition at Macerata, where, after bringing him to the great hall, he desired him to amuse himself with the paintings there, and excuse his leaving him a little, to give the necessary orders in the

—What he was thus admiring the grandeur of the place, and suspecting, from the richness of the furniture, that he had not treated his friend with the respect that was his due he observed several persons peeping by one at the door, and staring him full in the face.—Upon this, seeing no sign of his companion's return, he began to suspect some treachery, and was just stepping out when a person came up to him, and enquiring who he was going, told him, that nobody was suffered to depart thence: that he was now in the hall of the Inquisition, and must certainly have been guilty of some great crime, or he would not have been brought thither; so that he must take up his abode there.—Immediately he was thrust down into the dungeon; where, after being tied for a week with bread and water, he was brought up in the middle of the night, to a room hang with black, where the Council of the Inquisition was sitting (one of which was Mr. Bower himself), where he was told, by the Inquisitor General, that he must certainly have been guilty of some great offence for the holy Inquisition never accused any one rashly, so that he must consider what it was, and impeach himself.—Upon his protesting his innocence, he was prepared for the torture, which was inflicted in this manner. The unhappy man was stripped naked, and by means of four ropes, which ran upon as many pulleys, at each corner of the room, his arms and legs were extended, within one degree of breaking; and he was laid on his back with an iron spike fixed under him.—In this condition

he lay for some time, in extreme anguish; but still refusing to accuse himself, he was remanded back to his dungeon, where he had not been long, before the Inquisition having dispatched an express to Rome, with their suspicions, that, from his resolution, and other circumstances, he could not be the man they imagined, received for answer, that they need give themselves no further trouble about him, for that they had discovered the true offender; upon which this gentleman was discharged, after they had given him an oath of secrecy. But the hardships, under which he had laboured, and the torments he had suffered, had so far deprived him of the use of his faculties, that he continued the remainder of his life senseless and distracted in the neighbourhood of Macerata.

“Ths, Mr. Bower says, shocked him extremely. But what determined him to leave them, when opportunity offered, was the following affair, which he relates thus:—As a nobleman (a friend of his) who was just married, was walking in his garden with his lady, two Capuchin Friars passed by with their feet and heads bare, and the mortifying garb of their order. When they were got out of hearing, he expressed, to his wife, his surprize, that any person could be so far intreated, as to believe that such a particular dress could be meritorious in the sight of God—Unhappily for him, he was overheard by the Friars, who made then report to the Inquisition. Mr. Bower, as one of the Inquisitors, was ordered to take a sufficient guard, which they always had in waiting, to bring his unfortunate friend before them. It would have been vain for him to have expressed the reluctance he inwardly felt; for the least signs of it might have proved fatal to him. About the middle of the night, he and his attendants appeared before the nobleman's door; when, upon their knocking, a servant looked out of a window, and enquiring who was there, was answered, the holy Inquisition—upon this, knowing the consequence of a refusal, he hastened down, opened the door, and conducted them into the bed-chamber, where the new married couple were fast asleep.—The first who waked was the lady, who, seeing such a crew of ruffians in the room, screamed out, for which she was saluted by one of them with a blow on the face, that made the blood gush out. Mr. Bower was much enraged at this, and asking the fellow what authority he had for such an unparalleled

piece of cruelty, threatened him severely, and afterwards had him punished in an exemplary manner.—This wakened the husband, who being very much surprized at what had happened, casting his eyes on Mr. Bower, cried out, Ah, my friend, is it you? Yes, he replied, it is; and you must immediately rise and follow me. This he soon complied with. Accordingly he was conducted to the Inquisition, where he was told, he was certainly guilty of some great crime; and that he had a week given him to reflect himself what it was, and so accuse himself.—All that time he was confined in a dungeon, and fed with nothing but bread and water, in order to weaken him, and render him less able to undergo the torture.—At the end of the week he was brought, in the night, before the infernal tribunal, and so altered, that he was scarce known to be the same; and upon his declaring that he was not conscious of any thing culpable, he was led to the torture, which was thus inflicted on him.—By means of four cords, which came over four pulleys, at each corner of the room, and met in the centre, he was hoisted up to the ceiling, where, by a sudden jerk, all his bones were dislocated.—After he had hung for some time in this deplorable condition, the Inquisitor General thinking he had not yet suffered enough, commanded them to slacken the cords, in order to let him fall with a shock to the ground. This, after what had been done before, is thought to be one of the greatest torments that human nature is capable of sustaining. But when they came to inflict it, they found that the unhappy man was already dead, upon which they buried him in a private manner, and sent a note to his wife, desiring her to offer up prayers for his soul, in all the churches in Rome!

“After two such pieces of unexampled cruelty and sanctified villany; in both of which, by virtue of his office, but in the latter more particularly, Mr. Bower had been so deeply, though reluctantly, concerned, he was determined, at all events, to make his escape from the Inquisition; being persuaded, that if he could get to England, the place of his birth, he should meet with encouragement from some of his countrymen; several of whom he had been acquainted with in their travels through Italy. He was sensible of the difficulties he had to encounter, none being suffered to stir out without leave first obtained from the Inquisitor General. To him therefore he

applied for a permission to go on a Pilgrimage to Loretto, a thing that he had hitherto long neglected.—The Inquisitor General applauded his resolution, and gave him leave; but immediately dispatched an express to Loretto, to know precisely the time he arrived there.—Accordingly Mr. Bower set out on horseback, and having armed himself with a pocket pistol, was determined, in case he found he could not otherwise escape, to dispatch himself; being persuaded that if ever suicide was excusable, it must be in his circumstances, in order to avoid the torments, which, if he should be taken, would be inflicted on him.

“After many contests with himself, he continued firm to his original project; and with design to pursue it, crossed out of the road towards Loretto, and shaped his course not far from Switzerland; knowing that if he could but reach Bern, a Protestant Canton, he should be safe. In order to attain it, he travelled day and night upon the mountains, but at last, himself and horse growing faint, for want of sustenance, he made up to a town, which he took to be Bern; but which proved, to his great concern, to be a Popish Canton. However, he alighted at an inn, where there happened to be two men who were reading a paper, which, casting his eye upon, he found to be a description of himself; promising a great reward for apprehending him.—He endeavoured to conceal his confusion as much as he could, wiping his face with a handkerchief to prevent his being observed; till at last, one of the men asking him why he wiped his ace, as if he was afraid of being seen; desired him to read that paper, which he did, as he says, with great seeming composure.—In the mean while, one of them whispered his companion; and soon after they retired into a room together, to consult whether they should apprehend him or not, as it was a hazardous affair; it being possible that he might be a courier of the British, or some other Minister.—Mr. Bower took this opportunity to fly to his horse, which he mounted with the utmost expedition, and galloped into a neighbouring forest, where he concealed himself for some time, and afterwards pursued his journey; subsisting himself, for several days, upon nothing but what the fields and woods afforded. At last, his horse, as well as himself, being almost worn out with hunger and fatigue, happening one morning, to spy a light at a



distance, he made up to it at all events; and, upon his knocking at the door, a man looked out at the window, and of whom he enquired whether it was a Protestant country; to which he replied, Yes, thank God for it. Immediately upon hearing this joyful news, he desired him to come down and open the door; for that he was the unfortunate Bower that had escaped from the Inquisition, and was now in the utmost distress for want of rest and food. Accordingly he alighted, and was received by the landlord with the utmost hospitality; who, upon his enquiring how far it was to Bern, informed him about two miles and offered himself for his guide.—Upon his arrival at Bern, he was advised in order to avoid several Popish countries, to take shipping on the Rhine, as far as Strasburg. He embarked therefore on that river; and one of his companions in the vessel happened to be a Jesuit, who not knowing him, entered into discourse with him about his own escape from the Inquisition.—When they were got pretty near to Strasburg the ship bulged upon a rock, so that they with great difficulty escaped to shore, where Mr Bower immediately took post horses for Calais. No sooner was he arrived there, and alighted at the Inn, than he saw on the gate advertisements describing him, and promising a reward for apprehending him. This made him resolve to depart as soon as possible, so that he went down to the shore in order to see if there was any vessel ready to sail for England; but to his great mortification found none; and the wind being high, could not prevail with any to put to sea. At last, for a considerable sum of money, he engaged some fishermen to carry him over. Scarce had they set sail, but the waves ran so high, that the men declared it impossible to succeed, for that no boat could live. In vain he offered them all he was worth, in case they would venture; but all their reply was, that he certainly must have been guilty of some very great crime, to attempt to run so great a hazard. Accordingly they put back, and landed him again.—But instead of going to the same inn, he went to another; where, thinking he heard in the next room the voice of some English gentlemen, he determined to discover himself to them, being of opinion, that no persons so merry and cheerful as they appeared to be, could harbour any ill will against him.—Animated by these reflexions, he knocked at the door;

and to his great satisfaction, the first that came to him was Lord Baltimore, with whom he had before some small acquaintance. His Lordship was much surprized at seeing him there, but told him that he had no time to lose, for that strict search had been made after him, and spies planted about every person that went for England. In short, he accompanied him to the sea shore, and offered him his own yacht to carry him over, in which he immediately embarked, and soon landed safe at Dover.—The next day Mr. Bower was much surprized with a letter brought in, directed to him; but much more when upon opening it, he found it came from the Inquisitor General; with promises of great honour and rewards, in case he would return to the Inquisition.—This, it seems, being left undirected, was ordered to be delivered to him, as soon as it was certainly known that he was arrived in England; but upon his enquiry for the person who brought it, nobody could tell what was become of him. However, he had seen too much already to rely on what they promised, and contented himself with expressing his gratitude to God for happily escaping out of their clutches, and safely arriving in a free and Protestant country."

It not inconsistent, Mr Coblett, with your plan, and no early account appears of this disgraceful and worse than savage Institution, I shall take the liberty of sending you some additional facts respecting it.

I am, &c.

AN OBSERVER.

CORN LAWS.—I have received a Letter on this fertile subject from Mr. Brand, Member of Parliament for Hertfordshire, which, as it is printed, he probably intends for publication.—He appears to have paid considerable attention to the subject, though I have only been able to glance his letter slightly over. I shall, however, give some extracts from it.—

"Corn Laws (says Mr. Brand) can be contemplated by a Statesman but in one point of view. They are mischievous, and in every way impolitic, if they produce any other effect than that of securing a certain, constant, abundant, and therefore cheap, supply of bread corn to the population of a country. No partial interests ought to be admitted into the consideration of their policy or propriety. The claims of landlord or tenant, of manufacturing or agricultural interests, are to be considered but as those of *integrated* parts of the entire



community which is to receive supply. The landlord and tenant ought to be identified—in other words, the argument upon the expediency or in expediency of Corn Laws, ought to be conducted in the same manner as if every occupier were possessed of the freehold of his occupation. Omitting then all interests, except those of the consumer, the question is brought within a very narrow range. All agree in the importance of securing a supply of bread corn at a moderate and steady price, and of guarding (so far as human care can guard) against the recurrence of that enormous and distressing increase of price, which has twice, at least, within the last fifteen years, arisen from unfavourable seasons—the inquiry is, how this may best be effected, and that question resolves itself into the following points.—In the first place we must determine under what degree of encouragement, at what remunerating price to the grower of corn, the internal supply can be insured. In the next place we have to consider, whether the foreigner can, and if he can, at what price *he will*, fill up that deficiency of supply, which must be the necessary effect of refusing to the internal cultivation such remunerating price as shall ensure its continuance. It is most evident that unless the grower of corn can calculate upon a return which will replace his expenditure, and compensate him for the use of the capital advanced, and the risk incurred, he will cease to cultivate. There may be some difficulty in ascertaining the extent of the protection necessary to ensure internal cultivation. Much must depend upon the quality of the land. The rich soils are of such early cultivation and abundant produce that they might (oppressed even as they are by charges and taxation) compete with the foreigner in our home markets; but every information which I have collected upon the subject confirms me in the opinion that it is far otherwise with the average lands of England. It is calculating upon a very high average of the land of this country to assume its produce to be equal to twenty bushels of wheat, and thirty-two bushels of barley per acre.—To every statistical and agricultural writer, I appeal as authority for this position. There is no person conversant with agricultural inquiries, who will argue, that wheat grown upon such lands can, in seasons of ordinary produce, be supplied (after the deduction of the tithe) at a less price

than nine shillings per bushel. To those who are not unacquainted with the necessary expenses and charges attached to the cultivation of land, this will not appear a high average price. Who can be so uninformed of the present state of this country as to disregard the charges and taxation, to which land is exclusively liable; the support of the poor, the maintenance of the ecclesiastical functionaries, the repair of the parochial churches, and of the public roads, the land tax, and seven and a half per cent. income tax, are all charges exclusively applicable to the land. When I assume that the average land of England cannot be cultivated but under the probability of a remunerating price of seventy-two shillings per quarter of wheat, I by no means intend to state that such must be its minimum price. In seasons of abundant produce the price will naturally fall.—Quantity of produce will in that case compensate for the deficiency of price. If I am correct in the above positions, it remains undeniably proved, that if the foreign grower can, and is allowed, to super-add his surplus to our home produce of corn in our own markets at a price below seventy-two shillings per quarter, the average lands of this country must be thrown out of cultivation. We must, then, depend upon foreign supply, to replace that deficiency which will necessarily arise from the subtraction of the produce of all the land of England which is below the assumed average.

“I now proceed to the consideration of that part of the subject, which I never contemplate without the most painful and unfeigned alarm. No evidence has ever been produced, I have never been fortunate enough to collect any, that the present surplus of foreign produce is by any means equal to replace the produce of those lands which must, as I have proved, be ultimately thrown out of cultivation, under a system of uncontrolled foreign importation. It is possible that by the application of British capital to the soils of Poland and America, those countries may, in common years, yield a supply of bread corn, which shall equal that, which, by the operation of wiser measures, might have been produced by our native soil.—But, let me ask, what will be our security; what our certainty of this supply? I do not here allude to national differences, and possible future war.—No; England must cease to ex-

troul those powers upon whom she has made herself dependent for subsistence.— I merely refer to the probable effects of unproductive seasons on the Continents of Europe and America. When the Rulers of those States, upon which we are to depend for the existence of our population shall be called upon to withhold their produce for the maintenance of their own people, then shall we experience the fatal effects of our prejudice and delusion.— Good God ! what will then be the state of our unhappy land ! Then will the people of this country vainly call upon those who have misled them, for that supply which they are now taught to reject—then will those theorists who now contend for systems inapplicable to the present state of the world, lament that, to their diabolical experiments, they have sacrificed the deluded people of this country. Positive famine may not be the early consequence but difficulty of procuring food, and corresponding high prices, must be the almost immediate effect of our dependence upon the foreigner for subsistence.

“ Assuming that there exists no real scarcity in foreign countries, is it possible to imagine, that foreign Governments will remain unobservant of our upon them ? Can it be supposed, that they will abstain from levying those contributions upon this country, of which we tender them the ready means ? Will they not impose duties upon the export of their corn ? But why should I state doubtfully that which is in demonstration before us ? In the present moment the Government of France has closed her ports against the exportation of French corn. In the course of the late war, Prussia levied a duty of forty per cent. upon all grain exported to this country.— From such self-evident propositions it appears to me most clearly deducible, that a certain and cheap supply of bread corn can be insured to the consumer by the sole means of our internal produce, checked in price by external supply on the one hand, and enabled to compete with it by protecting duties, or relief from taxation, on the other. It were easy to corroborate this opinion by the evidence of long and unerring experience. I am, however, so anxious to avoid occupying your attention by a re-statement of those facts, which may be seen in every publication upon the subject, that I feel it a duty to resist my inclination to enter into an historical con-

fimation of principles which to me appear incontrovertible.”

STATE OF IRELAND.—The *Dublin Evening Post*, of Saturday last, contains a most elaborate charge of JUDGE FLETCHER to the Grand Jury of the county of Wexford, delivered at the late Summer Assizes, in which that able Judge has given a most interesting picture of the state of Ireland, for the avowed purpose of shewing, that the Coercive Bills, recently passed in Parliament, respecting Ireland, are wholly inapplicable and unnecessary. My limits will not permit me to give this document at full length ; but I shall make such extracts from it as appear to me most important. Judge Fletcher denies that the disturbances in that country, of which we have heard so much on this side the water, proceed from dissatisfaction to the Government. He says.—

“ In my circuits through other parts of the kingdom, I have seen the lower orders of the people disturbed by many causes, not peculiar to any particular counties—operating with more effect in some, but to a greater or less extent in all—I have seen them operating with extended effect in the North-West Circuit, in the counties of Mayo, Donegal, Derry, Roscommon, &c. &c. These effects have made a deep impression on my mind. My observations, certainly, have been those of an individual—but of an individual, seeing the same facts coming before him, justicilly, time after time,—and I do now publicly state, that never, during the entire period of my judicial experience (comprising sixteen circuits), have I discovered or observed any serious purpose, or settled scheme, of assailing his Majesty’s Government, or any conspiracy connected with internal rebels, or foreign foes—But various, deep rooted, and neglected causes, producing similar effects throughout this country, have conspired to create the evils, which really and truly do exist.”

He then proceeds to develop these causes. He arranges them under the two general heads—POLITICAL and MORAL. Under the former, he classes, high rents ; paper currency ; an over active Magistracy ; the existence of Orange, and other Societies ; large County assessments ; and absentee landlords. Under the latter, he puts, exciting discord between Catholic pastors and their flocks ; the existence of tithes ; County presentment code, and money ; hasty decrees on civil bills ; and

illicit distillation. With regard to *paper currency*, he states—

“ We all know, that the country has been deluged by an enormous paper currency, which has generated a new crime, now prominent upon the 1st in every calendar—the crime of making and uttering forged bank notes. In every province, we have seen private banks failing, and ruining multitudes, and thus have fresh mischiefs flowed from this paper circulation.”

Respecting an *over active Magistracy*, the charge contains the following pointed remarks:—

“ Here let me solicit your particular attention to some of the grievous mischiefs flowing from the misconduct of certain Magistrates. One is occasioned by an excessive eagerness to crowd the gaols with prisoners, and to swell the calendars with crimes. Hence, the amazing disproportion between the number of the committals and of the convictions, between accusation and evidence, between hasty suspicion and actual guilt.—Committals have been too frequently made out (in other counties) upon light and trivial grounds, without reflecting upon the evil consequences of wresting a peasant (probably innocent) from the bosom of his family—unmurmuring him for weeks or months in a noisome gaol, amongst vicious companions. He is afterwards acquitted, or not prosecuted; and returns a lost man, in health and morals, to his ruined and beggared family. This is a hideous, but common picture. Again, fines and forfeited recognizances are multiplied, through the misconduct of a Magistrate. He binds over a prosecutor, under a heavy recognizance, to attend at a distant Assize, where, it is probable, that the man's poverty or private necessities must prevent his attending. The man makes default—his recognizance is forfeited—he is committed to the county gaol upon a Green Wax Process—and, after long confinement, he is finally discharged at the Assizes, pursuant to the Statute, and, from an industrious Cottier, he is degraded, from thenceforth, into a beggar and a vagrant.—Other Magistrates presume to make out vague committals, without specifying the day of the offence charged, the place, or any other particular, from which the unfortunate prisoner could have notice to prepare his defence. This suppression is highly indecorous, unfreeing, and unjust—and it deserves, upon every occasion, a severe reprobation of the Magistrate, who thus deprives his fellow-subject of his rightful opportunity of defence.—There are parts of Ireland, where, from the absence of the Gentlemen of the county, a race of Magistrates has sprung up,

who ought never to have borne the King's commission. The vast powers entrusted to those Officers call for an upright, zealous, and conscientious discharge of their duty.”

The dreadful consequences resulting from the existence of *Orange Associations*, are thus emphatically described.—

“ Those disturbers of the public peace, who assume the name of Orange Yeomen, frequent the fairs and markets, with arms in their hands, under the pretence of self-defence, or of protecting the public peace, but with the lurking view of inviting the attacks from the Ribbon Men—confident, that, armed as they are, they must overcome defenceless opponents, and put them down. Murders have been repeatedly perpetrated upon such occasions; and, though legal prosecutions have ensued, yet, such has been the baneful consequences of those factious Associations, that, under their influence, Petty Juries have declined (upon some occasions) to do their duty. These facts have fallen under my own view. It was sufficient to say—such a man displayed such a colour, to produce an utter disbelief of his testimony, or, when another has stood with his hand at the bar, the display of his party badge has mitigated the murder into manslaughter.”

But of all the political causes attended with pernicious consequences to Ireland, and the continuance of which must for ever prove a bar to her national improvement, that of *Absentee Landlord* seems to be the worst. Their effects are thus described by the learned Judge.—

“ Superadded to these mischiefs, are the permanent and occasional Absentee Landlords, residing in another country, not known to their Tenants, but by their Agent who extract the uttermost penny of the value of the lands. If a lease happens to fall in, they set the farm by public auction to the highest bidder. No gratitude for past services—no preference of the fair offer—no predilection for the ancient tenantry, (be they ever so deserving) but, if the highest price be not acceded to, the depopulation of an entire track of country ensues. What then is the wretched peasant to do? Chased from the spot, where he had first drawn his breath; where he had first seen the light of Heaven, incapable of procuring any other means of existence Vexed with those exactions I have enumerated—and harassed by the payment of Tithes—can we be surprised, that a peasant, of unenlightened mind, of uneducated habits, should rush upon the perpetration of crimes, followed by the punishment of the rope and the gibbet?

Nothing (as the peasantry imagine) remains for them, thus harassed and thus destitute, but with strong hand to deter the stranger from intruding upon their farms, and to extort from the weak-ness and terrors of their Landlords, (from whose gratitude or good feelings they have failed to win it) a kind of preference for their ancient tenantry."

Among the *moral* causes of depravity in Ireland, that of *Illicit Distillation* may be considered the most prominent. On this part of the subject Judge Fletcher observes.—

"From this source, a dreadful torrent of evils and crimes has flowed upon our land.—The excessive increase of rents had induced many persons to bid rents for their farms, which they knew they could not fairly or properly discharge—but they flattered themselves, that, in the course of years, the value of those farms would rise still higher, and that thus they might ultimately acquire beneficial interests. In the mean time, they have had recourse to illicit distillation, as the means of making good their rents. Hence the public revenue has been defrauded to the amount of millions.—Nay, it is a fact, that at one period, not far back, there was not a single licensed distillery in an entire province—namely, the North West Circuit, where the consumption of spirituous liquors is, perhaps, called for by the coldness and humidity of the climate. The old powers of the law having proved unavailing, the Legislature was compelled to enact new laws, which, though clashing with the very first principles of evidence under our happy Constitution, were yet called for by the exigency of the times—laws, which qualify a prosecutor to be as a witness in his *own* cause. If he feared not the consequences of perjury, he gained the suit, and put the money into his pocket. Hence, a kind of bounty was necessarily tendered to false swearing—and we all know the revenue folk are not very remarkable for a scrupulous feeling in such cases.—These oaths were answered again by the oaths of the parties charged, who, in order to avoid the fine, denied the existence of any still upon their lands. Thus have I witnessed trials, where, in my judgment, the Revenue officer, who came to impose the fine, was perjured—the witnesses who came to avert it, perjured—and the Petty Jury, who tried the cause, perjured, for they declined to do their duty, because they were, or might be interested in the event; or because the easy procurement of those illicit spirits produced an increased consumption of grain for their benefit. The resident gentry of the country generally winked with both their eyes at this practice, and why?—because it brought home to the doors of

their tenantry a market for their corn; and consequently increased the rents of their lands—because they were themselves consumers of those liquors, and in every town and village there was an unlicensed house for retailing them.—This consumption of spirits produced such pernicious effects, that at length the Executive Powers deemed it high time to put an end to the system.—The consequence was, that the people, rendered ferocious by the use of those liquors, and accustomed to lawless habits, resorted to force, resisted the laws, opposed the military, and hence have resulted riots, assaults, and murders."

As to *Tithes*, the charge contains the following judicious remarks.—

"They are generally complained of as a great grievance. In the times in which we live, they are a tax upon industry, upon enterprise, and upon agricultural skill. Is a man intelligent and industrious—does he, by agriculture, reclaim a track of land, and make it productive of corn, he is visited and harassed by the Tithe Proctor; does his neighbour, through want of inclination or of skill, keep his farm in pasture and unimproved, he is exonerated from the burden of tithes, and from the visitations of any clergy, not belonging to his own church. Far be it from me to say that tithes are not due to the clergy. By the law of the land, they have as good a title to their tithes as any of you have to your estates; and I am convinced, that the clergyman does not, in any instance, exact what he is strictly entitled to.—But this mode of assessment has been much complained of; and it is particularly felt in this country, because the Catholic receives no spiritual comfort from his Protestant Rector; he knows him only through the Tithe Proctor, and he has, moreover, his own Pastor to pay. This is the reason why he thinks it a grievance; and I must admit, that although the clergyman does not receive all that he is entitled to, and although it may not be a grievance in another country, yet the tithe system is a painful system for Ireland."

These are the leading causes to which this able and patriotic Judge, and true friend of humanity, attributes the riots and disturbances which are so common in Ireland, and from which he very naturally infers, that the penal laws enacted to suppress these disturbances, under the idea that the parties are seditious and hostile to Government, must become nugatory. Instead of adopting inefficient measures of that nature, he charges the Absentee Landlords, in particular,

"To promote the establishment of Houses of Refuge, Houses of Industry, School-houses, and

set the example, upon their own estates, of building decent cottages, so that the Irish Peasant may have, at least, the comforts of an "English Sow;" for an English farmer would refuse to eat the flesh of a hog, so lodged and fed as an Irish Peasant is.—Are the farms of an English landholder out of lease, or his cottage in a state of dilapidation?—he rebuilds every one of them for his tenants, or he covenants to supply them with materials for the purpose. But how are matters conducted in this country? why, if there is a house likely to fall into ruins, upon an expiring lease, the new rack-rent tenant must rebuild it himself: and can you wonder, if your plantations are wanted for the purpose, or if your young trees are turned into plough-handles, spade-handles, or roofs for their cabins? They are more than Egyptian task-masters, who call for bricks without furnishing a supply of straw. Again, I say, that those occasional absentees ought to come home, and not remain abroad, resting upon the local manager, a species of "*locum tenens*" upon the Grand Jury. They should reside upon their estates, and come forward with every possible improvement for the country. I do not propose that you should expect any immediate amendment or public benefit from the plans suggested for the education of the poor. It is in vain to flatter yourselves that you can improve their minds, if you neglect their bodies. Where have you ever heard of a people devoid of education, who had not clothes to cover them, or bread to eat? I have never known that any people, under such circumstances, had any appetite for moral instruction.

"But there is one remedy, that would, in my estimation, more than any other, especially contribute to soothe the minds of the discontented peasantry, and thereby to enable them patiently to suffer the pressure of those burthens, which cannot, under existing circumstances, be effectually removed.—I mean the "Equal and impartial administration of justice;"—of that justice which the rich can pursue, until it be attained; but which, that it may benefit the cottager, should be brought home to his door.—Such an administration of justice would greatly reconcile the lower orders of the people with the Government under which they live; and, at no very distant period, I hope, attach them to the law, by imparting its benefits, and extending its protection to them, in actual and uniform experience."

Referring to the mistaken views entertained by their neighbours, as to the true situation of Ireland, the charge contains the following very striking and apparently well-founded passage:—

"For my part, I am wholly at a loss to conceive how those permanent Absentees can reconcile it to their feelings or their interests to remain silent spectators of such a state of things.—How they can forbear to raise their voices in aid of their unhappy country, and attempt to avert the eyes of our English neighbours, who,

generally speaking, know about as much of the Irish, as they do of the Hindoos.—Does a visitor come to Ireland, to compile a book of travels, what is his course?—He is handed about from one country gentleman to another, all interested in concealing from him the true state of the country; he passes from squire to squire, each rivalling the other in entertaining their guest—all busy in pouring falsehoods into his ears, touching the disturbed state of the country, and the vicious habits of the people.—Such is the crusade of information, upon which the English traveller sets forward; and he returns to his own country with all his unfortunate prejudices doubled and confirmed—in a kind of moral despair of the welfare of such a wicked race, having made his mind that nothing ought to be done for this lawless and degraded country. And, indeed, such an extravagant excess have those intolant opinions of the state of Ireland attained, that I shall not be surprised to hear of some political projector coming forward and renovating the obsolete ignorance and the prejudices of a Harrington, who, in his *Oceana*, calls the people of Ireland an untamable race; declaring that they ought to be exterminated, and the country colonised by Jews; that thus the state of this Island would be bettered, and the commerce of England extended and improved."

The motives which influenced this upright Judge, to deliver his sentiments so fully on this occasion, are pretty clearly expressed in the following concluding paragraphs:—

"Gentlemen, I have had a long professional experience of the state of this country, travelling two Circuits every year—and I have spoken the result of my professional observations and judicial knowledge—perhaps the sincerity with which I have put forward these observations may excite some displeasure. But I hope they may do some good, and I am pretty indifferent whether they are found disagreeable or not—living a great part of my life in the hurry of professional pursuits, I have employed the moments of my leisure in literary retirement. Attached to no party, I have never mixed with the zealots of either—I have been assailed and calumniated by both. Such is the lot of the man, endeavouring to do his duty with firmness and sincerity."

"Gentlemen, if you should feel that any of these observations are founded in truth and reason, you will give me at least the credit of upright motives for those, from which you may differ. I can have no other motive, indeed, than a hope of doing some public good, by inciting other persons to useful and meritorious actions. Other Judges have very frequently, and with great propriety, charged various Grand Juries upon the general state of this country, its disturbances, and the cause of its commotion—and some of them have ascribed those disturbances and commotions to a general spirit of disaffection and sedition. If I have a very different and far more consolatory view of the same subject, it cannot be improper or unbecoming my function, to take the like opportunity of stating my judicial opinions, of enumerating the several causes which, in my fixed judgment, have generated those disturbances, and have retarded peace and prosperity in this country—and distinctly pointing out the remedies and correctives proper for terminating all those mischiefs, and allaying all discontents. These considerations will, I trust, vindicate as well the motives as the propriety of my conduct in this respect, through every scrutiny, and against every cavil."

SUMMARY OF POLITICS.

**BALANCE OF POWER.**—This *nice* business, of which we have heard so much, and which was to be settled as easy as the toss up of a halfpenny, whenever Napoleon was put down, will not, it now appears, be so speedily adjusted as what these wise-acres pretended. There were too many contending parties in the field; too many clashing interests to consider, to render this a matter of *easy* accomplishment; and it always appeared to me to betray a very superficial knowledge of the relative situations of the belligerents, and of their separate views, to attempt to give any other colouring to the subject. Amongst all the contending powers who will figure in the approaching Congress, Russia seems the *least* disposed to *grasp* at new acquisitions of territory. The balance of power in the *North* may be considered in a great measure settled, by the annexation of Norway to Sweden. I never thought that the Norwegians would be able to resist, for any length of time, the vast combination that was formed against them. I am pleased, however, to find, that they are not to be transferred, as was intended by the treaty of Kiel, to their new masters like horned cattle, but that they are to have something to say in the formation of their government, and in the enactment of the laws by which justice is to be administered. In this arrangement, is evidently to be discovered, some of the beneficial fruits of the French Revolution, which, however fatal in its consequences to many who were *actively* engaged in it, has produced more good in the aggregate, than any other event recorded in history.—It would seem as if something was intended favourable to unfortunate Poland. It is supposed, and I think it would be good policy, that Alexander wishes to restore the Poles to *independence*. Had Napoleon done this, when he had it so often in his power, he would have gained the affections, and the support of a nation, that would have supported him in all his difficulties; that would have secured to him the throne which he occu-

pled, and saved France the degradation of having her capital entered by a foreign enemy. His having neglected this, was one of the greatest sins he committed, and for which he is now deservedly suffering the punishment.—But although the *North* of Europe, through the apparently unambitious disposition of the Emperor of Russia, is likely, for some time, to enjoy repose, it is said not to be so very clear that this will be the case in the *South*. Every thing has indeed been done by our corrupt press, to rekindle the flames of war on the Continent, and to excite jealousy among the Sovereigns, who were formerly leagued against France. These attempts have been directed, in particular, against Austria, who, it is pretended, meditates the aggrandizement of herself in Italy, and in the Netherlands, gratified by the prejudice of those Sovereigns who have a legitimate claim to these States. France also is accused of wishing to repossess herself of the Belgic provinces, the people of whom, it is said, are unanimous in their wishes to be restored to the mild sway, established under the operation of the code Napoleon, and which they now perceive is enjoyed by all Frenchmen, notwithstanding the return of the Bourbons. It would be an unprofitable and idle speculation, to enter into a consideration of the various topics which these rumours present to the mind. That great difficulties will arise, during the discussions, about to take place at Vienna, for the final settlement of the peace of the Continent, there cannot be the smallest doubt. But that these will terminate in any other way than amicably, there does not appear, to me at least, any well founded reason to suppose. The war faction, who exist, in a greater or less degree, in every country, will not be slow in their endeavours to excite discord; but I think, even supposing the Monarchs of Europe to be totally regardless of the sufferings of their people, that they have sufficient *personal* motives for wishing an end put to the contest. Most of them have already run the risk of losing their crowns; the preservation of which, let it never be forgotten, they o-

entirely to the generosity of the man whom they so lately dethroned. Besides, the maxim which now seems to be recognised, and acted upon as a *fundamental* law in Europe, that the rights and interests of Sovereigns may be separated from those of the people, is a principle, which none of them would like to incur the risk of seeing acted upon in their own particular case. A state of war is frequently dangerous to a Government. It leads to the imposition of additional taxes, and these, in the most favourable circumstances, excite discontent, and frequently murmurs, that often prove fatal to the head of a State; the more especially, if the management is in the hands of a weak and unpopular Minister.—Such are the principal reasons why I feel disposed to believe, that matters will be settled at the ensuing Congress, without another appeal to arms. The seeds of discontent, and future quarrels, it is more than probable, will be plentifully sown at this meeting, but it is the interest of all concerned to pause a little, before they renew a strife, for which they cannot, at present, be supposed to be well prepared, and which, at any period, must be attended with very serious consequences.

**THE INQUISITION.**—Respecting this abominable Institution, the original idea of establishing which never could have entered the mind of any other being, but that of a gloomy and barbarous Monk; the following article appeared in the Paris papers of the 26th ultimo:—"ROME, AUG. 12.—We are assured that Ferdinand VII. has addressed a long Memorial to his Holiness, praying him to regulate the jurisprudence of the Supreme Council of the Inquisition by a Bull. His Majesty proposes to abolish the code called *Directorium Inquisitionum*. It is in that code, the author of which was Nicholas Rimeric, a Dominican, that we read the following sentence: 'Let no man say that he is condemned unjustly, nor complain of his ecclesiastical judges, nor of the judgment of the church; but if he be unjustly condemned, let him make it matter of joy that he suffers for justice.' Mahometans, Jews, and other infidels, will no longer be allowed to give testimony in matters of religion against Catholics accused of heresy, &c. Wives, children, relations, and domestic servants, are not to be admitted as witnesses against an infidel. The

"torture cannot be applied in any case. The charges are to be so specific, that slight or *vehement* suspicion of heresy cannot suffice, without a commencement of proofs, for ordering the arrest of any individual. Jews may be allowed to employ Christian nurses without being called to account by the Inquisition. His Majesty appears disposed to submit criminal affairs, in matters of religion, to the ordinary forms of criminal justice. The property of the condemned cannot in any case fall to the Inquisition. The expenses of the Supreme Council are to be defrayed by the Royal Treasury; the families of the condemned are to be admitted to their inheritances. This Memorial, full of wise views, and such as are in harmony with the glory of religion, and the present enlightened state of the world, has been well received by his Holiness, who, it is said, has since had several conferences with his Majesty King Charles IV."—In the last *Register*, I published a letter upon this subject, well calculated to excite a general detestation against the Inquisition, and to induce the active partizans of the Slave Trade abolition, in particular, to raise their voices against the establishment of a tribunal, which, under the sanctified pretence of zeal for the glory of God, and the safety of religion, has committed more atrocious murders, and inflicted greater torments on their fellow men, than are detailed in all the accounts that have been published, of the cruelties practised by the most savage dealer in human flesh. I doubt much, however, that any appeal upon this, or even upon any other subject, in which the *real* happiness of mankind is the *primary* and *sole* object, can arouse the public feeling; can induce people to bestir themselves; can render them active in their present state of apathy and spiritless submission to the most abominable system of corruption that ever disgraced any country, pretending to be civilized. The greater part of those who have signed the petitions against the Slave Trade, have done so, I readily admit, from motives of the purest philanthropy; but I question whether as much can be said of the leading men among them, who have chosen *this particular moment* to agitate the question; who, while the French West India Islands were in other hands made no stir about the emancipation of the *black*; and who, while the mass of the natives of Ireland are sunk





in the grossest superstition, and groaning under the most oppressive tyranny, exerted themselves no farther to obtain the abolition of this *white* slave traffic, than they found consistent with their own views of aggrandizement; with procuring lucrative posts in the State for themselves and a few select friends. Was it not because the war faction had balked them in their schemes of getting into power? was it not because they had left them no loop hole through which to get at a share of the public plunder, that they were driven, as to a dernier resort, to make a noise and a clamour about the total abolition of slavery in the West Indies; of which, it would seem, Ministers were not sufficiently attentive in the treaty of peace lately concluded with France? I am afraid, that the *great leaders* in this business were influenced by motives of this description. I am much inclined to suspect, that it is not the *love of freedom* which stimulates them to say so much, as they have done of late, in behalf of the injured African; but that this arises from the want of other grounds of complaint against Ministers, than those which applied to themselves when the reins of Government were entrusted to their hands. The faction who hold the strings of the public purse, had done nothing more, and perhaps far less, against general liberty, than these *humanity* men. In this particular instance, however, Ministers seem to have acted rather tamely, though probably not more so than their opponents would have done, had they been placed in similar circumstances. This really appears to be the true cause of their zeal; for which they are entitled to no credit, and for which they deserve to be held in sovereign contempt by every enemy of corruption. If it were otherwise; if these strenuous advocates for the abolition of the African Slave Trade were *genuine* patriots, they would be as desirous and as forward to obtain the destruction of slavery in Spain and in Portugal, as they profess to be for its overthrow in the French West India Islands: they would be as eager to contribute for the diffusion of knowledge among the illiterate and uncultivated Irish, as they are to promote expensive missions to the coast of Africa, to the East Indies, or to the islands of the Pacific, to instruct the natives in the first principles of religion. But some have contended, and I observe the same sentiments have been put forth by the "canting" and hypocritical

writer of the *Times* newspaper, that the Inquisition has lately "lost many of its terrors; and that its tribunals were not so bloody and barbarous as in the days of their youthful vigour."—This sort of language, I find, is made use of to lessen public indignation against the restoration of this Institution, merely because it was abolished by Napoleon; and in the same way would these wretches justify the total destruction, in France, of all those excellent laws, those benevolent institutions, and those proofs of the glory which Napoleon acquired for France, those imperishable monuments of his fame, merely because they owe their existence to his superior skill, and anxious desire to render his country great and respected. But the truth is, this paltry subterfuge ought rather to be attributed to a natural hostility, entertained by these enemies of Napoleon, against the introduction of all liberal policy, against the emancipation of every people, and against the enactment of every law which might tend to check them in their infamous career. For, instead of any well-founded reasons existing for holding, that the Inquisition, *in latter times*, had lost any of its terrors, or that its tribunals were less bloody and barbarous than at former periods, I think there is sufficient reason for believing that its members are as wicked as formerly, and consequently that they are as cruel and unrelenting — To establish this, it is scarcely necessary to go farther for authorities than the article I have quoted above, which comes from Rome itself. There, it is plainly admitted, that it is, at this very moment, a principle recognised by the priests, composing the tribunal of the Inquisition, that if a man be *unjustly* condemned, by his ecclesiastical judges, he is not to be at liberty to say so, nor to *complain* of the judgment of the Church, however *erroneous*; "but if he be *unjustly* condemned, let him make it matter of joy that he suffers for justice!!" Was there ever such hellish principles heard of? What! is it an *amelioration* in the laws of the Inquisition, that a man, after suffering all the cruelties that the ingenuity of these blood hounds could invent, to force him to confess a crime of which he was *not* guilty, should be threatened with additional tortures, if he ventured to complain of his sufferings; should be doomed again to the rack, perhaps to the stake, if he did not *joyfully rejoice* for the injustice which his *glad* gladiators had



done him? This, I dare say, is that sort of amelioration in the laws, which the *Times* writer, and all his admirers, would like to see operated upon those who dare to question the omnipotence of their own opinions. But, except the disciples of this jesuitical teacher, I do not believe there is a man, possessed of his reason, in this country, that does not consider the recognition of such a principle, as sufficient to constitute the Inquisition, even in these most enlightened times, as *barbarous* a tribunal, and as capable of *bloody* deeds, as ever it was at any former period of its history.—This, however, is not the only feature which marks the *atrocious* of this infernal office. It is proved, by the above article, that the *torture* exists in Spain *at present*, else why address a Memorial to the Pope to have it abolished. It is proved, by the same document, that persons are *arrested* and sent to the dungeons of the Inquisition, upon *slight suspicions of heresy*, (i. e. of being Protestants), without any previous investigation as to their guilt. It is proved, that wives, children, relations, and domestics, are compelled to be witnesses, even in the *first instance*, against their unfortunate relatives. It is proved, that the Inquisition lays its fangs upon the property of all persons they condemn, and that no part of it is ever restored to their families. Need more be proved to shew, that this office, called, by way of eminence, the *Holy House*, and connected with which *all good Catholics* must believe every thing to be *holy*, under pain of damnation. Does it, I say, require stronger evidence than what this statement from Rome affords, that the Inquisition, as *now* constituted, is the wickedest, and the most abominable institution that ever existed on the earth? Or is it possible to suppose a period, when its mandates were less barbarous, or its punishments less cruel and bloody, than they are at this very day? It is no doubt said, that the *beloved*, the *dear*, the *amiable* Ferdinand, “full of wise views,” has applied “to his Holiness, praying him to regulate the jurisprudence of the Supreme Council of the Inquisition by a Bull.” But why did not this Monarch regulate this affair by the same power which enabled him to re-establish the Inquisition? Why consider it necessary to apply to a *spiritual* authority, to settle the mere *subordinate* matter of a tribunal, the very existence of which depended upon his own free will? Why did he not at once

resist all applications to have the Inquisition restored? Or why, in yielding to these, did he not qualify that restoration with such conditions as would have enabled him to *modify* the laws of the office in the way he now proposes? When I look into the history of the Inquisition, I find that even Kings and Popes were not exempt from the influence of its terrible mandates. The conduct of Ferdinand, in this instance, would lead one to suppose, that he recognised this principle in so far as respected Monarchs. What a blessed reign the Spaniards are to expect from a Sovereign so bigotted to religion, and so much under the controul of an ignorant clergy, like that with which Spain is inundated! What happiness, what comfort, they are to enjoy, where the will of a set of blood-thirsty Monks is paramount to that of the Monarch, or of the law!—All the *Spanish* writers, who give a history of the *original* laws of the Inquisition, tell us, that no one can be apprehended on a warrant from the Holy Office, until a summary inquest be *first* had concerning the crime laid to his charge, and this particularly to be observed as to the crime of heresy; that, before a witness is admitted to give evidence, even in this *previous* stage, he is to be admonished by the Judge in a most solemn manner as to the sacredness of an oath; that, when apprehended and imprisoned, the party is to be allowed such provisions as he may think fit, if he has the means of providing for them; and that all his property, which these rapacious knaves then lay their hands upon, must be restored to him on his being set at liberty. These are good regulations in so far as they go; and were I only made acquainted with the fundamental laws of this Order, I might, perhaps, be led to pronounce it a wise and excellent Institution. But when I dip a little into its history; when I examine even superficially its subsequent acts, I find that this *Sancta Casa* was not long in departing from its own original rules; did not long hesitate about violating its *sacred* institutions; nor in substituting the barbarous and vile maxim, “that no faith ought to be kept with heretics,” in place of that rule of right, which served as the foundation of their early code of laws.—Notwithstanding the uncommon pains which were taken to conceal the *private* proceedings of the Inquisition; notwithstanding the dreadful penalties that were attached to a breach of the oath of *secrecy*,

which even every secular servant of the office was bound to swear; and notwithstanding the terrible punishments which were inflicted, as an example to others, upon some individuals who, in spite of their oaths, did not hesitate to make disclosures. Notwithstanding all this, there have been numbers of well authenticated cases published, from which it appears, that the Holy Office, even where the persons accused of offences against their Order were known to be Catholics, considered themselves justified in departing from their established laws, whether as to receiving information respecting the charge, the mode of conducting the proceedings against the accused, his treatment in prison, the restoration of his property, or the manner of his punishment. In no one instance, indeed, have they scrupled to disregard their own rules and regulations, when they found it convenient, or calculated to promote the *interest* of the Order, to depart from them. How then is it to be expected that the clergy in Spain, of the present day, will consider themselves bound by any other motives than those which influenced their predecessors? Will not their conduct be looked to as an example deserving of imitation? and, in answer to any charge that might be brought against them of innovation upon the laws of their Order, will they not plead the innovations of former Inquisitors, as a precedent in their favour? Is it very likely that a body of men, so formidable in number as the Spanish clergy, and possessing, as they do, so unlimited a controul over the people, will be disposed so readily to give up any part of the empire which they have so long exercised over the mind? This is too agreeable a sway to be so tamely relinquished; and the late attempts of Napoleon to destroy their power altogether, were not of a nature to induce them to relinquish a *part* when they have again, and so easily, got possession of the *whole*. I can very well conceive, that the Monks and other religious orders, in all Catholic countries, may have become more insolent and overbearing, in consequence of the favourable turn in their affairs. This, I can well suppose, may have made Ferdinand, as well as some other sovereigns, somewhat uneasy. They have, very likely, found the clergy less pliable, and more disposed to clamour about their "divine rights" than they were some years ago; and this, it is more than probable, has given birth to the Spanish Monarch's application to the Pope to con-

troul the turbulence of this dangerous portion of his subjects. Whether his Holiness interfere or not, it is very clear, that this appeal of Ferdinand must *increase*, instead of diminishing the insolence of his clergy. They will regard it as an acknowledgment, on the part of the Crown, that the Inquisition, which is nothing but an instrument of the Church to support its arrogant assumptions, is above the controul of the civil power. As to the Pope himself, he cannot but laugh at the simplicity of any Monarch who could be so foolish as to apply to him, in the nineteenth century, to *regulate* any part of the internal affairs of his dominions.—In a History of the Inquisition, composed by a Jesuit named Macedo, it is stated, that God was the *first* Inquisitor. He says, that the Almighty sat in this character, upon Adam and Eve, upon Cain, and upon the founders of the Tower of Babel. St. Peter he also designates with the same title. He asserts, that Peter displayed the powers of his office in the case of Ananias and Saphira; and he maintains that similar powers were transmitted by this Apostle to his successors who filled the papal chair, and who thereby acquired a right to confer them on whom they pleased. It is easy to understand why a race of interested Monks; a banditti of sanctified robbers, should have formerly succeeded, in imposing these absurd doctrines upon the votaries of their faith. But it is amazing to find that so many entire nations, so many millions of *rational* beings, should still continue to be their *availing* dupes. Such, indeed, has been the powerful effects of the Inquisition; such its extensive and decided influence over the human mind, that many of those, employed in the affairs of that tribunal, who at first disbelieved their pretensions, have afterwards become real converts to them, and persuaded that they were in reality serving God when they were torturing, and leading to the stake, the miserable victims of their blind and infuriated zeal. Among the people of Spain and Portugal, similar effects are likewise produced. So great is their confidence in these sainted ruffians; so fully are they convinced of the *sanctity* and *sincerity* of this tribunal, that when any individual is apprehended to be brought before them, they readily give up their property of every description to the officers, under a firm persuasion that the whole will be restored when their innocence shall appear; and although innumerable instances

of the knavery of these villains, ought, long ago, to have opened their eyes to the gross deception which they constantly practise even in this witter, nothing seems calculated to undeceive them. The very children, and even females of the higher rank in these countries, "who shed tears for the execution of a murderer, *exult* at the canonical murder of an heretic or a Jew, burned for adhering to his conscience and his bible."—The Inquisitors, with them, are the *best* directors in religion, and the cruelties which they practise, the *only* acceptable way of worshipping God. Can a people thus situated; can a nation labouring under such horrid delusion, be otherwise than in a state of the most abject slavery? Is it possible to believe that greater ignorance prevails under the torrid zone, or in the most distant regions of the East, than what pervades Spain and Portugal, two of the most fertile and delightful countries of Europe? Yet, to hear our zealots incessantly bawling about sending missionaries to *enlighten* the natives of Indostan, and to *convert* the savages of Africa, one would think that *at* our neighbours were already converted; that they were *all* enlightened and that there was nothing believed or practised, among the nations by which we are surrounded, contrary to genuine religion, or true morality. One might be disposed to conclude, that that knowledge, necessary to the happiness and comfort of man, was universal in Europe; and that so complete a reformation had been wrought, by these means, on the people here, that nothing remained for the philanthropist to do but to search out objects, on which to bestow his regards, in distant quarters of the globe. Whatever I may think of the *motives* of some of those who are active in promoting the abolition of the Slave Trade in other countries, and in sending missionaries to convert the heathen, I feel no hesitation in saying that they would appear to me better employed at home, where there is sufficient work already out, to employ all their talents and all their capital. Let them look at unfortunate Ireland. Let them recollect that the Irish people are their brethren; and then let them ask themselves, whether *they* have not greater claims upon their benevolence than all the world besides? If they should be disposed to dispute this position, on the ground, that they consider all men their brethren, and equally entitled to their bounty, I would then urge the preferable claim of the Irish

upon the ground of expediency. A reformation there could be effected much sooner, and at a far less expence, than it possibly can in a distant country. If, after the condition of the Irish people has been ameliorated, and there are no other calls at home for the exercise of philanthropy, let the condition, the miserable, the abject condition, of the inhabitants of Spain and Portugal, engage the attention. The domination now exercised over them, is the worst of tyrannies, because it holds both body and mind in slavery. To rescue a whole people from such a state is an object truly desirable. To me it appears of infinitely more importance than liberating all the negroes in the world. In the one case you emancipate the body only. In the other, you not only release the person from arbitrary power, but you deliver the mind from the influence of the most horrible darkness and superstition that ever overwhelmed any nation.

#### RE-ESTABLISHMENT OF THE JESUITS.

—Scarcely had I concluded the above remarks on the Inquisition, when my attention was arrested by a subject nearly as interesting; I may almost say, nearly as important to the happiness of man. The Pope has restored the *Society of Jesus*, to the same plenitude of power which they exercised in Europe before their intrigues compelled Clement XIV. to decree their final expulsion. This is another effect of the fall of Napoleon, for which, no doubt, the enemies of truth and liberty will find many plausible excuses. The Bull issued from Rome on this occasion, which I have inserted below, states, that it has been in compliance with the *unanimous voice* of all Catholics, and "to relieve the spiritual wants of the Catholic world, without any distinction of people and nations," that his Holiness has been induced to adopt this extraordinary measure. I should regret to find that the French people, who are all esteemed Catholics, should have had any hand in this internal affair. I shall not indeed be rash in believing they had, until I see better evidence of the fact than the assertion even of the Pope, sanctioned as it is by all the forms of an official Bull. But I am sorry to state, that I cannot entertain the same doubts with respect to the conduct of the people of my own country, a great portion of whom have given the most unequivocal proofs of their implicit reliance upon the Holy Father, and entire

confidence in every thing that he can do. I shall not pretend to say, that we, the people of *England*, properly so called have absolutely solicited the Roman Pontiff, either to sanction the restoration of the Inquisition, or of the Society of Jesuits; but surely our having lately received, in so flattering a manner, a Nuncio of the Pope, while, at the same moment, our accredited agent at Rome was enjoying the caresses, and all the honours which his Holiness could confer; are circumstances not altogether calculated to remove suspicion, especially when these circumstances are coupled with this important fact, that both the Bulls, establishing the two obnoxious Orders, were issued immediately on the back of this mutual display of fraternization. But whatever may be in this, as far as it immediately respects ourselves, there is no doubt that the decrees issued by the Sovereign Pontiff, were earnestly desired, and are now highly approved of, by the great body of the people of *Ireland*. It is well known, that the Roman Catholic College of Maynooth speaks the sentiments of all the Irish Catholics; and that, whatever letters or reports they publish, are regarded, by these bigotted and ignorant people, as of as great authority as any Bull issued by the Pope.—We have all seen the “Congratulatory letter to Pope Pius VII,” addressed by this body to his Holiness, on the 27th of June last, about six weeks prior to the date of the Bull restoring the Jesuits. In that precious document the Catholics of Ireland declare, that Pius has equalled Jesus Christ, “by resignation not less than by chief-tancy,” and, to this old and evidently superannuated Pontiff, they apply these words, which have ever been held applicable to the divinity — “Thy right hand, O Lord, hath wrought for itself renown in mightiness. Thy right hand, O Lord, hath beaten in pieces thine enemy; and in thy multiplied grandeur, thou hast laid them low who warred against thee.—Thou breathedst the storm, and a sea covered them!”—Who, that reads this fulsome panegyric, can doubt the entire submission of the Irish Catholics, to the See of Rome? or, who that peruses the following passage, from the same document, can make it a question, that the College of Maynooth is one of those Catholic bodies particularly referred to by the Pope, who demanded the re-establishment of the company of Jesus? “Let Rome, the

“asylum of canonised saints, and the last strong hold of religion, ~~the~~ *therefore* the head, which a sanguinary and ignominious domination had weighed down. She may now, with safety, recollect, that within her precinct the federal altar of Christianity is established for everlasting; that Apostles sit there enthroned, to deliver judgment to the nations until the world shall end. Let the ashes of her martyrs exult, and her Apostolic throne give token of rejoicing. And you, the partners in founding an imperishable Government under Christ’s sway, O Peter and Paul! shall not even your souls be agitated by this joy, for the re-establishment of Pius the Seventh in the place of his home, and of your repose?”—Whether there has been any commotion, any rattling, among the bones of the martyrs at Rome; a miracle which commonly precedes, and is held indicative of a sanction to all extraordinary measures; report says not. If we are to judge from the silence of the Bull before us on this particular, we may conclude that the prayers of the Irish Catholics have not been effectual. The Pope, however, assigns reasons, besides those I have noticed, for the re-establishment of the Society, which carry with them, in my opinion, as little weight as the shaking of all the bones of all the martyrs in the world would have done, even had that occurrence been authenticated, in Holy Conclave, by the Pope and all his Cardinals. His Holiness says, that he was induced, as early as the 7th of March 1801, to issue a brief for the restoration of this order in the Russian dominions, at the special request of the Emperor Paul I. who, it is known to all the world, was then considered a madman; and a similar brief was sent to Naples on the 30th of July, 1804, by desire of King Ferdinand, who, although it is not said that he is actually insane, has given sufficient proofs of his total inability to conduct the affairs of any State. We shall soon see, whether the magnanimous Alexander, the Liberator of Nations, will permit the existence, in his extensive dominions, (where the Greek Church, in opposition to the Roman, is now established) of an Order, whose fundamental principles are the subversion of all other ecclesiastical establishments, and the bringing of the whole universe under the unrestricted sway of the Roman Pontiff. We shall soon learn whether the Russian clergy, supposing the

Emperor to have agreed to the measure, are so tame as to submit to so manifest an encroachment upon their dignity and rights. For my part, notwithstanding the wide strides which the Romish clergy are now making to establish their former domination, I do not think they will make any impression upon Russia. The Inquisition and the Jesuits may be restored in Italy, because the people there are already devoted to the see of Rome. But in Russia, though the inhabitants are Catholic, they have a priesthood of their own, who have constantly been hostile to the Roman priesthood; and the same causes which always existed for their being so, now exist in their greatest vigour. Neither does it appear that the Inquisition, or the Society of Jesus, have any partisans in the Russian dominions. I shall be told, however, that the views and intentions of the Pope, in wishing to restore the Jesuits, are of the most benevolent kind. I shall be referred to the Bull itself, as affording proofs of these *philanthropic* intentions of his Holiness. It is very true, that repeated professions are there made of the Pope's wish, that the members of this Society should be enabled "to apply themselves more easily, *in conformity with their institution*, to the instruction of youth in religion and good morals, to devote themselves to preaching, to confession, and the administration of the other sacraments." But does the history of this Order shew, that they always conformed to the rules of their institution, and that no other objects were concealed under these regulations? On the contrary, does not that history present the most memorable examples of the ambition, the intrigue, the vice, and the cruelty of these men in almost every corner of the globe? No sect, no order, in fact, that ever existed, have done more mischief, or occasioned more bloodshed in the world, than the order of the Jesuits. It was from a perfect conviction of this truth, that Pope Clement the XIV. in the year 1773, sealed their expulsion, as he intended, from Europe, *for ever*. Their restoration by Pius VII., in the year 1814, can only be regarded as the effect of a designing and crafty priesthood, operating upon the mind of an aged feeble man, who has been intoxicated by the good fortune which has so unexpectedly overtaken him.—To give the reader some idea as to how far the Jesuits were in use to conform to the original laws of their Order, I shall here subjoin an

interesting quotation from the fourth section of a *Discourse on the Mutability of Government*, which forms one of the political discourses upon Ballust, the Roman Historian —

*On the Jesuits in South America.*

The settlement made by the Jesuits, upon the river Paraguay in America, is extremely remarkable. These good fathers, every where indefatigable in improving their Apostolic talents, and turning souls into ecclesiastic traffic and power, began there by drawing together, into one fixed habitation, about fifty families of wandering Indians, whom they had persuaded to take their word *implicitly* for whatever they told them for this is what they call conversion; and is, indeed, the true art of making Catholics, who have no other ground for their faith, but the assertions of their priests.—From this beginning, and such encouragement, the assiduous fathers, ranging the country, and dazzling the stupid savages with their shining beads, charming them with their pious tales and grimaces, their tunnel devotions and high professions, made such a harvest of converts as to form a commonwealth, or rather an empire of souls for every convert is a subject most blindly obedient.—The holy fathers, not fifty in number, are thus sovereigns of a noble country, larger than some kingdoms, and better peopled. 'It is divided into several large districts, each of them governed by a single Jesuit, who is, as it were, a provincial prince; but more powerful and revered, and better obeyed, than any European, or even any Eastern monarch. His word is not only a law, but an oracle; his nod infers supreme command: he is absolute Lord of life and death, and property; may inflict capital punishment for the lightest offence; and is more dreaded, therefore more obeyed, than the Deity. His first ministers and officers, civil and military, are doomed by him to the nearest punishments, and whipped not only like common slaves, but like common felons: nor is this all their punishment, at least all their abasement, which to a man of spirit is the worst punishment. Whilst they are yet marked and mangled with the lash, they run (colonels and captains run) and kneel before their holy Sovereign, condemn themselves for having incurred his pious displeasure, and humbly kissing his reverend sleeve, thank him for the fatherly honour he has done them, in correcting them

*like dogs.*—So much tameness and vassalage is part, and an important article, of their conversion. They are even pleased with their servitude, and care not what they do and suffer here, for the mighty treasures of joy and liberty which are insured to them hereafter by the good father, who gives them all that he has to give in the next world, and, by way of bait and amends, takes all that they have in the present. The poor Indians cultivate the ground, dig and plough, and reap and sow; they make stuffs, and other manufactures; they rear fowls, they breed cattle, they carry burdens, and labour hard above ground, as well as under it, where, in sweat and darkness, and in peril of perishing, they drudge in the mines. yet, with all this industry, they earn nothing, nothing for themselves all their earnings, all the profit and advantages, appertain not to them, but solely to the good father, their spiritual sovereign, who rewards them to the full with what costs him nothing; blessings, and masses, and distant prospects. Their grain and manufactures are all carried into his warehouses, their cattle and fowls into his yards, then gold and silver into his treasury. they dare not wear a rag of their own spinning, nor taste a grain of their own sowing, nor a bit of meat of their own feeding, nor touch the metal of their producing; nor so much as an egg from the hens they rear, they themselves are fed and subsisted from day to day, by a limited allowance, furnished them by the appointment, and at the mercy, of their great lord, a small priest. Yet, under all these discouragements (which are none to them, who seem to have sacrificed their feeling, as well as their reason, to the sorcery of superstition) they are diligent and laborious to the last degree, and vie with one another for the high price and distinction bestowed by the father upon such as excel most in their work and industry, even the bewitching honour of kissing his sleeve. The second commandment in their table of duties is, *to fear the Jesuit, and obey him*; as the two next are much akin to it, and of the like tendency, even, *to study humility, and to condemn all worldly goods*. The precept of fearing God, seems to be prefixed for form, and in policy only, since it is impossible there should be any knowledge of God where the exercise of reason is not known, nor permitted; nor can God be said to be regarded by those who use the images of

God like beasts.—All these stores and warehouses, so much grain, so many manufactures, so much gold and silver, so many commodities, from so fine, so large, and so plentiful a country abounding in mines, in rivers and meadows full of horses and sheep and black cattle, of timber and fruit-trees, of flax and indigo, hemp and cotton, sugar, drugs, and medicinal herbs, must enable these good fathers, who have renounced all wealth, and the world itself, to carry on an infinite and most lucrative trade, in which, though they have vowed poverty, they are extremely active, and consequently must make that Jesuitical Government a most powerful one. It hath advantages which no other Government ever had; an absolute independency upon its people, or their purses; the whole wealth of the country in its present possession; the people absolutely submissive, and resigned to its good pleasure, and all its calls; no factions; not a discontent; an army of sixty thousand men, all tame and tractable, devoted to blind obedience, commanded in chief by a Jesuit, and obstinately averse to be commanded by any other General; a vast revenue of many millions; no trouble in taxing, no time lost in collecting taxes. Such a Government, whilst it proceeds upon the same principles, is unchangeable. No wonder these Jesuits are extremely jealous and tender, not only in keeping the poor Indians slaves to ignorance and bigotry, in order to keep them slaves to themselves; but in concealing so much empire and wealth from all the world, especially from Spain, from whence they were sent, at the expense of that Crown, to convert the Indians, and make them subjects to the Spanish monarchy. The good fathers are so far from meaning any such thing, that they not only carefully avoid teaching them the Spanish tongue, but press it upon them as a point of conscience, not to converse with the Spaniards. If any Spaniard happens to come amongst them (a thing which the Jesuits are so far from encouraging, that they care not to see it) he is indeed civilly used, but carefully confined within the walls of their holy citadel, the presbytery; or if, by earnest entreaty, he obtain leave to walk through the town, he is closely guarded by the Jesuit at his side, and sees not an Indian in the streets; for the Indians are ordered to shut themselves up, and fasten their doors, upon any such occasion.—Besides, these vigilant fathers keep five or six thousand men, employed in several detach-

ments (Apostolic troops!) to watch and scour the frontiers, in order to cut off all intercourse with thence, adjoining countries, not yet subjected to the good fathers. Towards one of their frontiers particularly, lest the rich mines in it might invite a settlement from abroad, they have destroyed all the houses, in order to discourage any such settlement. For these self-denying Friars, who are sworn to poverty, have an ardent zeal to secure all these wealthy mines to themselves for religious uses.—These poor, rich, humble, sovereign missionaries, as they are masters of such immense wealth, all consecrated to their own use, that is, to the use of religion, make a proper display of it. The churches are spacious, magnificent in their structure, and set off with all pomp and decorations, grand porticoes and colonnades, rich altars, adorned with bas-reliefs, pictures in frames of massy gold, and saints of solid silver, the foot and sides covered with cloth of gold, and the pedestals with plates of gold; the tabernacle made of gold; the pyx or box for the sacrament, of gold, set round with emeralds and other jewels, the vessels and candlesticks made of gold; the whole, when illuminated, making a shew almost beyond belief. A proper bait for the eyes of deluded Indians, who, by such fine sights, and the pious mountebankery attending them, are retained in due awe and wonder. The princely person of the poor Jesuit is suitably lodged in a spacious palace, containing grand apartments, furnished with many pictures and images, with proper lodgings for his train of officers and domestics; the quadrangles and gardens all in proportion, the whole court making a square of some miles. *Observe*, that all the many opulent warehouses belonging to the holy disinterested man, are contained in it. Such is the situation, such the state and inimitable authority, of every Jesuit in Paraguay. There are but forty odd of these Monks in all that great track of country, and in it they have above a million of souls, not only to obey them, but to worship them; nor do these, their flightless and abject slaves, know any other God: nor where the true God is ever so little known, no man will worship Friars, who always paint him as like themselves, as they themselves are, in reality, unlike him.

**FRIARS, BISHOP, SERVANT OF THE SERVANTS OF GOD.**

(*Ad perpetuam rei memoriam.*)

The care of all the churches confided in our humanity by the Divine will; notwithstanding the

lowliness of our deserts and abilities, makes it our duty to employ all the aids in our power, and which are furnished to us by the mercy of Divine Providence, in order that we may be able, as far as the changes of times and places will allow, to relieve the spiritual wants of the Catholic world, without any distinction of people and nations.

Wishing to fulfil this duty of our Apostolic Ministry, as soon as Francis Kareu (then living) and other secular Priests resident for many years in the vast empire of Russia, and who had been members of the Company of Jesus, suppressed by Clement XIV. of happy memory, had supplicated our permission to unite in a body, for the purpose of being able to apply themselves more easily, in conformity with their Institution, to the instruction of youth in religion and good morals, to devote themselves to preaching, to confession, and the administration of the other sacraments, we felt it our duty the more willingly to comply with their prayer, inasmuch as the then reigning Emperor Paul I. had recommended the said Priests in his gracious dispatch, dated the 11th of August, 1800, in which, after setting forth his special regard for them, he declared to us that it would be agreeable to him, to see the Company of Jesus established in his empire, under our authority and we, on our side, considering attentively the great advantages which these vast regions might thence derive, considering how useful those ecclesiastics, whose morals and doctrine were equally tried, would be to the Catholic religion, thought fit to second the wish of so great and beneficent a Prince.

In consequence, by our Brief, dated the 7th of March, 1801, we granted to the said Francis Kareu, and his Colleagues residing in Russia, or who should repair thither from other countries, power to form themselves into a body or congregation of the Company of Jesus: they are at liberty to unite in one or more houses to be pointed out by their Superior, provided these houses are situated within the Russian empire. We named the said Francis Kareu general of the said congregation: we authorised them to resume and follow the rule of St Ignacius of Loyola, approved and confirmed by the constitutions of Paul III. our predecessor, of happy memory, in order that the companions, in a religious union, might freely engage in the instruction of youth in religion and good letters, direct seminaries and colleges, and with the consent of the Ordinary, confess, preach the word of God, and administer the sacraments.—By the same Brief we received the congregation of the Company of Jesus under our immediate



protection and dependence, resciving to ourselves and our successors the prescription of every thing that might appear to us proper to consolidate, to defend it, and to purge it from the abuses and corruption that might be therein introduced; and for this purpose we expressly abrogated such apostolical constitutions, statutes, privileges, and indulgencies granted in contradiction to these concessions, especially the apostolic letters of Clement XIV., our predecessor, which begin with the words, *Dominus ac Redemptor noster*, only in so far as they are contrary to our Brief, beginning *Catholicæ*, and which was given only for the Russian empire.

A short time after we had ordained the restoration of the order of Jesuits in Russia, we thought it our duty to grant the same favour to the kingdom of Sicily, on the warm request of our dear son in Jesus Christ, King Ferdinand, who begged that the Company of Jesus might be re-established in his dominions and states as it was in Russia, from a conviction that, in these deplorable times, the Jesuits were instructors most capable of forming youth to Christian piety and the fear of God, which is the beginning of wisdom, and to instruct them in science and letters. The duty of our pastoral charge leading us to second the pious wishes of these illustrious Monarchs, and having only in view the glory of God and the salvation of souls, &c., by our Brief, beginning *Per alias*, and dated the 30th of July, 1804, extended to the kingdom of the Two Sicilies the same concessions which we had made for the Russian empire.

The Catholic world demands with unanimous voice the re-establishment of the Company of Jesus. We daily receive to this effect the most pressing petitions from our venerable brethren, the Archbishops and Bishops, and the most distinguished persons, especially since the abundant fruits which this Company has produced in the above countries have been generally known. The dispersion even of the stones of the sanctuary in those recent calamities (which it is better now to deplore than to repeat); the annihilation of the discipline of the regular orders (the glory and support of religion and the Catholic church, to the restoration of which all our thoughts and cares are at present directed), require that we should accede to a wish so just and general.

We should deem ourselves guilty of a great crime towards God if, amidst these dangers of the Christian republic, we neglected the aids which the special providence of God has put at our disposal; and if, placed in the bark of Peter, tossed and assailed by continual storms, we refused to employ the vigorous and experienced rowers

who volunteer their services, in order to break the waves of a sea which threatens every moment shipwreck and death. Decided by motives so numerous and powerful, we have resolved to do now what we could have wished to have done at the commencement of our Pontificate. After having by fervent prayers implored the Divine assistance, after having taken the advice and counsel of a great number of our venerable brothers the Cardinals of the Holy Roman church, we have decreed, with full knowledge in virtue of the plenitude of Apostolic power, and with perpetual validity, that all the concessions and powers granted by us solely to the Russian empire and the kingdom of the Two Sicilies, shall henceforth extend to all our Ecclesiastical States, and also to all other States. We therefore concede and grant to our well-beloved son, Tadeus Barzowski, at this time General of the Company of Jesus, and to the other Members of that Company lawfully delegated by him, all suitable and necessary powers, in order that the said St. may freely and lawfully receive all those who shall wish to be admitted into the regular order of the Company of Jesus, who, under the authority of the general *ad interim*, shall be admitted and distributed, according to opportunity, in one or more houses, one or more colleges, and one or more provinces, where they shall conform their mode of life to the rules prescribed by St. Ignatius of Loyola, approved and confirmed by the constitution of Paul III. We declare besides, and grant power, that they may freely and lawfully apply to the education of youth in the principles of the Catholic faith, to form them to good morals, and to direct colleges and seminaries; we authorise them to hear confessions, to preach the word of God, and to administer the sacraments in the places of their residence, with the consent and approbation of the Ordinary. We take under our tutelage, under our immediate obedience, and that of the Holy See, all the colleges, houses, provinces, and members of this Order, and all those who shall join it; always reserving to ourselves and the Roman Pontiff our successors, to prescribe and direct all that we may deem it our duty to prescribe and direct, to consolidate the said Company more and more, to render it stronger, and to urge it off-shoots, should they ever creep in, which God avert. It now remains for us to exert with all our heart, and in the name of the Lord, all Superiors, Provincials, Rectors, Companions, and People of this re-established Society, to shew themselves at all times, and in all places, faithful imitators of their father; that they exactly observe the rule prescribed by their great founder; that they obey with an al-



ways increasing zeal the useful advisers and salutary counsellors which he had left to his children.

In fine, we recommend strongly, in the Lord, the Company and all its members to our dear sons in Jesus Christ, the illustrious and noble Princes and Lords temporal, as well as to our venerable brothers the Archbishops and Bishops, and to all those who are placed in authority; we exhort, we conjure them not only not to suffer that these religious be in any way molested, but to watch that they be treated with all due kindness and charity.

We ordain that the present letters be inviolably observed according to their form and tenour, in all time coming; that they enjoy their full and entire effect; that they shall never be submitted to the judgment or revision of any Judge, with whatever power he may be clothed; declaring null and of no effect any encroachment on the present regulations, either knowingly or from ignorance; and this notwithstanding any apostolical constitutions and ordinances, especially the Brief of Clement XIV of happy memory, beginning with the words *Dominus ac Redemptor noster*, issued under the seal of the Fisherman, on the 22d of July, 1773, which we expressly abrogate, as far as contrary to the present order.

It is also our will that the same credit be paid to copies, whether in manuscript or printed, of our present Brief, as to the original itself, provided they have the signature of some notary public, and the seal of some ecclesiastical dignitary; that no one be permitted to infringe, or by an audacious temerity to oppose, any part of this ordinance; and that should any one take upon him to attempt it, let him know that he will thereby incur the indignation of Almighty God, and of the holy Apostles Peter and Paul.

Given at Rome, at Sancta Maria Major, on the 7th of August, in the year of our Lord, 1811, and the 16th of our Pontificate.

(Signed) Cardinal PRODATAIRE.  
Cardinal BRASCHI.

#### RISE OF THE JESUITS.

MR. COBBETT.—The ready insertion you gave to my remarks on the Inquisition, encourages me again to address you. In whatever way you may contemplate; in whatever light the people of this country may be disposed to consider, the strenuous efforts now making, by the Church of Rome, to obtain a preponderating influence in Europe; I confess the very idea of there being merely a *chance* of her succeeding, fills my mind with the most gloomy apprehensions. I am aware that the art of

printing, will always present an insurmountable barrier to the *total and absolute* subjugation of the human mind; but when I consider the cunning and the wiles, which were successfully practised, in former ages, by a knavish and interested Priesthood, to subject even thrones to its insolent domination, I am not without my fears, that the modern attempts to reduce mankind to that dreadful state of vassalage, under which they groaned, particularly during the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, may in some degree prove successful. Even should the Romish clergy succeed in obtaining *half* the power which they exercised at these periods, it would be a matter, in my apprehension, which every true friend of liberty ought deeply to deplore; for I have uniformly observed, in my perusal of history, that the increase of ignorance, and of oppression, always kept pace with the increase of clerical power. Of all the attempts to promote the influence of the Roman Pontiff, and to second his views of universal dominion, none ever proved so fortunate as the encouragement which was given to the Order of the Jesuits; no society of Monks ever showed so much zeal and ardour in forwarding the designs of the Holy See. The church of Rome, in fact, owed its greatest splendour to the influence of this artful body; which, had it not been destroyed in Europe, would have finally succeeded, by its intrigues, in overthrowing every power on earth, that, in any shape, stood in the way of the Pope's supremacy. It is now, I believe, near a century since it was expelled Europe; and it is a singular fact that this was done by a Roman Pontiff. Whether the church of Rome thought she had no longer occasion for the services of the Jesuits; whether they were become troublesome; or whether the act of expulsion was the consequence of remonstrances on the part of other powers, has not been well ascertained. But such is the fact, that the order was suppressed in Europe by a papal Bull. If this event excited surprise, as it certainly did, at a period when mankind were not so well informed as they have been since, respecting the infamous character and dangerous pursuits of the Jesuits, how much more ought it to astonish the world, in this age of extended knowledge, that the same society should be restored to all its former rights and immunities, by a similar decree? How are we to account for the act of Pope Pius VII., by which this swarm of

loests are again let loose upon society, to despoil them of every comfort, to subject them to the most degrading and abominable tyranny? Surely, those Sovereigns of Europe who have *professed* so much; who, it is said, have *done* so much for liberty and happiness; who, we are told, have delivered the world from the *greatest* of all tyrannies, and declared it to be their determination to restore to mankind their long-lost rights. Surely these *benefactors* the human race, to whom even the Pope himself owes his present elevation, will not permit the restoration of an Institution the existence of which, they cannot be ignorant, was formerly attended with the most fatal and destructive consequences to their predecessors, as well as to their subjects. Should they consent to this; should they again receive into the bosom of their States; should they cherish, or even countenance, a society that brought so many calamities upon the earth; they may at once bid adieu to the high character they have obtained for magnanimity, to the stability of their thrones, and to the prosperity of their people; for as certain as it is that they now possess thrones, as certain is it that the Jesuits will do their utmost to subvert them. It would be difficult, and perhaps not very interesting, to attempt to give even a sketch of the endless rules adopted by this society, for the regulation of their Order. But at a period, when its re-establishment, by a formal Bull of the Pope, must occasion some enquiries respecting it, the following information may perhaps not be unacceptable.—The Society of Jesuits was instituted about the year 1540. It was founded by a soldier named Ignatius Loyola, who, happening to receive a wound in battle, which gave him much pain, and confined him for a long period, made a vow, that, on his recovery, he would devote the rest of his life to promote the advancement of the name of Jesus. The first step he took after he was cured, was to proceed to the *holy* sepulchre, at Jerusalem, to confirm his vow. He then went to Spain, where he affected great austerity, and preached up the mortification of the flesh. Being very illiterate, and not in orders, the Monks made a handle of this to send him to the Inquisition; but as he was found to be full of zeal, and thought a fit instrument to promote their cause, he was honourably dismissed by these ghostly fathers. He then proceeded to Paris, where he ap-

plied himself to study, and, at the end of ten years, during which he lived in the greatest misery upon alms, he was made Master of Arts. With this recommendation, he returned to Spain in 1536, in company with ten persons, whom he had converted to his mode of life; after which he set out for Rome, to obtain a formal introduction to the Pope. But being diverted from this by an accident, he and his companions occupied themselves with attending the sick, in the hospitals of Venice, and dressing their wounds. They also commenced Priests, and for some time preached up and down the Venetian States, without any establishment to support them. On his arrival at Rome, a new conspiracy was formed by the Monks against Ignatius and his party; but this was defeated by Pope Paul III., who granted them a confirmation of their Order, which now began every day to increase. At first the Society appears to have been limited to sixty; but, as the historian of the Jesuits says, “afterward the Pope, perceiving how *useful* this Order was to the *decaying* Roman religion, permitted all that were fit to enter into the same;”—so that in the short space of 70 years, they had 293 colleges, and 123 houses. Besides the ordinary vows of chastity, poverty, and obedience, common to all other Orders of Monks, the Jesuits “bind themselves, to the Pope, to undertake, cheerfully, readily, and without charge, any journey he shall command, for propagating the Roman faith.”—Paul the Third gave them power to make whatever rules and constitutions they pleased, to excommunicate all who should interrupt or refuse to aid the Society, to preach, administer the sacraments, hear confession, absolve, &c. in any place they pleased, to appoint and dismiss their office bearers, without permission from the Pope; to absolve all returning heretics, and to imprison the refractory. They are also exempt from the civil power, from taxes, and tythes; they may disguise themselves in any habit; they have the privilege of erecting universities, and conferring degrees, where and when they please; to dispense with fasting, and prohibited meats; and to correct, alter, interpret, expunge, and burn *every book they dislike*. They are the Pope’s librarians, and he that visits a Jesuit’s house, or college, receives a plenary indulgence.—Such are the powers and privileges which the See of Rome has, from time to time, thought proper to confer

on this body; and such are the powers to which full play is now given, in all the States of Europe, where the Catholic religion is professed. I have always been a steady and warm advocate for what is called *Catholic Emancipation*, but, I confess, if I thought the Irish people entertained any idea of countervailing the re-establishment of the Jesuits, I would renounce them, and their cause, for ever. I trust, however, that some means will be taken to apprise that deluded nation of the danger they run, should they entertain any such notions. They will assuredly raise a host of foes against them, and add strength to the phalanx, which already opposes their deliverance from the fangs of ignorance and superstition.—It would be abusing your patience, and perhaps that of your readers, were I to enlarge any farther upon a subject, which probably appears to me entitled to more attention than it deserves. But I cannot conclude this letter, without quoting the sentiments of a writer, who must have been well acquainted with the history of the usurpations of the Romish Clergy, and whose work has lately, with what justice I shall not pretend to say, been surpassed by the secular power.—Speaking of the Order of the Jesuits, this writer remarks:—"Solely and blindly devoted to the interests of the Roman Pontiff, they seemed to have come into the world for the purpose of bringing the universe under his chains.—They corrupted the youth, the education of whom they wished exclusively to engross; they strove to restore barbarism, knowing well that want of knowledge is the greatest prop of superstition; they extolled ignorance and blind submission; they depraved the manners, and in their stead substituted vain usages and superstitious, compatible with every vice, and calculated to suppress the remorse which crime might produce. They preached up slavery and unbounded submission to Princes, who themselves were their slaves, and who consented to become the instruments of their vengeance. They preached rebellion and regicide against the Princes who refused to bend under the odious yoke of the successor of St. Peter, whom they had the effrontery to declare *infallible*, and whose decisions they preferred far above those of the universal church. By their assistance the Pope became not only the despot, but even the true God of the Christians.—They had the impudence to maintain, that the Prince could

not, without impiety, dispense with entering into their quarrels, sharing their frenzy, and shedding the blood of their enemies. Contrary to the express orders of Christ, the emissaries of the vicar of Jesus preached openly in his name, persecution, revenge, hatred, and massacre. Their clamours imposed on Sovereigns; and the least credulous trembled at sight of their power, which they dared not curb. A superstitious and cowardly policy made them believe, that it was the interest of the throne to unite itself for ever with these inhuman and boisterous madmen. Thus Princes, submissive to the clergy, and making common cause with them, became the ministers of their vengeance, and the executors of their will. These Blind Princes were obliged to support a power the rival of their own, but they did not perceive that they injured their authority, by delivering up their subjects to the tyranny and extortions of a swarm of men, whose interest it was to plunge them into ignorance, incite their fanaticism, make themselves masters of their minds, domineer over their consciences, and, in short, render them fit instruments to serve their pride, avarice, revenge, and obstinacy. By this worthless policy, in the States most submissive to the spiritual dominion of the Roman Pontiff, the liberty of thinking was prescribed with fury, activity was repressed, science was punished, and industry crushed by the rapacity of the clergy, while morals were neglected, and their place supplied by traditional observances. Nations vegetated in inactivity; men cultivated only monastic virtues, grievous to themselves, and useless to society. They had no other impulse than what their fanaticism afforded, and no other science than an obscure jargon of theology. Their understandings had no other employment than endless disputes on mysterious subtleties, unworthy of rational beings. Those futile occupations engrossed the attention of the most profound genius, whose labours would have been useful, if they had been directed to objects really interesting.—Nations were impoverished to foster, in abundance, in luxury, and often in drunkenness, legions of Monks, Priests, and Pontiffs, from whom they derived no real benefits.—Under pretence of bestowing stipends on the intercessors with God, they richly endowed a multitude of drones, whose prayers and reveries procured only misery and dissensions. Education, entrusted throughout

Christendom to base or ignorant Priests. was calculated to form superstitious persons only, destitute of the qualities necessary to make useful citizens. The instruction they gave Christians, was confined to inculcating dogmas and mysteries, which the latter never could comprehend. They incessantly preached up *evangelical* morality but this sublime morality which all the world esteems, and which so few practise because it is incompatible with the nature and wants of man, did not restrain the passions, or ever check their irregularity of manners.—By these means, in most Christian countries, people and Princes openly united devotion with the most hideous depravity of manners, and often with the blackest crimes. There were pious tyrants, and adulterers, oppressors and iniquitous ministers, courtiers without morals, and public depredators, *all very devout*. There were knaves of every kind displaying the greatest zeal for a religion, the ministers of which imposed easy expiations even on those who violated its most express precepts.—Thus, by the care of these spiritual guides, concord was banished from States, Princes sunk into bondage; the people were blinded; science was stifled; nations were impoverished; true morality was unknown; and the most devout Christians were commonly devoid of those talents and virtues which are indispensably necessary for the support of society."

I propose, in my next, to make some remarks upon the rise and power of the Popes, and the arrogant controul which they exercised, for so many ages, over the consciences both of kings and of the people.

I am, &c. AN OBSERVER,

THE CONGRESS.—The opinion which I have already given, that the discussions about to take place at the ensuing Congress, will terminate in a peaceable manner, is confirmed by the following accounts brought by the *Hamburgh mail*:—"AUSTRIA, AUG. 20.—The opening of the Congress in Vienna is looked to with the most lively importance. Well-informed persons have long since been convinced that it will take place at the appointed time, and have a *happy issue*.—Some measures clearly indicate this. Four Archdukes, it is said, are to go to meet the Sovereigns, viz. the Palatine to the frontiers of Galicia, to meet the Emperor Alexander; Archduke Charles to the frontiers of Bohemia, to meet the

King of Prussia; and the Archdukes John and Anthony to the frontiers of Bavaria, to meet the Kings of Bavaria and Württemberg. All the towns through which the Sovereigns pass are to be illuminated at night. Meantime it is not surprising that, in a country where money-jobbing is always carrying on, doubts and uneasiness should be purposely kept up. The principal ground of such apprehension is, the continued activity of the military armament; for though the army is mostly in its standing quarters, each regiment is kept ready to march till every arrangement is finished, and the artillery is even furnished with the necessary horses and ammunition.—There is, however, no where any thing directly indicative of warlike operations, except that the army in Italy continues to be greatly reinforced; and it is confidently believed, that in that country considerable changes in the state of possession will be made. Very active negotiations are carrying on with the Court of Naples. *Hamb. Correspond. August 28.*"—The "country where money jobbing is always carried on," alluded to in this article, is evidently Great Britain. Indeed, the accounts with which our vile newspapers are constantly filled, of warlike demonstrations on the Continent, can be regarded in no other light than as stock-jobbing tricks to raise the funds, for the purpose of enriching needy adventurers. In these sort of speculations, there are none more actively employed than the proprietors and conductors of those journals who are devoted to the support of corruption, and who, by the hints which they receive from some understrappers in office, are enabled to play off the game with greater success than their neighbours, and thus secure to themselves the wages of iniquity. But this mode of promoting their sinister views, is not confined to the Press of this country. Articles of intelligence are frequently manufactured here, and sent over for insertion in the Continental papers, to which an *aspect* is given by their fabricator, calculated to deceive the public here, by which the funds are raised or lowered as it suits the purpose of these unprincipled speculators. Some of the *minor* French journals even appear to have given away to this infamous practice; for, of late, several articles of that description have appeared in their columns, which carry with them all the marks of English manufacture. This sort of game is, no doubt, very profit-

able to the parties engaged in it, and may be expected to revive, in its greatest vigour, during the proceedings of Congress, to the great annoyance of the people in this country. —Those, however, who are such fools as to be duped out of their money, after they have been so frequently apprised of their danger, deserve no more compassion than the dog in the fable, who, snatching at the shadow, which appeared in the water, of what he held in his mouth, lost the substance altogether.

STATE OF FRANCE.—Notwithstanding the deplorable situation in which France was reported to be by the late *Epou* of her Government, every day brings us fresh accounts of the flourishing state of her agriculture, and of her manufactures. Paris Papers, so late as Tuesday last, reached town yesterday, from which it appears, that the French Funds are also in a most prosperous condition.—“The rise in the Funds,” says the editor of the *Gazette de France*, “continues.—Among the great of English now in our capital, several have made large purchases. This confidence in our Funds proves better than all possible reasoning the solidity of our financial system.”—The *Courier* seems much disgusted with this statement, as it always has been with every thing that indicated prosperity to France. “This improvement,” observes the hypocritical writer of the *Courier*, “in their financial situation, ought to operate, though we are far from thinking it will, as an inducement to the nation to remain at peace.”—Certainly not, if it is in the power of the *Courier* or the *Times* to persuade the French Government to renew the war; their exhortations have not, nor will they be wanting. The constant theme of these journals is, in fact, of a nature to provoke and irritate the French to acts of hostility, and it cannot be a matter of surprise to any one to hear, as we are almost every day doing, that the people of France have not only prevented the exportation of corn destined for this country, but, in a variety of instances, have insulted our countrymen, and compelled them to return merely because they were *Englishmen*. This treatment, from a nation so celebrated for good breeding as the French have always been, can be attributed to no other cause than the abuse of our corrupt press; and as long as

it is thus allowed to wanton in scurrility, so long will the people of England, whether they visit France on business, or for amusement, feel the effects of this insolent and unprincipled conduct. Much as we profess to be indignant at libels against *individuals*, and severe as our law is against offenders, we seem yet to be ignorant of the gross iniquity there is in libelling a *whole people*. In the one case, the feelings of only one person is injured, and whatever may be the consequences to him, society runs no risk of being disturbed. But in the other, entire millions are outraged, and a bloody war may be the consequence, unless some atonement is made for the offence, and the practice altogether abandoned.

AMERICA.—It would seem that the negotiations lately opened at Ghent with the American Commissioners, have been suddenly broken off; and although nothing official has transpired on the subject, this unexpected rupture has been attributed to some fresh demands of our Government, which are held entirely inadmissible on the part of America. The following statement, which was copied into the *Courier* of last night, as a leading article without any comment, appeared in the *Morning Chronicle* of yesterday.

“Advises reached us yesterday from Ghent to the 30th ult. from which there seems to be no longer any question regarding the rupture of the Negotiation. It is said that, in the first instance, the British Commissioners submitted a project, which was to be considered as preliminary to the general objects of the Negotiation. This being rejected, a second series of proposals were made, which contained the substance of the preliminary demands, with some fresh propositions. These new terms were judged to be more objectionable than the former; and to both of them, in this stage of the business, the Republican Plenipotentiaries gave a long but decisive answer, in which were examined all the leading subjects of difficulty and litigation between the two countries. Since that communication was made, we are informed there have been no conferences, and we believe that the American Agents are waiting only for formal notice from our Commissioners, that the discussions are terminated. It is said that the American Commissioners have not allowed the introduction of any other propositions than those which were originally alleged to have been the object of examination. Orders were expected at Ghent for the return of the British Commissioners, and the report is, that Lord Gambler and Mr. Goulburn have already quitted that city, in consequence of instructions from this Government. Nothing has yet been published at Ghent, officially, or otherwise, of the rupture of the Negotiation, and the reason assigned for the silence of the Commissioners of the Republic in a letter before us, is, that the odium of the cessation of the discussions may be thrown where it ought to lie.”

# COBBETT'S WEEKLY POLITICAL REGISTER.

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## SUMMARY OF POLITICS.

AMERICAN WAR.—The *Times* news paper, which was one of the loudest clamourers for this war, now observes, “with *deep regret*, that it has lingered on, for “so many months, without being distinguished by any *memorable stroke*.”—If the inflammatory and malicious writer of that paper already experiences *disappointment*, what will he experience during the months, yea, and, perhaps, the *years*, of this war, which are yet to come? He, when urging on the nation to this enterprise, told them, with the utmost confidence, that, in a *few weeks* after war should be commenced, “the *boasted American navy* would be annihilated.” Not only has that navy not been annihilated, but it has very much increased. It has annihilated some hundreds of our merchant ships, and has defeated several of our ships of war, some of which, after victory over them, gained in the most wonderful manner, it has added to its own number.—It is said, that we are building ships to carry 64 guns, for the express purpose of combating the American frigates. Ours, it seems, are to be called *frigates* also. This is to avoid the *awkwardness* of acknowledging, that our *frigates* are not able to cope with American frigates. Now, if it should happen that one of these new “*frigates*” of ours is beaten and captured by an American frigate, what will then be said? For my part, were it with me to carry on the war, I would, after what has passed, resort to no such perilous expedient as this, but would, at once, send *ships of the line* against those formidable frigates, without making any apology for so doing.—Before the war began, not a word were we told about the *formidableness* of these frigates. The editors of the *Times* and the *Courier* were only impatient, that these frigates should meet ours upon the sea. They said nothing about their stout decks, and their heavy cannon, and their “*great big balls*.” But, the moment that the Americans *beat and captured* one of our frigates with one of theirs, then we heard

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these editors, and even the “undaunted sons of Neptune,” garbed in blue and gold, exclaiming against the *size* of the American frigates and the *number of their crews*! We should have thought of all this before we talked of annihilating the American navy in a few weeks.—The merchants and underwriters are now petitioning the Lords of the Admiralty and the Prince Regent to protect them more effectually against this “*contemptible American navy*,” which, it seems, has already destroyed their property to the amount of millions, and some of the ships of which are said to blockade, in some sort, part of our harbours in England and Ireland, and are capturing our ships within the sight of land.—These gentlemen should have petitioned against *the war*. So far from this, many of them were eager for the war; *do they think*, that they are to enjoy the gratification of seeing the American towns knocked down without paying some little matter for it? That the Admiralty are employing a great many ships and sailors in this war our next year's taxes and *loans* will fully convince us; but numerous as their ships and sailors are, they are not, and cannot be, sufficient to cover all the ocean.—The farmers, and land-holders, and fund-holders, are sighing for the repeal of taxes, but how are they justified in this wish, when it is well known that, to carry on the war, taxes are absolutely necessary, and when it is also well known, that these persons were, in general, anxious for the war?—Some of them want war to prevent their produce from falling in price; others liked peace with France well enough; but, then, they wished “to give the Yankees a *drubbing*.” Therefore, if to keep up the price of produce, and to give the Yankees a *drubbing*, taxes are wanted, with what decency can these persons expect that taxes will be *taken off*?—Do we obtain anything that we want without paying for it, in some way or another? If we want food, or raiment, or houses, or pleasure, do we not expect to pay for them? Can we go to see a play or a puppet show without money? Why, then, are we to expect the greater pleasure of seeing the

*Yankees drubbed*, without paying for that too?—The public seem very impatient to see the drubbing begin. The *Times* and the *Courier* have been endeavouring to entertain them for a long while, and until they, as well as the audience, appear exhausted. But is it not reasonable, that the public should, in this case, as well as in all others, put down their money *previously* to the drawing up of the curtain? In a year or two, perhaps, we shall see the drama commence in good earnest. But, is it not enough to be amused with a little dancing and tumbling on the outside *before* we have paid our money?—"Send! Send away," says the eager editor of the *Times*, "Send away a force to *crush* them at once!" But not a word does he say about the *taxes*, necessary to pay for the sending and keeping up of such a force. Our Government is composed of wonderfully clever men; but they are not clever enough to make soldiers walk upon the waters over the Atlantic, nor to enact, at a word, leaves and fishes to sustain them after their arrival.—To be able to send that "overwhelming force," of which the *Times* speak, the Government must have *money*; and, as in all other cases, they must have the money *first*.—In short, it is unreasonable in the extreme to expect the war in America to be attended with any very signal result, until we have liberally paid two or three years' of taxes.—The assertion is again made, that the American ships are *marked principally with English, Irish, and Scotch*. I find this assertion in the *Morning Chronicle* of the 6th instant. If this were true, as I hope it is not, what a pleasant and honourable fact this war would have brought to light? No other than this: that many of our own seamen, our "gallant tars," the "undaunted sons of Neptune," not only have no dislike to the Americans, but actually have run the risk of being hanged, drawn and quartered, for the sake of fighting in the American service against their own country! If the world believe these accounts, what must the world think of us? During the long war in which France was engaged, no Frenchmen were ever found in arms against their King and country. None of them, indeed, embodied themselves under foreign banners to fight, as they pretended, at least, for their country, and against those whom they called the usurpers of its Government. But, if these accounts

be true, our countrymen have *voluntarily* gone into the American service to fight against their country, that country being under the legitimate sway of the glorious and beloved House of Brunswick!—The origin of these accounts, so disgraceful to the country, is, probably, the reluctance which our naval officers have to confess defeat at the hands of those *Yankees*, whom we were so desirous to see *drubbed*. To avoid this painful acknowledgment, it has been asserted, that we have not been beaten by the Yankees, but by our own *brave* countrymen. But here again a difficulty arises, for how comes it to pass, that our own brave countrymen have more success on board of Yankee ships, than on board of our own heart of oak? How comes it to pass, that the men on both sides being of precisely the same race and education, those in the Yankee ships should beat those in "the wooden walls of Old England"? It has been observed, that they fight more desperately, knowing that they fight with *a halter about their necks*. What an aspersion on "the sons of Neptune!" As if the sons of Neptune, the gallant Jack Tars of Old England, wanted a halter round their necks, and the gallows and executioner's knife before their eyes, to make them do more in battle than they are ready to do for the sake of their King and country, and from a sentiment of honour! This is, really, giving a cruel stab to the character of our sailors; but such is the sorry malignity of those who publish these accounts of treasonable practices, that they entirely overlook these obvious infirmities, in their anxiety to get rid of the supposition that any thing praise-worthy belongs to the character of the enemy.—If these accounts be true, as I hope they are not, why are not the traitors *tried* and *executed*? Why are they suffered to remain in the American service? why are they suffered to go on thus, shooting at, boarding, and taking our ships, insulting our gallant officers, and putting our men in lions? why are they not, I ask again, *tried* and *hanged*? why are not their warm bowels ripped out and thrown in their traitorous faces? why are their bodies not cut into quarters, and those quarters placed at the King's disposal?—But, I had forgotten, that before these things can be done, we must *capture the ships* in which they sail! Is there no *other* way of coming at them? It were well if those, whose business it is to enforce the law against state-criminals,





would fall upon some scheme to reach them. Cannot the Parliament, which has been called *omnipotent*, find out some means of coming at them?—In short, these accounts are a deep disgrace to the country; and, I do hope that the Lords of the Admiralty, who published that eloquent paper, stimulating the sailors to fight against the Americans, will fall speedily upon some means of putting an end to so great a scandal.—I have not time, at present, to enter so fully into the subject of the American war as I shall in my next; but, to the loose observations that I have made, I cannot refrain from adding a word or two on the rupture of the negotiations at Ghent, which is said to have taken place. Who, in his senses, expected any other result? It was manifest, from the moment that Napoleon was removed from France, that the war with America was destined to become a serious contest. There were all sorts of feelings at work in favour of such a war. There was not a single voice (mine only excepted) raised against it. Was it to be supposed, then, that peace would be the work of a few months? Yet this rupture of the negotiations appears to have excited a good deal of surprise, not wholly divested of a small portion of alarm. It was expected that the Yankee Commissioners would jump at peace on any terms. There were thousands of persons, and well-dressed persons too, who said that the Yankees would not hesitate a moment to *depose* Mr. Madison, and send him to some little uninhabited island. About a fortnight ago, some rifle soldiers were passing my house, in their way from Sussex to Plymouth, to join their corps, bound to America. A serjeant, who was at a little distance behind the party, stopped at my door and asked for some beer. While the beer was drawing, I observed to him, that *Jonathan* must take care now what he was about. "No," said the serjeant, "I do not think it will come to any head; for we learned the day before yesterday, that *Madison had run away*."—I asked him, if they had been informed *whither he had run to*. He replied, that he had run "*out of the country*." He further told me, that we were to have an army of 50,000 men for the conquest of America; and that, if they were not enough, *Russia* had 60,000 men ready to send to our assistance.—From this the Americans will judge of the opinions of the people here; for, I dare say, that this serjeant was no more than the mere re-

peater of what he heard in almost all the public-houses, resorted to by politicians of the most numerous class.—But the people are not to be blamed for this delusion. They had it given them, in the report of a speech of one of the Lords of the Admiralty, not long ago, that we were about to undertake the *deposing* of Mr. Madison; and who can blame them, if they believe that this deposition has taken place?—My friend, the serjeant, on whom I bestowed my benediction, will, however, I am afraid, find, that this work of deposing Mr. Madison will give more trouble than he appeared to expect; my reasons for which I shall state in my next.

JOANNA SOUTHCOTT.—In every age, and in all countries, there have been *visionaries, prophets, and inspired*. It would have been singular, therefore, if, in this age, which has produced so many *wonders*; which has given rise to the most astonishing events recorded in history, there should not also have started up some *pretender* to extraordinary gifts; some individual possessed of more shrewdness, of more cunning, than the generality of people, who are always disposed to listen to any one capable of exciting their wonder, and gratifying their unquenchable desire for the *marvellous*. It would, I say, have indeed been extraordinary, if this "new era" had not produced a person of this description; and as this age has far surpassed every other in the magnitude of its political occurrences, it would have been equally surprising, if that individual had not boasted of superior endowments, far transcending those of his predecessors who, like him, pretended to have received peculiar favour from on high. Ecclesiastical history presents us with innumerable instances of the rise and fall of these favourites of heaven; many of whom succeeded, even without the aid of the sword, in attaching vast numbers to their cause; and, perhaps, might have ultimately triumphed over the rival systems, had they been supported by a power like that which gave consequence to the *temporal* sway of the Roman Pontiff. But, amongst all these parties, I have not been able to discover one whose plans appeared so well laid, or whose claims to the possession of *supernatural powers*, were better calculated to arrest attention, than those of Joanna Southcott. The greater part of her former competitors for this sort of fame were timid and irresolute; their claims, to divine inter-



course were asserted in a manner so *secret* as to excite *suspicion*, and what they were sometimes induced to declare openly, was done in so *ambiguous* a way, that even their most intimate followers found it difficult to ascertain the meaning of the oracles which they delivered. But in Joanna there is no want of *courage*. She seems to have been sufficiently aware that she lived in an *enlightened* age, in a country where *learning* abounds, amongst *scholars*, and with a people accustomed to *investigate* and to *criticise*. Nothing of *concealment* has marked her progress. From the commencement of, what she considers, her divine inspirations, she has *boldly* announced them; she has *challenged* inquiry; she has held *public conferences*; and she boasts of the *fulfilment* of predictions—not uttered in *secret*, but in the presence of thousands of her enemies, who now rank themselves among her disciples and warmest supporters. In introducing Miss Joanna to the notice of my readers, I readily acknowledge, that I have no wish to make them *converts* to her faith. I am not a convert myself, and probably some of her admirers will say, that this arises from my never having seen the lady, or perused any of her books. As to *visiting* the *holy* dame, I feel no inclination; and as to her books, I think it would be a *punishment* rather than a *pleasure* to be compelled to read them; for I am informed, that if all the "Books of Wonders," published by Joanna, were collected together, they would make no less than eight or ten volumes octavo! The works of this *inspired* maiden have, in fact, been bought up with such avidity, that, admitting I were inclined to look into them, my bookseller says a copy of them is not to be had for love nor money. But although I have no desire to make proselytes for the *sainted* Joanna, notwithstanding the many *proofs* she has given of her *divine* mission, I have thought it proper not to let a system pass altogether unnoticed, which, from the great interest it has excited, and the numerous disciples Joanna has obtained, may, *it is not impossible*, prove a formidable rival, to perhaps, totally supercede, all other systems of religion. Not being one of the *zealots*, I do not pretend to say that it *will* have that effect, but it seems pretty evident, if Joanna's *pregnancy* does not *fail*, that it will be somewhat difficult to prevent the increase of her followers, who, it is said, already consist of entire counties, besides numerous individuals, in all quarters of

England, many of whom have considerable property, and are looked up to as men possessing a large portion of understanding.—From a short account published of Joanna's life, and which, at the time I write, has already reached the *fifth* edition, it appears, that she was born in Gettisham, a village of Devonshire, in the month of April, 1750, so that she is now fully 64 years of age. At an early period of her life, she is described as having been very devout, and of having, at a more mature age, in consequence of attachment to religion, refused to enter the matrimonial state, although she entertained a mutual affection for a young man who had offered her marriage. In the year 1792, she first announced herself at Exeter as *divinely inspired*. She gave herself out to be "the Bride, the Lamb's wife," and "the Woman clothed with the Sun," mentioned in the book of Revelations. On this occasion, her relations accused her of being *insane*, and she appears to have suffered greatly from the malignity of her persecutors. From that time to 1801, she busied herself, contrary to the usual practice of religious *reformers*, in endeavouring to gain over the *dignitaries* of the church, and in making converts in the *higher* circles. Finding it difficult, however, to combat long cherished prejudices, by verbal expostulation, or by letter, she availed herself of the press, and, in the year 1801, gave five different tracts to the public. These appear to have attracted the attention of several gentlemen, among whom were three clergymen (Dissenters, I presume,) who visited her at Exeter. After continuing with her for seven days, they left her, under the firm conviction, which they then declared, that her mission was *divine*. In the month of January, 1803, we find our prophetess engaged in a public controversy at a house in Paddington. This meeting had been previously advertised in the newspapers, and "those (as her biographer says) that *disapproved* of Joanna as a messenger from God, were desired to attend and produce their reasons." None of her opponents, however, appeared. The consequence was, that the meeting unanimously declared in her favour. Another public meeting was called in December, 1804. The conferences on this occasion also continued seven days; at the end of which, such was the power and influence of Joanna's eloquence, that all present, among whom were several clergymen, voluntarily subscribed a paper, in which they

declared it to be their "firm belief, that her prophecies, and other spiritual communications, emanate wholly and entirely from the spirit of the Living Lord."—Her further progress and success, are thus described by her biographer:—"Joanna has visited in her missionary capacity, Bristol, Leeds, Old Swinford Stockport, &c. &c. At Old Swinford she has many adherents, and at Leeds her followers are very numerous. Joanna has for some years been stationary in London living with an amiable lady, who (much to her praise) disposes of her income, in what she esteems the service of God. Joanna's cause in London has been, for a considerable time, in a flourishing state. She has a chapel in Duke-street, St. George's fields, near the Obelisk, where they have preaching every Sunday, and where the Liturgy of the Church of England is also read. The service of the chapel is performed by Mr. Tozer. They have a choir of singers, and the hymns they sing were composed from the writings of their patroness. They administer in their chapel the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper, the first Sunday in every month, and profess themselves *members of the Church of England*. She has two other chapels, one at Greenwich and another at Twickenham. It was customary with the prophetess, during the early part of her career, to commit her supernatural communications to paper with her own hand; but, latterly, she has a secretary in attendance on her. When the Spirit is about to impart some communication, Joanna feels an agitation within, then the prophetess, her secretary, and the witness, range themselves in one group. After this, the Spirit begins to speak, addressing himself not to the witness, nor the secretary, but to Joanna *within*. so that our prophetess has simply to sit down and talk to herself! This she actually does, when the secretary, another female, takes down what she says, and then the witness, likewise feminine, signs it. Joanna will sometimes dictate a line only, sometimes a sentence, stopping till it is perfectly committed to writing.—Joanna assumes to usher in the Millennium, and to seal the faithful for the enjoyment of it, to the amount of one hundred and forty-four thousand; also to chain down Satan for a thousand years; and having thus handed over the good fruit of the tree of knowledge, and reinstated her fallen sex, to torment the immense undertaking of man's

redemption."—But the most extraordinary part of Joanna's pretensions, is that of her being actually with child, like the Virgin Mary, by the instrumentality of the *Holy Ghost*, and that she will be delivered of a male child, the *Shiloh* promised to the Jews, about the middle of October next. This *miraculous* conception, it is said, was *foretold* by Joanna *prior* to the month of October, 1813—on the 14th day of which month, at midnight, it is pretended the divine impregnation took place. On this part of the subject she says, in one of her books, that "this sign is set to prove the truth of the gospel, or to prove that the gospel is not true; for this I am answered, if the visitation of the Lord does not produce a son this year, then Jesus Christ was NOT the son of God, born in the manner spoken by the Virgin Mary; but if I have a son this year, then, in like manner, our Saviour was born." Now, 'as to the fact of Joanna's pregnancy, it appears that no fewer than *nine* medical gentlemen have visited her since the 1st of August; six of whom have given it as their *positive* opinion, that she is with child, and the other three that she is not. The evidence, it cannot, therefore, be denied, preponderates in favour of Joanna's pretensions, in so far as the mere circumstance of the pregnancy goes. Here indeed she has been extremely anxious to satisfy the world, that in this particular, at least, she neither wishes to deceive herself, nor deceive others; for, independent of inviting every medical gentleman of respectability in London to visit her, she sent a copy of her book, with her portrait, in which the circumstances attending her impregnation are detailed, to the Prince Regent, to the Archbishops of Canterbury and York, Bishop of Worcester, Duke of Gloucester, Lord Grosvenor, Lord Ellenborough, the Duke of Kent, the Bishop of London, and the Bishop of Salisbury; "to prevent any imposition (as she states) being practised, either in my name by others; or, if I am led by a wrong spirit myself, it will be proved this year; and that no imposition may be practised upon the Jews, when I know without a doubt that I am with child."—Here, it must be admitted that Joanna shews the utmost *candour*, whatever she may do in other points. She does not deny the *possibility* of having been led by a *wrong* spirit, though she confidently asserts that she is with child, and appeals to the birth in proof of her assertion. In

a letter addressed by Joanna to Dr. Reece, on the 1st inst. I also find the following candid statement:—"Since I saw you, I have found a considerable alteration in myself, by feeling the life much stronger, and moving in different ways to what it had before; and more particularly this last week since I had a journey in the coach when I removed from my own house, I have felt it much lower, and much greater weight. Mr. Carder will give you the particulars how I have been for this week past, that my appetite returned, and my pain and sickness left me, though in other respects the feeling of life within is greater than ever; but should it prove not to be a child in the end, it must bring me to the grave, but as you have come forward with your judgment to the public, and will be attacked for so doing, I wish to put every weapon in your hand, that if there is a possibility of my being deceived, that the life within should bring death upon me, without making its appearance in the world; I now promise to give you liberty to open my body, that you may find out the cause which produced all these effects, what life was in me to cause all these pains and sickness, like travail pains, the increase of the size of my body, which have increased so much within a few months, so that either in death or life you will be enabled to judge of a cause, that never was brought before medical men, of a woman at my age."—It is unquestionably a most extraordinary circumstance, that a woman of Joanna's great age should be found with child; but nature, we know, is often very capricious in her productions. Nor is Joanna's case without a parallel, if the following statement, taken from the newspapers, is to be relied on:—"Ellin Ellis, of Beaumaris, in Anglesey, aged 72, was brought to bed May 10th, 1776. she had been married 46 years, and her eldest was 45 years old. She had not had a child for 25 years before."—At all events, with the evidence already before the public, I do not see how, in the present stage of the business, the fact of Joanna's pregnancy can well be disputed. A Dr. Sims, one of the three medical gentlemen, who visited Joanna, and declared against the pregnancy, has published his reasons for holding that opinion. He attributes the symptoms which led others to declare for the pregnancy, to a disease in the uterine organs.—I have no wish to enter the lists with any medical gentleman;

but I cannot help remarking here, that Dr. Sims admits the examination he made of Joanna was not so complete as, in my opinion, the circumstances of the case called for. He states, that it was only "external," and that if this had not been sufficient to satisfy him, he would "have urged the propriety of her submitting to a more satisfactory examination." But why pronounce *definitively*, if there was a possibility of thinking otherwise, from a more close inspection?—To me it seems pretty clear, that there is nothing in Dr. Sims' statement to superinduce a persuasion, that Joanna is not pregnant.—To adopt such an opinion would not only be in opposition to the conviction of her own mind, strengthened by every day's experience, but in direct contradiction to what six other medical gentlemen, equally respectable with Dr. Sims, have declared, upon a "satisfactory examination." With regard to the *supernatural* part of the story, the conception of a child without any connection with a man, I leave this to others to believe or disbelieve as they may think proper. Joanna asserts it; and says "this I can take a solemn oath to, I never had knowledge of man in my life."—The Rev. Mr. Tozer, Toozer, or Towzer, also offers to swear, "that no man has seen or spoken to Joanna from August 1813 to August 1814, when the doctors were admitted to examine her." This, perhaps, is sufficient for the greater part of Joanna's believers; but there are many, I find, who hesitate as to avowing their faith, until the event of the pregnancy is demonstrated by the delivery. If that should take place, and the child be a boy, I have no doubt her followers will increase to an astonishing degree. It is not of the *miraculous* conception, of the *divine incarnation*, which people in general doubt, or which prevents the many from declaring themselves. It is the fact of the pregnancy only which they seem to question. The human mind has indeed been sufficiently prepared to admit of supernatural conceptions. In all countries we find the belief of *divine* incubations prevailing amongst the people. The Indians believed that their God Vichenou underwent different incarnations, which occasioned his appearance sometimes in the form of a bear, and sometimes in that of a lion. At last, say his followers, he will assume the form of a horse, "with a sabre in his hand, to destroy the present inhabitants of the world, to darken the stars,

to drive the planets from their spheres, to shake the whole earth, and to oblige the mighty serpent to vomit a flame which shall consume the globes." This same Vichenou, it is said by the Bramans, was himself the production of the first Being, who, "desirous of manifesting himself, separated the faculties of male and female which were in him, and operated an act of generation, of which Vichenou is the emblem."—The Hæthens believed that Jupiter converted himself into a bull, in order to carry off Europa; and that Minerva was incarnate in the brain, and Buehus in the thigh of the same god. The mother of Plato said that she had been visited by Apollo, to whom she attributed her pregnancy of that philosopher. The Egyptians asserted that the sun was brought forth by their god Isis. They also believed that "God vomited an egg, from which was produced another God named Vulcan." The Syrians pretended "that a dove sat, for a certain number of days, on the egg of a fish, and that from this incubation Venus was born." The priests of Tibet teach the people, that the grand Lama, who is also their god, never dies, but becomes incarnate in his own person, which he reproduces at pleasure. Of this system, Volney gives the following curious particulars. "Thus is God incessantly rendering himself *incarnate*, but his greatest and most solemn incarnation was 3000 years ago, in the province of Cassimere, under the name of Fôt, or Beddou, for the purpose of teaching the doctrine of self-denial, and self-annihilation. Fôt sprung from the right intercostal of a virgin of the royal blood, who, when she became a mother, did not the less continue to be a virgin. The king of the country, uneasy at his birth, was desirous to put him to death, and caused all the males who were born at the same period, to be massacred. Being saved by shepherds, Beddou lived in the desert to the age of thirty years, at which time he opened his commission, preaching the doctrine of truth, and casting out devils. He performed a multitude of miracles, spent his life in fasting, and the severest mortifications; and, at his death, bequeathed to his disciples, the volume in which the principles of his religion are contained."—The Tartars believe, that God becomes incarnate in human bodies. The Chinese say, that their god Fo (probably the same as Fôt) "was generated by a virgin, ren-

dered prolific by a ray of the sun." The same pretensions to divine origin, by the impregnation of a female, was claimed for Appollonius Tyaneus, who was set up as a rival to our Saviour. It was said that the god Proteus appeared to his mother, and told her, that the child with which she was pregnant was himself. At an early period of the church, the doctrine of incarnations having been disputed by some heretics, the celebrated Lactantius, "in order to establish that the spirit of God could impregnate a virgin, cites the example of the Thracian mares, and other females, rendered prolific by the wind."—Such are a few of the instances recorded in history, of the belief, formerly entertained by the credulous, that God operated the production and reproduction of himself, by having intercourse with the *creatures* he had formed; and although there is not an individual in this country who gives the least credit to these absurdities, it must be acknowledged that the fact of this doctrine, possessing so remote an antiquity, and having been received and professed for so many ages, and still believed by so great a proportion of the human race, is somewhat calculated to countenance the disciples of Joanna, in the credit which they give to her pretended supernatural conception. I shall say nothing of the Divine impregnation of the Virgin Mary, because all who are of the church firmly believe it, whether they are followers of Joanna, or not. She declares, indeed, that her whole mission tends to *confirm* the doctrines of the church; and, as far as I have been able to discover, she has not advanced any thing subversive of the Faith. A paragraph appeared last week in the *Courier*, in which it was stated, that it was not unlikely there was now grafted upon Joanna's doctrines "a scheme from some *infidels* to gratify their passion for ridiculing what they cannot impeach. How long will this be endured? Is it not known that *blasphemy is an offence punishable by law*?"—If by *infidels* are here meant, those who have written *against* the Christian religion, the objection does not in any shape apply; for Joanna is not *hostile* to Christianity, but *in* the contrary. Neither is it treating these writers with *kindness* to assert, that they employ *ridicule only*; when it is well known, that in whatever way they treat the subject, they are not met by *argument* of any description, but dealt with agreeably to the above maxim, "that

blasphemy is an offence punishable by law." It was upon this maxim, I presume, which supplies the place of fair discussion, that the magistrates shut up the meeting-houses belonging to the followers of Joanna. It is pretended that it was necessary to interfere as to the Borough Chapel, on account of a riot which took place there on a Sunday. But this was an unwarrantable stretch of power. The duty of a Magistrate is to preserve the peace by putting down riots, and to guard the peaceable inhabitants from their consequences. Here they not only suppressed the riot, but they took upon them, by shutting up a regularly licensed chapel, to exercise powers not conferred by Act of Parliament; *contrary*, in fact, to the statute, by which preachers are licensed, and which gives no authority to any set of Magistrates to deprive a body of Christians of the privilege, once obtained, of assembling together, to hear what doctrines they please. A preacher may utter, what is called, blasphemy from the pulpit; he may even preach up sedition and treason. — When he does so, let him be made answerable for this in his own person. But to deprive several numerous congregations, as has been done in this case, of the right every man has to worship God in the way he thinks best, and that too after all these congregations had received the sanction of a Justice of the Peace so to worship, was a proceeding that can be equalled nowhere but in the tribunals of the Inquisition. — The riot did not even begin in the chapel, though, if it had, this would not have been a sufficient reason for shutting it up. It was occasioned by the improper conduct of the enemies of Joanna, who, by the statute, merit punishment, for disturbing a congregation in the performance of Divine worship; while the parties disturbed, instead of being made the sufferers, should have been encouraged, by protection being afforded them against future insults. — But, after all, what is the meaning that this writer, in the *Courier*, affixes to the word *blasphemy*? Is he aware, that the Act of Parliament, which declared it to be blasphemy to deny any of the persons of the Trinity, has been repealed? — Can any one say, that Joanna, or her preachers, have gone so far as to deny the Divine Incarnation of Jesus Christ? Supposing it could be said, which I believe it cannot, that they do deny this; admitting that the whole of her followers asserted, that our Saviour came into the

world in the way other people's children come; where would be the blasphemy, or even the impropriety, of asserting what an Act of Parliament *permits* every man to assert? It is no doubt true, that I strenuously opposed the repeal of the Blasphemy Act; but now, that it has been repealed; and (let it be remembered) without any opposition from the Bench of Bishops; now, that every one is at liberty *by law*, to deny the Divine Incarnation, or the Blessed Trinity, when and where he thinks fit, it is rather assuming too much; it is rather somewhat imperious; somewhat arrogant and presumptuous, in any man to charge another with blasphemy; or to call for the infliction of the punishment of that offence upon a sect of professed Christians, who, it is clear, hold those very doctrines as firmly as the Church, which it would even be no crime in them to deny. The celebrated Gordon, who wrote about the middle of the last century, very pertinently remarked, that "Blasphemy is like hussy — a big word, which they who make the loudest noise about it rarely define, and indeed rarely can; a word which passionate and crafty men throw at one another in their religious quarrels, and if you will believe either side, both sides are blasphemers." — For my part, I do not understand how the crime of blasphemy can be committed at all. The word signifies *detraction*, which implies malice, and is never used but in reference to the Deity. Gordon says, "A man who *knows* God, cannot speak evil of a Being whom he knows to be blessed and beneficent, the author and giver of all good, with whom no evil can dwell; and a man who knows him *not*, and reviles him, does therefore revile him, because he knows him not. — He therefore puts the name of God to his misapprehensions of God. This is so far from speaking *evil* of the Deity, that it is not speaking of the Deity at all. It is only speaking evil of a *world idea*; of a creature of the *imagination*, and existing nowhere but there." — Adopting this rational view, it is impossible any man can be guilty of blasphemy against God. The word seems, indeed, to have been introduced merely as a cover to the persecuting zeal of bigotry — and to afford protection to the *abuses* which have been introduced into religion. Whenever these are attacked; whenever it is attempted to undisguise truth, and to expose the ridiculous observances and tenets by which it has

been disfigured, the cry of blasphemy, like the cry of jacobinism, is then set up, and the objects of it seldom or ever escape until their ruin is effected. In the case of Joanna, however, I do not see that there exists even the shadow of a ground upon which to justify the rigorous steps that have been taken against her followers.—Much less do I think that Joanna herself is a person who has done any thing deserving punishment. Her pretensions are such as no man can interfere with, without a direct infringement of the rights of nature, which preclude all control of one man over another, in matters of faith. It is likewise a violation of the law, which gives to every professed Christian a right to assemble in any place of worship that has been previously licensed, and there openly to deny, if he pleases, not only that Jesus Christ is the Son of God, but also the whole doctrine of the Trinity. In no possible case, in my opinion, can the suppression of opinions, *by violence*, be justified, because open discussion can do injury to no one who wishes well to the cause of truth. As to Joanna, there is not even the slightest reason for apprehension; for should she even be delivered of a male child, her pretensions to supernatural agency may be met by fair argument, which can never be overthrown by error; and, if her pregnancy prove *abortive*, or the fruit of it be a female, her system will fall of itself, without any reasoning about it.

#### LORD COCHRANE.

MR. COBBETT.—I have taken the liberty to intimate to you, that, so far back as the 21st July, the inhabitants of the Royal Burgh of Culross and the neighbourhood, called together by public advertisement, voted and transmitted to Lord Cochrane a Congratulatory Address upon his re-election for Westminster; which event, they said, “may be considered as the verdict of the *last* tribunal,” to whom he had appealed from the charges lately preferred against him. They did not overlook mentioning their admiration of the firmness with which his Lordship met those charges, and after taking notice of the great respect they ever held for his Lordship, as an active and vigilant servant of the country, they concluded “by calling to mind the many heroic actions your Lordship has performed in your country’s cause, we look forward with confidence

“to a renewal of your ardent and gallant exertions for her advantage, notwithstanding the persecutions you are now suffering; and we sincerely hope that, in defiance of party and faction, you shall again shine forth an ornament to your profession, an honour to your country, and the boast of this place, the ancient residence of your noble family.” And they entreat his Lordship speedily to forgive and forget those sufferings an honourable mind must sustain whilst struggling against unfounded accusations, “aggravated by unprecedented judicial proceedings.” This is the substance of the Address, and the following is a copy of his Lordship’s answer.—“*King’s Bench, August 4, 1841.*—SIR,—I take the earliest opportunity, which the pressure of my affairs afforded me, of conveying to my much respected friends of Culross, my most heartfelt thanks for the interest they take in my character and welfare, and for the truly gratifying manner in which they have demonstrated their feelings, which are at once an honour to themselves and to me. You may, with great truth, assure our respectable townsmen, that their untimely congratulations on my re-election, add greatly to the satisfaction which I derive from that triumphant event, and that whatever may be the value of my actions, the motives in which they originate ever have been, and ever shall be, such as may claim the reward of their good opinion. I send you a newspaper, containing the Letter of De Berenger, by which you will perceive that my enemies have now an agent, even within the confines of my prison. But I shall eventually triumph over all their machinations.” In your last *Register* you assert, that the respectable inhabitants of the town of Paisley are *the first* who have come forward in this patriotic cause; but by a reference to the dates, you will perceive that his place was fourteen days earlier than Paisley. If any merit therefore is due from priority, I must be excused for asserting the right to this place; and while I do, I shall be glad if a subsequent paper shall announce that that is even claimed by some other. I shall esteem myself honoured by your inserting this Letter in your valuable *Register*, and I have the honour to be, &c.

A DEFEATER OF TYRANNY.

Culross, 3d September, 1841.

**CORN LAWS.**—The Report of the Select Committee of the House of Commons, which I have given below, clearly indicates that some legislative measure may still be expected, for the vain purpose of *regulating* the price of this important, and, above all others, most necessary, article of subsistence. The Committee have done so far well, in pointing out the great advantages which must result from a proper encouragement of agriculture at home; and the baneful consequences which must follow if it is discouraged or neglected. But they have attached too much importance to the importation of corn from other countries. It is admitted, that all foreign supply must be *præsumptum*, yet, it is to the Baltic the Committee have directed the attention of Parliament, as a great, if not a principal source, whence deficiencies are to be made up, when our own crops are unproductive. Nothing, in my opinion, can be more fallacious. There is no certainty of obtaining a full and regular supply of corn, but from our own soil; which, if properly cultivated, is capable of meeting all our wants. As this is a subject which requires more attention than my present limits will admit of, and I have much to say respecting it, I shall take the earliest opportunity of resuming my remarks.

#### REPORT OF THE CORN COMMITTEE

The Select Committee to whom the several Petitions which have been presented to this House, in the present Session of Parliament, upon the subject of the Corn Laws, were referred to consider so much of the said Petitions as relates to the Trade in Foreign Corn, and to the Duties now payable thereupon, and to report the same, with their observations thereupon, to the House, and who were also empowered to report the Minutes of Evidence taken before them,—have considered the matters referred to them; and have agreed to the following Report:—

In taking into their consideration the important subject referred to them by the House, they have proceeded, in the first place, to examine into the state of the growth of corn at home, and the circumstances which affect the same. The laws which regulate the importation of foreign corn, and the duties payable thereupon, having been altered from time to time, with a reference to these circumstances, and to the expence of raising corn in this country, it appeared to your Committee that such an inquiry must necessarily precede, and form part of any consideration of the trade in foreign corn.—Under this first head, your Committee have turned their attention to

the following points.—1st. The recent extension and improvement of the agriculture of the United Kingdom.—2d. The present expence of cultivation, including the rent.—3d. The price necessary to remunerate the grower. On the first point, it appears to your Committee to be established by all the evidence, that, within the last twenty years, a very rapid and extensive progress has been made in the agriculture of the United Kingdom.—that great additional capitals have been skilfully and successfully applied, not only to the improved management of lands already in tillage, but also to the converting of large tracts of inferior pasture into productive arable, and the reclaiming and inclosing of wastes, commons, and wastes, which have been brought into a state of regular cultivation.—that many extensive enterprises, directed to the same important objects, are some of them still in their infancy—that others, though in a more forward state, do not yet make any return for the large advances which have been laid out upon them; and that these advances, in many instances, will be a total loss to the parties (involving also the loss to the nation of the produce, which in a few years might be expected from such expensive undertakings) if, from the want of a sufficient encouragement to continue them, they should be abandoned in their present unfinished state. It is to the stimulus of this encouragement, during the last 20 years, more than to any other cause, that all the witnesses ascribe the great increase which has taken place in the annual produce of our soil, and the late rapid extension of the improved system of our husbandry; a system which, it is stated by them, has originated in, and can only be maintained by large additions to the farming capital of the kingdom. The great source of this encouragement, in the judgment of your Committee, is to be traced to the increasing population and growing opulence of the United Kingdom; but it is also not to be concealed, that these causes, which they trust will be of a permanent and progressive nature, have been incidentally but considerably aided by those events, which, during the continuance of the war, operated to check the importation of foreign corn. The sudden removal of these impediments appears to have created, among the occupiers of land, a certain degree of alarm, which, if not allayed, would tend, in the opinion of the witnesses examined by your Committee, not only to prevent the inclosure and cultivation of great tracts of land still lying waste and unproductive, but also to counteract the spirit of improvement in other quarters, and to check its progress upon lands already under tillage.

(2).—With respect to the second point, “the expence of cultivation, including the rent,” it is stated by all the evidence, that, within the same period of twenty years, the



money rent of land, taken upon an average, has been doubled; but if the value of the rent be measured by the proportion which it bears to the gross produce of land, it appears to have very considerably diminished within the period in question. The landlord's share of the whole produce of estates occupied by tenants, having been twenty years ago about one-third, and being now calculated at no more than from one fourth to one fifth. With respect to the amount of capital requisite for the stocking of a farm, and the general expenses of management and cultivation, there appears to be very little difference in the evidence. They are stated to be at least double what they were twenty years ago. Without pretending to offer to the House any statement by which they might be enabled to form an opinion, how much of this increase of charge has been produced by increased taxation, your Committee have thought it not unconnected with this part of their inquiry, to call for an account of the total amount of taxes received into the Exchequer, in the several years ended the 5th of April, 1791, 1804, and 1814, which will be found in the Appendix.

(3)—On the third point, "the price necessary to remunerate the grower of corn," it is obvious that it must be almost impossible to arrive at any very precise conclusion, and that this price will vary according to the variations of soil, markets, skill and industry in the occupier, and many other circumstances affecting differently not only different districts, but different farms in the same district. At the same time, there can be no doubt that these circumstances are taken into consideration, both by those who let, and those who take farms, and that their calculations of charges and outgoings on the one hand, and of return on the other, are made with a reference to some given price, as that which, upon a fair average crop, would be necessary to remunerate the grower. It is this price which your Committee have endeavoured to ascertain.—One of the witnesses examined by your Committee states, that, according to the calculations which he has made of the expenses and produce upon a farm which he occupies, he is of opinion that, wheat being at 7s. per quarter, the growers of corn would be able to live; but this calculation, he adds, is made on the supposition that the property tax will be taken off, and the price of labour reduced. It is the concurrent opinion of most of the other witnesses, that 80s. per quarter is the lowest price which would afford to the British grower an adequate remuneration. Their evidence is inserted at length in the minutes, and their names will be found to include many of the most eminent surveyors and land agents from different parts of Great Britain, as well as some persons who have been long and very extensively engaged in the corn trade, and

several occupiers of land distinguished for their practical knowledge, and the accurate manner in which they have kept their farming accounts. On this part of the subject it is very material to bear in mind, that many of these witnesses, who are very extensively employed as surveyors and land agents in the letting of estates all concur, in stating, that the calculations upon which they have proceeded for some years have in no instance been below 80s. a quarter; and that they have frequently exceeded that price.—Several other witnesses, equally distinguished for their knowledge and experience in matters connected with the letting of estates and the agriculture of the country, state, that the price of 80s. a quarter will not afford a sufficient protection to the British grower. The evidence and calculations which they have given to the Committee, will also be found in the Appendix; by a reference to which it will appear, that several prices, from 84s. up to 96s. have been stated by different witnesses, as the lowest which, under the present charges and expense of cultivation, would afford a fair remuneration to the grower. It may be proper to observe, that these latter calculations appear, in most instances, to be furnished by witnesses, whose attention and experience have been principally directed to districts consisting chiefly of cold clay, or waste and inferior lands, on which wheat cannot be grown but at an expense exceeding the average charge of its cultivation on better soils. On lands of this description, however, a very considerable proportion of wheat is now raised; and it appears by the evidence, that if such lands were withdrawn from tillage, they would for many years be of very little use, as pasture. And that the loss from such a change, as well to the occupiers as to the general stock of national subsistence, would be very great.

Your Committee having thus briefly stated the principal result of their inquiry into the state of our own agriculture, and the circumstances which affect the growth and price of corn in the United Kingdom; it remains for them to bring before the House, in a like manner, the substance of the evidence which they have procured respecting the trade in foreign corn, which seems naturally to form the second, and only remaining branch of this important subject, as far as it stands referred to the consideration of your Committee. They have, in the first place, to express their regret at not having been able to procure any information respecting the expense of raising corn in foreign countries, but, although their endeavours have failed in this respect, your Committee have collected such evidence, on other points, as appears to them very important for the due consideration of the Corn Laws. It appears from the statement of Mr. Scott, a member of your Committee, confirmed by the evidence of other witnesses



acquainted with the trade in foreign corn, that, in the countries bordering on the Baltic and the North sea, wheat is grown, not so much for the consumption of their own population (which is supplied by rice and other inferior grain) as for a foreign market—that, from Poland in particular, the greatest part of the wheat annually produced, is regularly sent down to the shipping ports of the Baltic, for exportation, and that these are the only ports of Europe to which the countries not growing wheat enough for their own consumption can resort, with a certainty of procuring an annual supply. In these ports it appears, from the evidence, that the price of wheat is not regulated, as it is in countries where it forms the habitual subsistence of the people, by the state of the home market; but almost entirely by the demand in the other countries of Europe, which are in the habit of making large purchases in the Baltic;—that the market price of wheat at Dantzic, for instance, is not so much affected by the abundance or deficiency of the crop in Poland, where, be the quantity more or less, it is grown for exportation, as it is by the price in the markets of London or Lisbon. It is therefore obvious, that, if the prices in these and the other importing markets should be very low, the price in the ports of the Baltic must fall to meet them; consequently there is scarcely any price in our own market, which, under circumstances of a general abundance in the other parts of Europe, would be sufficiently low to prevent an importation of corn from those foreign ports at which a considerable supply is annually accumulated for exportation only. The evidence of Mr Scott, on this point, appears to your Committee to be so material, and his knowledge and experience give so much weight to that evidence, that they cannot forbear inserting it. It is as follows.—

“Supposing the growth of wheat in this kingdom to be below an average crop, do you think that any importation that could be reckoned upon from the Baltic, would prevent the price of wheat in the home market from rising above 60s a quarter?—I think not.—Do you think, that importation from other quarters aiding that from the Baltic, would produce that effect?—Unless under circumstances of a general abundance in the countries not habitually exporting corn, I think not.—Supposing the price of wheat in England to be 63s a quarter, and a general abundance in Europe, do you think that a considerable importation could take place into this country?—I do.—Do you think it could at any price below 63s supposing the duty not to counteract such importation?—It is difficult to state what price would be sufficiently low to prevent an importation from those parts that annually have a considerable quantity to spare.—Under the circumstances above stated, would not such an importation tend mate-

rially to depress the home market, even though the prices were as low as 63s per quarter?—Undoubtedly.—You have stated, that no importation that could be reckoned upon would prevent the price of corn, in the home market, from rising above 60s in the event of our own growth being below an average crop. Now do you think that, in the event of the protecting price against importation being raised from 63s to 80s, the quantity of corn imported would be diminished one single bushel, in the event of our own growth being any thing below an average crop?—Certainly not.—On the other hand, were a large importation to take place, such as you have stated under certain circumstances may happen, when the price is at or below 63s, would not the effect be to discourage the growth of wheat in this kingdom?—Certainly it would.—The evidence of Mr, Charles Frederick Hennings, a native of Elbing, locally acquainted with the districts of Poland, from which the corn is sent to the ports of the Baltic for exportation, and himself a corn-factor of considerable experience in London, is in substance the same as that of Mr Scott on this important part of the trade in foreign corn.

Two obvious, but very important inferences, are to be derived from this evidence: 1st. That in the event of the price at which foreign corn should be admitted to importation duty free being raised from 63s to 80s per quarter, (assuming, for the sake of argument, the latter to be the price necessary for the protection of the British grower), this alteration would in no degree check the importation of corn from foreign countries, whenever the quantity grown in this kingdom should be below an average crop. And, 2d. That, under certain circumstances, a price in the home market, already so low as to be altogether inadequate to the remuneration of the British grower, might be still further depressed by an importation of foreign corn, if the law should not interfere to check such importation.—In France, it appears by the evidence, the growth of wheat is, in common years, fully adequate to her consumption; and that it is only occasionally, when her own harvest is very deficient, that any considerable purchases are made on her own account in the Baltic. This country, on the contrary, having been for many years habitually and extensively dependent on a foreign supply, our demand has borne so large a proportion to that of other countries, that the Baltic prices are principally governed by those of the British market. That this is the case, even in the present year, is in some degree corroborated by a paper furnished to your Committee by Mr. John Wilson, by which it appears, that, on the 17th of May last, the price of wheat at Dantzic was from £.350 to £.380 per last, making, at the then exchange upon London of 14/15, a price of about 2l. 9s. 10d. per qr.; but that, on the 3d June, when the exchange upon London had risen to,

1812, the price of Dantzic wheat immediately followed it. so that, notwithstanding this great improvement of the exchange in favour of this country, the prices at which wheat could be purchased by a bill upon London remained nearly the same, viz £ 570 to £ 300 per last, or 21 10s 3d per quarter.—If this country, either from policy or necessity, should continue to depend on the import of foreign corn for the subsistence of a portion of its population, it is obvious from all the evidence, that the Baltic is the only part of Europe upon which we can rely for a steady and regular supply;—that Spain or Portugal are more or less our habitual competitors in that market, and that France resorts to it occasionally when her own harvest is deficient. Occasionally also, the government of France appears to permit the exportation of a part of her own produce, but only for a limited time, and when her own markets are very much depressed. This, therefore, is a resource which cannot be reckoned upon by an habitually importing country. It may be forthcoming when least wanted, and withheld at the moment of our greatest need.—It is a fact, not undeserving the attention of the House, that a considerable duty appears to be levied on all corn exported from the Baltic. Your Committee have reason to believe, that this duty has been greatly increased on some occasions, when the wants of this country were most pressing. Indeed it cannot escape observation, that revenue being the object for which a duty is imposed, and the prices in the Baltic being governed by price here, the scale of such a duty admits of being increased in proportion to the degree of scarcity and consequent high price existing in this country.—From a consideration of this and the many other inconveniences, both domestic and political, which, in a country like this, cannot fail to grow out of a state of habitual and extensive dependence on a supply of foreign corn, your Committee have great satisfaction in observing, that of late the export of corn from Great Britain and Ireland has nearly, if not fully, balanced the importation. Looking to this important change in our situation; to the abundance which we now enjoy; and to the great and extensive improvement made in cultivation both here and in Ireland, your Committee cannot but indulge a hope that we have nearly arrived at that state, in which nothing but a discouragement and consequent falling off of our own agriculture can again drive us to the necessity of trusting to large importations of foreign corn, except in unfortunate seasons, when it may be necessary to resort to this resource, to supply the deficiency of our own harvest.—Should this expectation be confirmed, as they trust it will, by the experience of future years, it will be highly gratifying to the view which your Committee take of this important national concern. They are convinced that a reliance on foreign importation, to a large

amount, is neither salutary nor safe for this country to look to as a permanent system; and that many of the sacrifices and privations to which the people have been obliged to submit, during the late long and arduous contest, would have been materially alleviated if their means of subsistence had been less dependent on foreign growth. If, compelled by the frequent recurrence of those sacrifices and privations, the country has at last made exertions which will enable us, under ordinary circumstances, to hold ourselves independent of the precarious aid of foreign supply,—your Committee, without venturing to suggest the mode, cannot doubt that it will become the wisdom, and will consequently be the policy of Parliament, on the one hand, by protecting British agriculture, to maintain, if not to extend, the present scale of its exertions and produce; and on the other, consistently with this first object, to afford the greatest possible facility and inducement to the import of foreign corn, whenever, from adverse seasons, the stock of our own growth shall be found inadequate to the consumption of the United Kingdom. As connected with the general interests of trade, even independent of the great object of occasionally supplying our own wants, it is evident that this country possesses peculiar advantages for becoming a deposit for foreign corn. It can only be made so by our allowing the free import of grain, to be bonded and warehoused free from all duty, and as much as possible from local charges, or harassing regulations; and by the owners of grain so bonded being permitted, at all times, and under all circumstances, to take it out of the warehouses, either for exportation or for home consumption, subject, in the latter case, only to the same rules and duties as may be applicable to any other corn immediately entered for that purpose. Your Committee are so forcibly impressed with the importance of this measure, that they cannot conclude this Report without stating their opinion,—that any encouragement which could ensure to this country the benefit of becoming the place of intermediate deposit in the trade of corn from the North to the South of Europe, would, in addition to other very important advantages, have at all times a tendency to keep the price more steady in the home market, and to afford to the country a security, the best, perhaps, that, in the present increased state of our population, can be devised, against the effects of a deficient harvest.—July 26, 1814.

**THE POPE.**—No sooner have we got rid, according to the generally received opinion, of the most oppressive tyranny, in the Government of Napoleon, that ever existed on earth, than a new tyrant rears up his head, who does not only meditate the establishment of a despotic sway over the bodies, but actually professes it to be his in-

tention to subjugate the *minds* of the whole human race, to a spiritual domination. On the first view one takes of this subject, it excites surprise. We are apt to be astonished at the folly of an attempt, on the part of any Sovereign, to restore the barbarous usages and the superstitious rites of the dark ages. But when we reflect a little on the subject, we will find that there is nothing very extraordinary in this; that it is what was to be expected in the circumstances of the case. It is well known, that Pope Pius VII. is an old and infirm man, whose faculties must, in the course of nature, be considerably impaired. His long imprisonment, too, must have greatly accelerated that *infantile* state to which old age is almost uniformly subjected. In such circumstances, it can be no matter of surprise, that on so sudden and unexpected an elevation as what his has been, he should have fallen into the hands, and have become the dupe of a cunning and interested priesthood, who are ever on the watch to take advantage of public events, and of weak-minded Sovereigns, in order to forward their own ambitious projects. But this is not the only circumstance, in the case of Pius, that has led to the re-establishment of these monstrous institutions, and the avowal of those infamous principles, under which the Church of Rome formerly held the human mind in bondage. To this very country; to this *enlightened* age; to the *thinking*, the *reflecting*, the *intelligent* people of England, are to be ascribed, more than to any other cause, the melancholy, the gloomy, the degrading, and disgraceful change, that threatens to restore the empire of the clergy, by which the world was formerly, for so many centuries, plunged in midnight darkness.—Ever since a coalition was formed against France by the Allied Powers; ever since the authority of the Pope was disregarded by the Revolutionists of France, the cause of his Holiness was espoused by us as *the cause of God*. Instead of abusing him as the bigots and fanatics were in use to do; instead of loading him with the epithets of *Whore of Babylon*, *Scarlet Whore*, and *the Beast*, we regarded him as a *real servant of the Lord*. We applauded his resistance to the attempts which were made to curtail his power. We considered him the *opponent* of tyranny. We eulogised him as the *friend of humanity*. We extolled him as the *defender* of the people's rights.

We styled him a *true son of the Church*. We proclaimed his cause to be *the cause of heaven*, in which no monarch could refuse to take a part, without incurring the Divine displeasure. In short, had a *Crusade* been set on foot in favour of the Church of Rome, such was the attachment to, such the regard, and such the zeal, of the *thinking*, the *reflecting*, the *intelligent*, the *good*, and *pious*, people of this country for the interests of the Pope, that it was to be expected, an association, at least equal to that which reared its head against jacobinism, would have been formed here, and as much stood to obtain possession of the Roman See, as flowed in the frantic attempts to deliver the *Holy Land*, and rescue, from the polluted hands of the Saracens, the wood of the true cross, the sacred saviour, the Virgin's smock, the thorn of St. Paul, and the tail of Balaam's ass.—Can it be a matter of astonishment then, that the Holy Father, after such marked proofs were given by his *dear children* in this great empire, of their *entire devotion* to his cause, that he should not, under the sanction of such high authority, endeavour to resume the extensive influence over the consciences of men, that his predecessors held, and which they considered so essential to the glory of Christ's kingdom on earth? A much less reflecting man than Pope Pius is represented to be, at least, a less penetrating, and less cunning body, than we know his Cardinals and other clergy to be, could not have hesitated as to the part it was necessary to take in such favourable circumstances. The people of England—aye, the *wise* people of England, who *exult* in having effected the overthrow of Napoleon, yet have lent their assistance to bring an independent nation under the yoke of one of Napoleon's captains, and still boast of being able to re-colonize and enslave a whole Continent. These very people who talk so loud about liberty, about humanity, and about their exertions to *emancipate the human mind*, have encouraged, have given a stimulus to, and have sanctioned, all the late proceedings of the Roman Pontiff.—It is to Great Britain that mankind owe the re-establishment of the Inquisition, of the Jesuits, and the revival of all those Orders of Monks, of Friars, and of Nuns, which our forefathers were in use to regard as the most disgraceful and immoral of all institutions.—I have annexed to this article a new Edit of the Pope, by which he suppresses all

secret meetings, particularly *Freemason societies*. This measure is justified, in the preamble, upon the following grounds.—

“The mysterious operations which accompany the forms, the ceremonies, rituals, and oaths, to keep a secret at least suspicious, and especially the indiscriminate assembling of persons of every class and nation, whatever be their morals or religion—all these reasons must excite fair grounds of suspicion against the members of such associations, of designs not only against thrones, but even against religion, and especially against the Church of Jesus Christ, of which the Roman Pontiff has been constituted the head and guardian by its divine founder himself.”—I

do not know how the Princes and Nobles of this land, the greater part of whom are Freemasons, will feel at being told, that these associations, which they every where countenance and support, entertain “designs not only against thrones, but even against religion.” It must indeed be very humiliating to find themselves placed on a footing with the *regicides* and *levellers* of the French Revolution. They cannot but be indignant at the Holy Father for associating them with such bad company. But how are they to help themselves? It was the vile press which they countenanced and supported, that, at first, gave encouragement to the Pope. They may now try to wipe off the disgrace, by employing that same press as an engine against him. The canting and servile conductor of the *Times* newspaper, has, indeed, already attempted something of this nature. But as the supporters of corruption overshot the mark in this instance, as in every other, this writer, instead of acknowledging the manifest error he committed, in giving any countenance to this spiritual usurpation, now comes forward, not to reprobate it *in toto*, but merely to censure *partial* acts, certain *parts* of the Pontiff’s decrees, as detestable; when he must have been aware, that the moment the Pope was permitted to re-assume his former power, every edict which he promulgated would be hostile, *in all its parts*, to liberty, and to the happiness of man. The object of the Roman clergy is to bring every one under the sway of the Pope. It is not *half* measures they employ, to accomplish this, as ecclesiastical history sufficiently demonstrates. It was the height of folly, therefore, to expect, that his Holiness would make any regulation a matter

of conscience, or consider any edict *detestable*, which he, and his holy conclave of Cardinals, considered necessary to the re-establishment of their power. If it is now intended to oppose a barrier to the daring encroachments of the Church of Rome; if people’s eyes are really beginning to open to the danger which threatens them; and if they are desirous to maintain that footing which they now possess; they must not content themselves with merely attempting to lop off a branch from the *poisoned tree*; they must *lay the axe to the root*; otherwise it will become more luxuriant by pruning, and finally prove too formidable for any attempts to overthrow it.

#### *The Pope’s Decree against Freemasons.*

ROME, AUG. 20.—Cardinal Pacca, Pro-Secretary of State, has published an Edict which prohibits all secret meetings, and especially those of *Freemasons*. The following are its principal articles.—

1. In conformity to the edicts of Clement XII. and Benedict XIV. which pronounce excommunication, *ipso facto*, against all members of secret Societies, and particularly of that of *Freemasons*, every inhabitant of Rome, or any other part of the Roman States, is forbidden to continue, to re-establish, or to institute, what are called *Freemason Societies*, or any similar meetings, under whatever name.

2. They are forbidden to be even once present at any of these meetings, or to induce any persons to join them. This prohibition extends to all Roman subjects holding any connection, immediate or remote, with such Societies out of the States of the Sovereign Pontiff.

3. No one is permitted to have or retain in his possession any deeds, seals, emblems, statutes, patents, or any thing else relating to the acts of such assemblies.

4. Whoever shall know that any such Societies still continue to be held, shall be under obligation immediately to give information thereof to the Governor of Rome, the Commandants of Provinces, or the Apostolic Delegates; and they may be assured their names shall be kept inviolably secret. The penalties they may have incurred, as accomplices or adherents, shall be remitted, and they shall receive a pecuniary reward at the expense of the delinquents, whenever they can produce sufficient proof of their charges. His Holiness wishes that all should be aware that there is nothing either unbecoming or dishonourable in such denunciations, which are important equally to the interests of the Faith and the State. In consequence, every oath of an opposite nature must be considered only as a bond of iniquity, which leaves the contrary duty in full force.

5. The penalties against the transgressors of this Edict, according to the nature and circumstances of the offence, shall be corporal, and even very severe, including partial or even entire confiscation of property, moveable or immoveable, of which the judges and other agents of tribunals, who may have effectually contributed to the discovery and prosecution of the guilty, shall obtain a portion.

8. All the palaces, town or country houses, and buildings, in which these as-embles or lodges (as they are called) may meet, as soon as legal proof is thereof obtained, shall be confiscated, saving to proprietors who shall prove that the meetings took place without their knowledge, indemnity at the expense of the aggregate property of the offenders.

Since the above was sent to press, the following violent philippic against the Pope's Edict, and the Inquisition, has been put forth by the *Courier*:—"This odious policy in the Roman Pontiff, and the more detestable measure to which Ferdinand has had recourse in Spain of restoring the Inquisition, afford us but melancholy presages and prospects. They seem to be founded upon a principle of suspicion of the people whom these respective Potentates govern, and may tend (God send we may be disappointed) to re-produce those miseries from which Europe, by the immediate interposition of Divine Providence, has just escaped. As to the Societies of Freemasons, we thought all the nonsense of the Abbe Barreul about them had long since been consigned to 'the family vault of all the Catholics.'—We venture to assert, without the fear of contradiction, that order and good government have in no country in the world been disturbed by the Societies of Freemasons—disturbed is too cold a phrase—we will go further, and maintain that good Government and the laws are under infinite obligations to these Societies. Their doctrines are all peaceful, all benevolent—their principles are founded upon the purest Christianity—their practice, like the good Samaritan, is to bind up the wounds of the afflicted, to comfort and help the weak-hearted, and to raise up them that are fallen: 'their device is: Peace on earth, good will to men.' Such are the Societies which the head of the Catholic Church thinks it necessary to religion and to morality to reprobate and prohibit: and this is the Church whose doctrines have so fascinated many of our politicians, that they wish to engrave them upon the British Constitution. As to the restoration of the Inquisition, we are told that it had

"fallen into disuse before the French Revolution—and that its restoration is perfectly harmless. This is idle talk. Why restore it at all? Because those who have restored it, do not mean it should be innocuous or inactive. But these and all similar measures fail of producing that security which a short-sighted policy promises itself. May those who have adopted them see their error soon, it must be soon, or the consequences may be fatal."—Softly, Mr. *Courier*—Softly, if you please. All this fine-spun declamation might have answered very well, if you had been guiltless of the crime of preaching up the restoration of the Holy Father to his former plenitude of power. It would have been very proper language, such as would have done you credit; what would have been perfectly consistent, had you not been found amongst the first, and the most zealous, to excite a holy war in favour of the Pope. Nothing would satisfy you but the overthrow of Napoleon; nothing would please you but the termination of his "odious tyranny," and you hesitated at no means to accomplish this. Your eulogies of the Roman Pontiff, whom you affected to commiserate as "an innocent victim of the Corsican's cruelty," was one of the stratagems which you, and your detestable imitators, employed to accomplish his fall. Now that Napoleon is fallen, you begin to anticipate the consequences of this, and of your blind policy. I am not displeased that events, which any prudent man might have foreseen, are likely to excite terror and alarm where it only ought to be excited. But if you, or any of your coadjutors, expect to obtain credit, for now seeming to disapprove of what you formerly so strenuously recommended, you will find yourselves greatly mistaken. Notwithstanding your present fears, I have little doubt, if you were again placed in circumstances similar to those which led you to preach up the destruction of Napoleon, you would not only avail yourself of the aid of the Pope, but of the Devil himself; if you thought his Satanic Majesty would consent to the alliance.

## SUMMARY OF POLITICS.

**AMERICAN WAR.**—When the French war was closed, in a manner so satisfactory to those who had been its most strenuous advocates, they, nevertheless, perceived the want of a *war*, with some body or other, as being absolutely necessary to the support of that system on which they lived, and which a long war had introduced, and, in some sort, established. It was curious to observe the effect which the peace had upon this description of persons. They *mourned* in their hearts at the success of the projects of the Government. They had been, for years, reviling Napoleon; they had been cursing all those who did not join them in those revilings; and yet they *lamented his fall*. In short, they, as I once before observed, found themselves in that sort of state which our Reverend Divines would find themselves in, if my worthy friend, Mr. Fordham, were to succeed in his strenuous, but, I trust, fruitless, endeavours to persuade the good people of England that there is no such being as the DEVIL.—There were, at the close of the French war, thousands upon thousands who dreaded the effects of peace; who, in fact, were likely to be almost starved, literally starved, by that event.—To these persons, a very numerous and very busy and noisy impudent class, any thing that would keep up the expences of war was hailed with joy; and, as the American war was the only source of hope, in this respect, the outcry was, at once, transferred from Napoleon to Mr. Madison, who now became the devil; the man of sin, against whom it was necessary for this *chosen* and *pious* nation to wage war. —Unluckily for the cause of peace, the corn in England had become cheap during the last half year of the war; and all that numerous and powerful class who derive their incomes from the land, whether as landlords, tenants, or tytho-owners, began to cry out against the effects of peace. With them the American war was better than no war at all. They did not consider what *burdens of taxes* this war would cause. That was quite out of the

question.—The whole nation, with the exception of the few remaining *jacobsins*, went “*ding-dong*” to work “to give the Yankees a good *heartly drubbing*.”—Things are, however, now somewhat changed. The Kings are gone; the wisecracks have had their feasting and rejoicings; the *drunk* is over, and nothing but the noisome fumes left. The people, who appeared to exult at the peace, now seem to wonder why they did so. The nation, after the departure of Kings and their generals, and after the *glorious sights* in the parks at London, seems to resemble a battered old hag, who, in the morning after a rout, sits gaping and yawning, sick of the world and of herself.—Every thing is *dull*; and all appears to be changed for the *worse*; the farmer cannot sell his corn at a price proportioned to his outgoings; the French send us all sorts of produce, down even to garden-stuff and eggs, at half the price at which we can raise them. The farmer cries out at this; the shop-keeper and tradesman revile the farmer and landholder; they rejoice to see them brought down, and at the same time complain that *their own* business falls off; forgetting that this is the natural consequence of the bringing down of the farmer and landowner.—Those who have fixed incomes, and those who carry on no business of profit, those, in short, who are not compelled to remain in the country in order to get their livings, a very great portion of these have quitted the kingdom, and have gone to avoid taxes, and to purchase cheap bread and meat upon the Continent.—This has proved a dreadful stroke to all that part of trade which depended upon luxury, and what is worse, the evil is daily and hourly increasing; for, one tells another; one, who has lived in France a *month* for what would have been required to support him here a *week*, tells the news to his relations and friends. A quartern loaf for three pence, a pound of beef for three halfpence, a fowl for four pence, a turkey for two shillings, a bottle of wine for six pence. What news for an Englishman, who is a family, who lives what is called *his*

means, and who, with a thousand a year, is really in a situation to carry a coachman or a footman! No income tax to pay, no assessed tax to pay, no excise to enter your house when he pleases, no tithe of the produce of your meadow and garden, and pig-stye and hen-roost. What news for an Englishman, who, with the outside of a gentleman, lies in constant dread of the tax-gatherer! No poor rates to pay. Nobody who has authority to make you give part of your property to support those who, perhaps, are really less in want than you. What news for the poor Englishman, who is eternally called upon for money by the overseer and churchwarden!—In short, what an escape from expenses and cares! No man here can tell on what day, or at what hour, he will be called upon by the Government agents for a sum of money, and it is only in certain cases that any man can guess at the amount of the next sum that he will be compelled to pay. What a relief to be at once out of the reach of all such demands!—This, together with the cheapness of living in France, cause people to emigrate to that and the neighbouring countries; while all foreigners, of course, have quitted England for their native countries. Those who cannot migrate have all the taxes to pay, while great part of their sources of payment are gone. Thus, that peace, that overthrew Napoleon, which was to bring us a compensation for all our sacrifices, has really made our situation worse, seeing that, in this AMERICAN WAR, we have a ground for continuing all the taxes, while the peace with France has taken from us half the means of paying them.—Amongst those who wished for the overthrow of Napoleon, were those who had to pay ten per cent. out of their fixed incomes to support the war against him. Oh! said they, let him, let that cause of the war be put down, and then the tax on us will cease.—He is put down. He has been put down many months. The tax has not ceased, and, if it cease, some other tax, of equal weight, must be imposed in its room—or, if this be not done, the American war must cease; and that, too, without giving the Yankees a hearty drubbing, for, up to this time, they have rather been drubbing us, which is a most lamentable fact to go down to posterity.—To be sure, we have, if report be true, given it them upon the *Serpentine River*, where the British *Payal* flag was, every where seen,

flying over the American flag reversed. But, say the Yankee readers, what does this *Serpentine River* mean? What is the history of this achievement, so glorious to Old England and her wooden walls?—I will tell them. The Regent, in the name and behalf of our "good old King, God bless him," as they say in their toasts at the City feasts; the Regent, in order at once to amuse and instruct the people of the metropolis, caused, at the expense of the peace, fleets in miniature to be set on float on a piece of water, in a park near London, called Hyde Park. The piece of water spreads, perhaps, over a space equal to about eight or ten acres. Here the English fleet performed wonders against the Americans, whose frigates they sometimes sunk, sometimes burnt, sometimes destroyed, and sometimes captured. There were some *hot* fights; but our tars always, in the end, overcame the Yankee dogs, and, at the close of the day, the Yankee flag was seen flying reversed, under the English, in token of the defeat and disgrace of the former.—But, this was not the only instance, in which the Yankees were beaten and disgraced. In Portsmouth harbour, a few days before the Continental Kings visited that port, I saw the Yankee flag flying reversed under the English on board of several ships. The Regent, as I understood, came to Portsmouth that very night. How pleasing it must have been to his Royal Highness to behold such a sight!—The spectators were in raptures at it. They shouted again, and, for the moment, seemed to forget even the taxes.—Well, then, who has any ground of complaint? The Government cannot obtain for us the reality of what was here exhibited in *vision*, without collecting from us the taxes necessary to support and carry on the war; and until we petition against this American war, we can have no reason whatever to complain of the taxes. The question of *justice*, or of *injustice*, seems to have been wholly laid aside, for some time past. The griving of a hearty drubbing to the insolent Yankees has supplied the place of all such topics. But, I do not know how it has happened, there are people, who now begin to ask, *why* we are still at war?—I will, therefore, once more state the grounds of the present war with America, in as clear a manner as I can consistent with brevity.—In 1810, and on to 1812, there existed two subjects of complaint on the part of the



Americans against us. They complained, that, in virtue of certain *Orders of Council* issued by us, we violated their neutral rights; and also, that we were guilty of gross attack upon their independence, by stopping their merchant vessels *at sea*, and taking out of them *persons*, under pretence of their being British subjects.—The Orders of Council were repealed in 1812 and; therefore, that ground of complaint then ceased. But the other ground of complaint still existed. We continued to take *persons* out of their ships; and upon that ground, after divers remonstrances, they declared war against us.—I ought here to stop to observe, that a great error was adopted by the nation at the time when the Orders of Council were repealed. It was said in Parliament, and believed by the nation, that; if the Order in Council were repealed, all would be well and that a settlement of all difference with America would immediately follow.—This assertion I contradicted at the time knowing that it would prove to be false because the Congress had repeatedly declared, that they never would yield the point of *impressment*, that being the term which they gave to the forcible seizure of *persons* on board their ships *on the high seas*. The minister, Perceval, opposed the repeal of the Orders in Council as long as he could, alledging, as one objection to it, that it would not satisfy the Americans and prevent war. The advocates of the repeal insisted that it would satisfy the Americans; and, as a proof of the sincerity of this their opinion, they *pledged* themselves, that, in case the repeal did not satisfy America, they would support the war against her with all their might.—This pledge obtained, the minister had no opposition to fear, within doors or without; for the Opposition were pledged to support the war, and their prints became, of course, pledged along with them. The people were led to believe, that it was only the Council Orders that had formed the ground of complaint with America; and, when they still found, that she persevered in the war after the repeal of those Orders, they set up a charge of treachery and breach of faith against her.—This error, which originated in the desire of the Opposition to beat the minister, has produced much mischief. It obtained favour to the war at first; and, things taking a lucky turn upon the Continent, all idea of dread of America vanished, and nothing was thought of but

punishing her for her insolence.—But still her great subject of complaint existed. She went to war on *that* ground; and, therefore, let us now see what that ground really was.—It is well known, that, whether in language, manners, or person, it is very difficult, if not quite impossible in most cases, to distinguish an American from a native of England. We alledged, that the American merchant captains sailed with English sailors on board their ships, some of them deserters from the English navy; and that, as the American ships were very numerous, and frequently sailed from ports where English men of war lay, such harbouring of our seamen became dangerous to the very existence of our naval force; and, of course, put our national safety in jeopardy.—Upon these grounds we adopted a remedy, which was to authorize the commanders of our ships of war, to stop American vessels *at sea*, and to impress out of them all persons *appearing to them* to be British subjects.—The Americans alledged, that, in virtue of this authority, our officers impressed out of their ships *many thousands of native Americans*, forced them on board of our ships of war, compelled them to fight against nations at peace with America, and in a service and cause which they abhorred, took them into distant climates, exposed them to danger and to death, ruined their prospects in life, and filled America with distressed parents, wives and children.—That this was the case, in *numerous instances*, our Government has never denied. Indeed they could not; for a great number of persons, native Americans, so impressed, were, at different times, released by the Admiralty, on the demand of the American Consul in England.—But it must have followed of necessity, that many, borne away into battle or into distant seas, would never find the means of obtaining their release; and, indeed, it is well known, that many lost their limbs and many their lives in our service, subjected to the discipline of our navy.—Those, who are for giving the Yankees a good hearty rubbing, will hardly be disposed to feel much for the fathers and mothers thus bereft of their sons, or for the wives and children thus bereft of their fathers. But, can assume them, as I assented the Prince Regent in 1812, that the people of America set very acutely upon the subject; that the newspaper of that country were filled with their remonstrances, and with their cries for



vengeance.—The American Government remonstrated with ours, it besought our Government to desist from this practice, which it asserted to be a violation of the known law of nations, an outrageous insult to America as an Independent State, and an aggression, in short, which the American nation was resolved to resent.—Our Government asserted, that it had a right to the service of its own sailors, that the danger to our very existence was so great, that the practice could not be given up; that if American citizens were taken by mistake, they were sorry for it, and would give them when demanded by their Government; but that the practice was of vital importance; for, that without it, our navy would be ruined.—This last argument has, indeed, always been the main one with those who have justified the practice of impressment. The American Government, in answer to this, said, 'We do not want your seamen; we would rather that they were never taken to serve on board of American ships; we want none but our own seamen, leaving you yours.—But, if it be really true, that your seamen have so great a partiality for our service and our country as to quit you, or, as to be disposed to quit you, in numbers so great as to endanger your very existence as a nation; if this be really so, it is no fault of ours. We cannot help their preferring our ships and country to yours, any more than a pretty girl can help the young men liking her better than they like her ugly companions. The fault is in their want of taste, perhaps; but, at any rate, the fault cannot be ours.—Therefore, you have no reason to complain of us, nor have you any right to interrupt our commercial pursuits, under pretence of recovering those whom you call your subjects. There are, perhaps, a few scoundrels who have a taste for your money. Keep them, in God's name. We never do, and never will, attempt to impress them from on board your ships; and, indeed, we have no right so to do, such a practice being without a single precedent in the whole list of writings on public law, and in all the long history of maritime nations.'—This was the substance of the language of the American Government. But they did not stop at asserting, that we had no right to do what we did. They said further, 'Nevertheless, in order to convince you of our sincere desire not to employ your seamen, we will

do much more than strict right calls upon us to do.—We think it strange, passing strange, that the Jack Tars of England, the jolly, sincere, brave, faithful, patriotic, and loyal sons of Neptune, to whom that Detsy has so long delegated his trident, and who are, as we learn from all your national sayings and sayings, so firmly attached to their beloved King and his family; we think it passing strange, that these admirable and single-hearted persons should be disposed to leave your glorious fleet, and to flock to our poor Yankee service, and, we cannot but believe, that some evil minded people have calumniated your honest, jolly Jack Tars, when they have persuaded you to believe, that the impressment of the jolly Jacks from on board of our Xai kee ships is necessary to the existence of your navy. However, supposing this really to be the case, we are willing, for the sake of peace, to provide an effectual remedy.'—They then made these propositions.—That, wherever an American ship was in any port, no matter in what country, any person, authorised by our Government, might go to any civil Magistrate of the port or town, and demand to have surrendered to him any man out of the American ship, upon the allegation of his being a British subject; and that, if the Civil Magistrate, upon hearing the parties, should determine in favour of the claimant, the man should, at once, be surrendered to him, though such Magistrate should be one of our own Justices of the Peace, either in England, or in any of our Colonies.—And, further, in order most effectually to prevent any British subject from being even received on board an American ship as a sailor, the American Government offered to pass an Act, imposing a very heavy pecuniary penalty (so high, I believe, as a thousand dollars,) on every Master of an American ship, who should engage a British subject to serve on board his ship; so that any such person, so engaged, would have had nothing to do but to give information, and receive, I believe, 700 dollars out of the thousand.—With this regulation, and this penal enactment, it appears to me, that it would have been impossible for any number of our countrymen to have served in the American ships.—Reader, can you imagine any way by which the American Government could have more fully proved its sincere desire not to injure England by affording a place of refuge to English sailors?—If you can,

state it; if you cannot, I must leave you to discover, *why* these offers were not accepted, and *why* this war was not avoided.—But, supposing these offers not to have been satisfactory, *why* are we not at peace now? The peace in Europe put an end to the *cause* of the dispute.—Our sailors could no longer desert to American ships, when they were discharged from their own. The peace in Europe put an end to the quarrel, as naturally as the cessation of a shower puts an end to the quarrel of two persons who are contending for the shelter of a pent-house. We had nothing to do but to make a treaty of peace, and say nothing more about the *impressment of seamen*. If the Americans were willing to do this, I am at a loss to discover how the continuance of the war is to be justified.—I am aware, indeed, that it has been strongly inculcated in the *Times*, and other newspapers, that we ought *now, now, now*, while all goes on so smoothly; now, when the tide is with us, to *crush America for ever*, to *clip her wings for a century*, to annihilate her means of forming a navy to be our rival on the ocean.—Alas! if this be the project, it is not America that we are at war with; it is nature herself, in whose immutable decrees it is written, that no such project shall succeed.—We must, to effect this famous project, annihilate her woods, her waters, and her lands; and though our Parliament has been called *omnipotent*, its omnipotence is not of that sort, which is requisite for such an undertaking. It can do what it pleases with us in these islands; but it cannot reach across the Atlantic, except by its fleets and armies; except by means of the same port, which are there opposed to it. Here it is omnipotent, because here is no power to resist it; but there, a power exists in open defiance of it. Therefore, it cannot there do what it pleases.—It is impossible to say what exploits our armies and navies may perform in America. I shall leave the military and naval operations to time, the great trier of all things. But, certain it is, that the gentry, who were so hot for the drubbing, begin to be very impatient. The war, in their view of the matter, appears to *languish*. Little or no blood is drawn. We hear of no fine towns demolished; none of those fatal things, the manufactories of woollens and cottons, have been destroyed; there are still American public ships of war afloat, and more building; and, as to the private

ships of war, they swarm even upon the coasts of the "*Mother Country*," to the great vexation of the *Mornicle Chronicle*, who calls them "*insolent marauders*."—Oh! insolent dogs! come into our own Channel, and almost into our ports! Come three thousand miles to insult their natural mother! I wonder they are not afraid of being destroyed by the "*British thunder*." But, Mr. Perry, why make use of inapplicable terms? A *marauder* means one that goes to seek plunder, *unlawfully*; and if he be detected, he is generally hanged. Whereas these privateers from America come with *commissions on board*. They are fully authorised by the laws of their own country to do what they do; and even if we chance to capture them, we can treat their crews only as *prisoners of war*.—Perhaps Mr. Perry, or his Editor, thinks that we ought to be allowed to destroy American towns; and to lay waste the country without any opposition, or any acts of retaliation. It is not "*insolent*" in us to threaten to reduce the Americans to "*unconditional submission*." It is not insolent in us to say, in our public prints, and under the form of a speech in Parliament by one of the Lords of the Admiralty, that Mr. Madison is to be *deposed*. In us all this is allowable, and even praiseworthy.—This, however, is not the way to put an end to the war.—The dilemma, in which the foes of freedom are placed, is one of great difficulty.—America is the very hot bed of freedom. While the people in that country retain their liberties; that is to say, while that country remains unsubdued, despotism, under whatever name she may disguise herself, is never safe; and, if peace takes place with America, not only will she instantly start, with enormous advantages, in the race of manufactures and commerce, but millions of men and of money will flock to her from Europe, whom her example will soon again shake to the centre. On the other hand, if the war be persevered in against her, all our taxes must be continued, and loans must annually be made.—Which our statesmen will prefer, it would be great presumption in me to attempt to predict; and, therefore, I shall, for the present, leave the subject with just observing, that those who are still for giving the Yankees a *drubbing*, ought to receive the tax-gatherer with open arms, and greet him with an almost holy kiss.

POLAND.—The restoration of this devoted country to its former rank in the scale of nations, is much talked of as a circumstance which will occupy a considerable degree of attention at the ensuing Congress. The *Courier* seems disposed to throw a damp on the expectations of those who cherish the idea, that Polish independence is about to be recognised; while the *Times* "are happy to perceive that the idea of re-establishing the kingdom of Poland appears daily to gain ground."—This latter opinion is founded on the supposition, that the Emperor Alexander, is of himself able, and already inclined, to effect this object. That of the *Courier* rests upon the idea, that Austria will not consent to the measure. "The restoration of the kingdom of Poland," says that Journal, "is spoken of with confidence; but this is another of the measures that will meet with decided opposition on the part of Austria." Those who expect much cordiality between Russia and Austria at the Congress will find themselves disappointed."—Of all the causes of pretended meditated hostility, said to exist on the part of the Continental Powers, it appears to me somewhat probable, if a speedy rupture ought at all to be apprehended, that the settlement of the affairs of Poland is the most likely of any to occasion this. There is something so peculiar in the character of Alexander; something so romantic in this Prince's conduct, that one cannot help entertaining the hope, he will listen to the loud and reiterated calls of the Poles, to be acknowledged an Independent State. Besides, the Court of St. Petersburg cannot be blind to the vast security which the establishment of a kingdom, like Poland, on its frontier, would give to its extended empire. Had Alexander adopted this policy before he unsheathed the sword against France, Moscow would have been saved, and the French armies never would have menaced the overthrow of the Czar, even in the Russian capital itself.—Can Alexander; can the Members of his House; can his Ministers, be insensible to the danger which thus threatened them? Is it surprising, nay, is it not extremely natural, that they should be anxious to provide against the recurrence of so great an evil? It cannot be supposed, that Austria will show much opposition to such an arrangement, if she is disposed at all to convert the security and safety of her neighbours.—

Francis, it is said, will be indemnified in Italy for what he may give up in Poland. But will the Italian States submit to this? Much dissatisfaction has, we have been told, appeared of late in that quarter, from an apprehension as to their future destiny. Will the Court of Vienna, in these circumstances, risk a contest in Italy, in endeavouring to annex new territory to its dominions? Or will it rather prefer a war with Russia to secure what it has, for so long a period, possessed in Poland? These are questions, it must be confessed, not easy of solution, and which, in my apprehension, give some degree of probability to what is said in the *Courier*, that Austria may seriously oppose the restoration of the kingdom of Poland. There is another circumstance, which tends greatly to shew that apprehensions have been entertained, that the supposed views of Russia to the independence of Poland might probably lead to a new contest. Dombrowski, the Polish Commander, in general order lately addressed to his army, plainly intimated, that it was necessary *they should again take up arms*. Why this necessity, if danger was not anticipated in some quarter? Why call upon the Polish soldiers to prepare for battle, if no encroachment was meditated upon their territory? The Poles themselves seem, at this time, to have been ignorant as to the fate that awaited them. They therefore declared it to be their determination not to take up arms, unless in defence of their own rights. The answer which the Polish Officers returned on this occasion to the call of their Chief, is a most interesting document. It was dated the 10th ult. and the following are its contents.—"General—You call upon us again to be ready for war. Formerly the youth of our country, invited, took up arms to conquer the rights of the kingdom of our forefathers. We have shed our blood for almost all nations; they deluded us with expectations, and the blood we have shed has produced no advantage, except to the adventurers who aimed only at promoting their own ends. The remembrance of all our endeavours, which seem to have been in vain, tear open afresh the honourable wounds we have received in the service of our country. There is no Pole who does not think with tears on the present occurrences in the world. All Monarchs are endeavouring to give back to Europe general peace, its rights, and the

"balance of power. "All nations expect from the attainment of this great object "a durable peace. Poland alone has "hitherto had no share in the general joy, "to which, however, she claims a right. "We Poles, who have given to other nations an example, how one ought to fight for one's rights and independence, for main enigmas to the whole of Europe, "all are full of joy at the new life they have received; but no single nation attends to the justice of our cause. "Unhappy Brethren! we alone return to our mournful homes, deserted by hope, "as if all nations intended to cover the wrongs we have endured, and the splendour of our ancient glory, with the veil of oblivion. What torture can be compared with this? Why does the Angel of Peace, who formerly opened upon us such cheerful prospects, delay to declare more loudly in favour of our cause, that he may crown all his great deeds, and not give us alone reason to lament the establishment of a general peace. Explain to us, General, what your measure means, and why we must take up arms? Shall we not spare our bleeding hearts, when we arm for a war, the object of which is unknown to us? Ask the Conqueror in our name, what he requires of us? We are in his power, but our country alone can demand our blood. As soon as he insures to us this country, we will take up arms for it, and for its generous Protector. Duty and gratitude will then double our courage and our national spirit; but without this assistance we shall not arm. We declare this, and are ready rather to submit to the hardest necessity, to endure the fate of prisoners of war, than to act unworthy of ourselves and of you. Such are our sentiments, our confidence—the national spirit, to which we are resolved to remain faithful." It is more than probable that this eloquent and impressive appeal, has had the effect it was calculated to produce upon the mind of Alexander, and determined him in favour of Polish independence. If this should be the fact, there is no one more desirous than I am of seeing that injured nation once more restored to something like what may be called, her natural rights. Alexander may then have some claim to the title of *Liberator*; it may then be acknowledged that, in some degree, he merited the appellation of "benefactor of the human race."—But if Austria should oppose

this. If, more desirous of her own aggrandizement than the independence of nations, she should again plunge Europe into another war, in support of her claims of territorial acquisitions in Poland, I do not think it could long remain a doubt, that such procedure would be contrary to justice, and completely subversive of those principles so recently avowed by the Emperor Francis, when he marched his troops into France; when he united with the other Allied Powers in declaring, that they were the enemies only of tyrants—the assertors of the people's rights. But why need we speak of justice, with the case of Norway before our eyes? Where look for respect of the people's rights, when we recollect the total disregard of all justice, of all right, and even of mercy itself, in the final partitioning of Poland, in the year 1793, by Catherine of Russia, by Leopold of Germany, and by Frederick William the Second? The subjugation of the Norwegians to a foreign yoke, is an event we have all witnessed. The overthrow of Polish independence is more remote. It may, therefore, be useful to recall to our recollection the leading features of that horrible transaction. Well may the Polish people say, that the remembrance of their sufferings "opens afresh the honourable wounds we received in the service of our country," for such sufferings as they then endured are unparalleled in history. Let us hope, while the Sovereigns who now fill the thrones of Russia, Austria, and Prussia, are congratulating themselves on having had no participation in this dreadful outrage, that a recollection of what took place on that awful occasion may soften their hearts, and lead them to forget their own interests, in their anxious desire to atone for the incalculable injuries done to the gallant and unfortunate Poles.—The existence of the treaty of Pavia, called the "Partition Treaty," by which the fate of Poland was determined, is a subject of dispute amongst politicians. Subsequent events however shew, that, whether the dismemberment of that country was settled at Pillnitz, or at Pavia, the three great Powers who participated in the spoil had previously agreed on this, in one diplomatic form or another. Early in 1791 the King of Prussia, in a Note presented by his Minister at Warsaw to the Polish Diet, stated, "that his Prussian Majesty fully approved of the Revolution in Poland, and guaranteed its Constitution."—In the year

1793, the same Monarch, on marching his troops into Poland, issued a declaration, in which he said, that "the Revolution of 1791 was effected *without the knowledge* of the friendly Powers, and that owing to the Jacobinical proceedings of the *so-called* patriots, he must, for his own safety, march an army into great Poland."—After giving so striking a proof of bad faith, it is no way surprising to find the Magistrates of Dantzic committed to prison, by the leaders of the Russian troops, because they refused to sign an act of renunciation in favour of the invaders of their liberties.—It was in vain that the Polish Government entered their protest against these iniquitous proceedings.—It was in vain that they solicited the interference of the Courts of Vienna and St Petersburg. It was in vain that they appealed to all the Governments of Europe, and called upon them to resent so "manifest a violation of the rights of nations." A Manifesto of Catharine soon laid open the schemes of plunder and ambition, by which the integrity of Poland was no longer to be respected. Russia, Austria, and Prussia had agreed to partition its territory, and therefore it was in vain for the Poles to resist. The other Powers of Europe offered no assistance. They stood by as unconcerned spectators, and sanctioned, by their silence, this unprincipled attack upon the independence of nations.—The bayonet put an end to all opposition, and the Polish Diet, surrounded in their Hall of meeting by a Russian army, were compelled to subscribe to the conditions of a treaty, which transferred their country to a foreign yoke.—A bold effort was afterwards made by the celebrated Kosciuszko, and a band of real patriots, to deliver their country from this degraded state. At first success crowned the efforts of this gallant and patriotic Chief, and he saw himself in possession of Warsaw, after defeating the invaders in every quarter. Want of sufficient force, however, to oppose the immense legions that were pouring in from all quarters, rendered his efforts useless. While cheering his troops in the field of battle, and exciting them, by deeds of personal valour, to most extraordinary displays of courage, Kosciuszko fell, and with him fell the liberties of Poland. The suburbs of Warsaw were carried by storm, and when it is recollected, that the assailants were led on by Suwarrow, it will not astonish any one, however much it may occasion horror and

disgust, that no less than ten thousand Polish soldiers, who had so nobly defended their country, were put to death after they had surrendered themselves prisoners of war! But the bloody scene did not terminate here. The whole inhabitants of Warsaw, amounting to nearly 20,000, were butchered by these ferocious barbarians, without any regard to age or sex, and when they had satiated their savage thirst for blood, they sought for farther gratification to their revenge, in burning the dwelling houses of the wretched inhabitants!! Warsaw thus rendered a dreary waste, it only remained to sanctify the deed by a *Te Deum*, which Suwarrow chaunted, with the utmost fervour, to the God of *Mercy*, only two days after the massacres of Praga had been completed!!! Such, in a few words, are the circumstances that led to the extinction of Polish independence. It was an outrage, characterised by every feature but that of respect for justice, or the rights of nations. It was an outrage against the most sacred duties of that religion, under which it was attempted to cover the guilt of the inhuman perpetrators, and to mock the Majesty of Heaven; and it left a stigma upon the names of the principal actors in this bloody catastrophe, which the elapse of time can never eradicate. If Alexander of Russia wishes to present to posterity a memorable example of magnanimity, he will, in good earnest, set about the emancipation of a people who were treated in so meretricious a manner by his country. He will not lend a deaf ear to the calls of the injured Poles, who ask the conqueror what he requires of them, but he will justly appreciate the value of the declaration, that, as soon as he guarantees (not such a guarantee, however, as was formerly given by Prussia) the independence of Poland, the gallant, but oppressed, natives of that country "will take up arms for it, and for its generous protector. Duty and gratitude will then double their courage and their national spirit."—Although acting a part like this could be no atonement for the wrongs of Poland, it would go far to banish them from the memory; it would revive the drooping spirits of its inhabitants, and it would give them a taste of that "general joy" consequent on the return of peace, of the want of which they so justly complain, and in which, from the conspicuous part they filled in the late contest, they are as much entitled to a share as any of the Belligerents.

## THE POPE.

MR. CORNELL.—In my last I proposed to give you some account of the rise of the Pope, and the insolent and arrogant domination which the Roman See has uniformly exercised over those kings and people, who were so infatuated as to acknowledge the supreme authority of its intolerant sway. Having concluded my former letter with an extract from a recently published work, which, as I there stated, has been suppressed by the strong arm of the law, I find I cannot do better than commence this by giving you the sentiments of the same writer on the origin of the Papal power. After a rapid, but clear, sketch of the legends and contentions of the doctors of the church, which disgrace the early part of its history; and after explaining the motives which led Constantine the Great to attach the bishops to his party, our author proceeds thus:—"By this political revolution, so favourable to the clergy, the *humble* chiefs of the Christian who hitherto had reigned only in secret, and without éclat, sprang out of the dust, and became men of importance. Seconded by a very despotic Emperor, whose interests were linked with theirs, they very soon employed their credit to avenge their injuries, and return to their enemies, with usury, the evils which they had received. The unexpected change in the fortunes of the Christians, made them soon forget the mild and tolerant maxims of their legislator. They conceived that these maxims, made for wretches destitute of power, could no longer suit men supported by Sovereigns: they attacked the temples and gods of Paganism; their worshippers were expelled from places of trust; and the master lavished his favors on those only who condescended to think like him, and justify his change by imitating it. Hitherto the Christian sect, spread throughout the empire, had been governed by bishops or chiefs, independent of each other, and perfectly equal as to jurisdiction. This made the church an aristocratical republic; but its government soon became monarchical and even despotic. The respect which was always entertained for Rome, the capital of the world, seemed to give a kind of superiority to the bishop, or spiritual head, of the Christians established there.—His brethren, therefore, frequently shewed a deference to him, and occasionally consulted him. Nothing more was wanting to the ambition of the bishops of Rome, or to ad-

vance the right they arrogated of judging their brethren, and incite them to declare themselves the monarchs of the Christian church. A very apocryphal tradition had made St. Peter travel to Rome\*, and find also made the chief of the apostles establish his See in that city. The Roman bishop, therefore, pretended to have succeeded to the rights of Simon Peter, to whom Jesus, in the Gospel, had entrusted more particularly the care of feeding his sheep. He accordingly assumed the pompous titles of *successor of St. Peter, Universal Bishop, and Vicar of Jesus Christ*. It is true, these titles were often contested with him by the oriental bishops, too proud to bow willingly under the yoke of their brethren; but by degrees, through dint of artifices, intrigues, and frequently violence, those who enjoyed the See of Rome, ever prosecuting their project with ardor, succeeded in getting themselves acknowledged in the west, as the heads of the Christian church. Phiant and submissive at first, to Sovereigns, whose power they dreaded, they soon mounted on their shoulders, and trampled them under their feet, when they saw themselves certain of then power over the minds of devotees, rendered frantic by superstition. Then, indeed, they threw off the mask; gave to nations the signal of revolt; incited Christians to their mutual destruction; and precipitated Kings from their thrones. To support their pride, they shed oceans of blood; they made weak princes the vile sport of their passions—sometimes their victims, and sometimes their expeditionists. Sovereigns, become their vassals, executed, with fear and trembling, the decrees of Heaven pronounced against the enemies of the holy See, which had created itself the arbiter of faith. In fact, these inhuman Pontiffs, imolated to their god a thousand times more human victims than Paganism sacrificed to all its deities."

In corroboration of what is here stated, if we look into the history of the Popes, we shall find reason to conclude, that they

\* Several authors have denied, and with much reason, that St. Peter ever set a foot in Rome. In the Acts of the Apostles, no mention is made of the journey, unless we suppose that Luke has omitted to speak of St. Peter, for the purpose of attributing to St. Paul, his master, the conversion of the capital. If St. Peter had been at Rome, his Gospel would have been forced to yield to that of the Apostle of the Gentiles, more accommodating to the heathens, as it dispensed with circumcision. It may, therefore, be presumed, that St. Paul was the first Pope.

were the most abandoned and flagitious of mortals, who hesitated not at the perpetration of any crime to accomplish their purposes. Even Popish writers admit, that no throne was ever held with such monsters of inhumanity as the chair of St. Peter. They are depicted as having been not only detestable in their lives, but as having given occasion, by their example, to the perpetration of all sorts of wickedness, impudence, delusion, oppression, robbery, tyranny, murder, and massacre. Of Pope Formosus, it is said his successor Stephen VII. considered him so horrid a criminal, that he caused his body to be dug out of the grave and thrown into the Tiber. Stephen himself was regarded as equally infamous, and strangled on account of his crimes. Pope Sergius was so far lost to all sense of shame, that he openly kept both the mother and daughter as his mistresses. Like many other modern concubines, these holy females (for every thing is esteemed holy that belongs to the Pope) regulated all matters of State, and governed the church, as best suited their interest. A successor of Sergius in the papal throne, John XI. is represented to have been the fruit of this intercourse with the daughter, and to have taken his own mother into keeping.—John XII. is accused of practising magic, of paying divine honours to Venus and Jupiter, and of having debauched females on the steps of the altar. He was afterwards deposed by a Council supported by an Emperor, but this act has been censured by some Popish writers, on the ground that no man on earth has a right to judge as to the conduct of the Pope. Boniface VII. is accused of murdering Benedict VI. in order to make way for his elevation to the Papal See. It is indeed admitted by Cardinal Bona, that a bravo, of the name of *Manfred*, kept in pay at Rome by his numerous brethren; and that this holy assassin actually carried off seven or eight Popes by poison, at the instigation of those Cardinals who became impatient to fill the chair of St. Peter. Of Gregory the II. it is well ascertained, that he deluged Germany with blood. When the Emperor, in the year 728, issued a decree against the worship of images, this pious villain caused the Vicar of the Empire to be put to death for giving it publicity; and such was the extensive influence which the Church of Rome then possessed over the minds of the people, and the awe with which her mandates were exercised, that this murder, which, in other

circumstances, might have occasioned the overthrow of the Papal power, had the effect of causing a revolt amongst the Emperor's troops, who elected another master. We afterwards find, in the year 1072 another Emperor deposed, through the cunning and treachery of the Pope, and obliged to cross the Alps in winter, barefooted, and in a woollen frock, to ask pardon of his Holiness, before he would sanction his coronation to the crown. This Emperor's offence was his pretending to nominate bishops, and to govern the empire conformably to the practice of his predecessors. A second offence induced the Pope to transmit the crown to another, and to absolve the subjects of the former Emperor from their duty and allegiance. Pope Gregory, the VII. equalled, if not surpassed, his namesake in acts of cruelty and insolence. Innocent the III. was designated by his Catholic historians, "a lion in cruelty, and a blood-sucker in avarice." There is a decree of this Pope, by which he discharges the subjects of all heretical princes from their allegiance, and gives arbitrary kingdoms to Catholic princes, in order to exterminate heretics.—During the reign of Henry III. of England, it was this Pope who plundered and oppressed the people during the greater part of that silly monarch's reign. Benedict XII. is accused of having purchased the sister of Petrarch from her family, to live with him as his mistress; and he is charged against Pope Alexander VI. that, after debauching his own daughter, he gave her to one of his sons as a mistress, who transferred her to another son, with whom she afterwards lived his wife. Innocent VIII. had sixteen natural children. Leo X. used to exclaim, "what treasure the church has derived from the fable of Christ!" Of Pope Paul III. it is said, that he "not only lay with his own daughter, but, to have her all to himself, poisoned her husband."—We all know from burrow history, that the arrogance of the Church of Rome had reached to an enormous pitch in the year 1161; for we then find our Henry II. leading the horse of Pope Alexander III., on the one side, and Lewis VI. of France on the other, while his Holiness made a triumphal entry into Tourney, and this at a time too when the papal See was disputed by another Pope, who was as much revered in Spain and Germany as his rival. The sketch which I have attempted to give, is but a faint one indeed of the atrocities



committed by these *pious*, or rather impious Pontiffs. An eloquent writer has said that "the Christianity preached to the Infidels of the sixteenth century, was no longer the Christianity of the three first ages.—it was a bloody, a murdering religion. For five or six hundred years accustomed to carnage, she had contracted an inveterate habit of maintaining and aggrandizing herself, by putting whatever opposed her to the point of the sword, burning, butchering, the horrible tribunal of the Inquisition, Crusades, Bulls exciting subjects to rebel, seditious preachers, conspiracies, assassinations of Princes, were the ordinary means which she employed against those who submitted not to her injunctions." Nor will this appalling picture of the diabolical proceedings of the Roman See excite surprise, when it is considered, that it is held *lawful* by the Canons of that church "to kill a Prince who is excommunicated by the Pope, wherever that Prince may be found; for the Universe, belongs to the Pope; and the man who accepts a commission of this kind, is engaged in the most *charitable* employment." What Sovereign can be safe, what people can be virtuous, where principles of so infernal a nature are recognised and inculcated? It has been attempted by *modern* Catholics to soften down, and give a more favourable interpretation to the infamous doctrines formerly held and acted upon by the Church of Rome. But if that Church is again restored to *unrestricted* power, how easy will it find excuses for reviving its ancient decrees? The readiness with which Pope Pius restored the Inquisition and the Jesuits, when he felt his authority somewhat extended, and the frivolous pretences he assigned for this, sufficiently proves that if Sovereigns are disposed to permit his Holiness to consult his own inclinations merely as to the lengths he ought to go, there is not one of them but may be obliged, ere long, to *supplicating* permission to reign from the successor of St. Peter:—there is not a nation in Europe who will not be prepared to dethrone kings, and deluge the earth with blood, on a signal given by the Roman Pontiff.

I observe that the Emperor of Austria has so far given way to the solicitations of the Pope, as to issue a decree for the suppression of Freemason Societies in his dominions. His Royal Highness the Prince Regent, if the foreign newspapers are to

be credited, has likewise authorised the re-establishment of an Abbey of Benedictines on the Continent. These measures seem to savour too much of an intention to support the papal See in her schemes of universal dominion over the *conscience* of man. Should this be the case, which I earnestly hope it is not, the Sovereigns of Great Britain and of Austria will only have themselves to blame, should they bud, perhaps when it is too late, that his Holiness meditates the subjugation of the *bold*, as well as the consciences, of their subjects. I also observe, that Pope Pius, in the gigantic strides he is making for universal dominion, has published another Edict, for the purpose of restoring all those ancient *Monastic Orders*, by which the Catholic cause was formerly so extensively promoted, and the Popedom supported in its arrogant pretension to dispose of crowns, and to release entire nations from their oaths of allegiance. A perusal of this document, (of which I presume you will preserve a copy in the *Register*) gives rise to many important reflections, and naturally leads one to make some inquiries respecting a fraternity, whose existence, in former ages, was so prejudicial to society, and who are again threatened to be let loose to ravage civilized Europe. But as I have already exceeded the limits of an ordinary letter, I must delay my remarks on these interesting topics to another opportunity.—  
Yours, &c. AN OBSERVER.

**MONASTIC ORDERS.**—The following is the Edict, referred to in the above letter, issued by the Pope for the re-establishment of the Monastic Orders.—

Among the calamities occasioned by the revolutions which we have witnessed, one of the most severe doubtless, is the oppression and almost total annihilation of the religious societies, who formed one of the ancient pillars of the church, and were a fruitful source of advantage to education and science in Christian and civil communities. No sooner was the Holy Father restored to his See than he perceived the pernicious effects which had already resulted, and must continue to result, from that destruction which God, in his unpenetrable designs, has permitted impiety to consummate in the capital of the Christian world and in the Pontifical States. His Holiness, penetrated with the sentiments which, as head of the Church, he must feel for all these sacred institutions; guided by the particular affection which he bears them, as a member of one



of the oldest orders, which he has ever gloried in belonging to, deems it worthy of his paternal solicitude to devote all his cares to their restoration from ruin. Many obstacles oppose the accomplishment of his Holiness's wishes; in addition to its being far from easy to collect the religious dispersed in all quarters, their houses and convents are despoiled of every necessary for their accommodation, and the greater part are without revenue.—The Holy Father is occupied with the means of overcoming these difficulties. His views are principally directed to the great object of giving these communities a new life by repairing past disorders, and bringing them back to the observance of rules suitable to the holiness and excellence of their profession. To attain this object, his Holiness appointed a commission to investigate every thing that relates to the re-establishment of the regular order. It has now formed and presented a plan to his Holiness, tending to procure for them the requisite means, and to settle regulations which should be observed in those religious communities. But all circumstances for the moment, do not permit the re-establishment of these regular societies in all the Pontifical States, it has been proposed to make a commencement at Rome, where all the disposable convents shall be given them, in which the superiors may be lodged, and the greatest possible number of monks assembled. It is hoped, from the religion of the Government, and the zeal of the bishops of the Catholic world, that they will patronise the establishment of these asylums of Christian piety and evangelical perfection. His Holiness has approved the plan of the congregation, and has ordered its publication, that all concerned may know it, and may apply to the Secretary of the congregation, who will inform them of the house or convent where they are to assemble.—(Signed) B. Cardinal Præf. Pro-Secretary of State—Rome, Aug. 15, 1814.

**FRENCH FINANCE, AND THE EMPEROR NAPOLEON.**—Of all the accusations brought against the Emperor Napoleon, there was none more evidently unfounded, or more manifestly malicious, than that which charged him with hastening the ruin of France, by the enormous load of national debt, which it was pretended he had contracted. Were we to believe the tenth part of what was said on this subject by our corrupt press, we might have very justly concluded, in the language of the apostate Pitt, that Napoleon brought his country to the verge, and very gulph, of bankruptcy. It was to this cause, the exhausted state of the finances, and the total inability of France to afford him any more supplies, that his calumniators attributed

his want of success, and the necessity he found himself under of giving up the contest.—They had not the candour to acknowledge, that he owed his reversal of fortune to treason and to treachery, that he fell a sacrifice to the unbounded confidence which he placed in those whom he ought never to have treated in any other way than as the enemies of liberty.—No—this would have been shewing too much generosity towards a man, whose conduct, in almost every other instance, put his most inveterate foes to the blush when they reflected on their own crimes.—Necessary it was, that such a man, who, in every step, and in every measure, reminded them of their own errors and omissions, should be put down without any regard to the means of accomplishing this.—The manner, however, in which Napoleon chose, with so much honour to himself, to retire from the busy scene, so greatly disconcerted his persecutors, that his fall did not satisfy them; for ever since he subscribed the treaty of abdication, they have defamed him with as much rancour as they did before. The same charge, of having ruined the country, has been preferred with as much violence, and reiterated with as much truth, as at any former period, and when the present Government of France lately thought it politic to publish an Exposé, of the state of the nation, it was then that corruption was loud in its censures of Napoleon, to whom was attributed every unfavourable aspect in public affairs, which ought, in fairness, to be traced to the nature of the revolution France had undergone, and to the peculiar situation in which that occurrence, and the length of the struggle, had placed her as to surrounding States.—In the midst of these clamours, no one ventured, except myself, to expose the knavery of these infamous detractors. Though the means employed to obscure Napoleon's fame had the effect intended, I was not without a persuasion that truth would one day dispel the mists, and compel even his most determined foes to acknowledge, that he was neither so bad a man, nor so great a tyrant, as our vile and prostituted press unceasingly represented him to be. That period, I am glad to find, is fast approaching. Not only do I perceive Napoleon treated with greater respect, and more ample justice done to his talents and views, in private circles; but the knowledge, which is every day becoming more extended, of the great improvements he introduced into France, and the ne-

much benefits be conferred on that country, I have already taken place in the estimation of the public. Nothing, however, has tended so highly to produce this effect as the development that has just been made by the Minister Talleyrand, of the *present* state of the French finances, and the new prospect there is of that country being relieved of all public debt, without the necessity of imposing additional burdens upon the people.—The visionary and fantastic writer of the *Times*, who, both before and since the fall of Napoleon, made it his chief study to deceive the public on this subject, now speaks of “the very favourable prospect which this Budget holds out, of *restoring France from all her financial difficulties in a short space of time*.”—Had the Emperor Napoleon been that spendthrift and heedless wretch, which this unworthy writer so often represented him to be, had he scourged, pillaged, and ravaged France, in the manner the good people of this country were led to believe, it would have been impossible she could have recovered herself in the short period of two years, now assigned by the Prince of Benevente, for settling the demands of her public creditors. Whatever data the French Minister has assumed as the ground work of his calculations, and whatever may be the description of claimants he refers to, it is undeniable, that had Napoleon thrown the finances into a state of embarrassment by extravagant expenditure, and unprincipled extortion, the immediate and urgent demands upon the new Government would have been fifty times their present amount. My limits will not allow me to say more upon this important subject—I have annexed the speech of Talleyrand to this article. Almost every line is complimentary to Napoleon, and it will be found highly interesting not only as it relates to France, but as it states many plain and wholesome truths respecting our own country, which I find have already begun to give great uneasiness to the supporters of corruption.

FRENCH HOUSE OF PEERS.  
SPEECH OF THE PRINCE OF BENEVENTE,  
ON PRESENTING THE BUDGET, THE 8TH  
SEPTEMBER.

GENTLEMEN—By order of the King we present you with the project of the law on the Finances of the Kingdom. The object of this law is to fix and regulate the public expenses of the current year—to provide

in advance for the services of the ensuing year, and to assign the payment of the arrears anterior to 1st April last, from certain funds at determined periods; and in this manner most just and least burdensome. This project of the law, except some amendments, has been already printed and distributed. Which, according to your established forms the House shall have sent it for examination to the Committees, if further elucidations are required, the Ministers will be happy to give all in their power. It is then only that all the details can be entered into, to render the law complete. The only object, therefore, which calls for your attention to day on this subject, is the spirit and outline of the law in question.—You will there see, Gentlemen, that the intention of the King has been not only to provide immediately for the wants of the public service, by establishing a proper balance between the receipts and expenditure, but also to create, in the financial administration, a new regime both with respect to its object and its means.—It is new with respect to its object, because it will found the prosperity of France on a real public credit, proportioned to the extent of her resources. It is new with respect to its means, because they are all adopted in the most perfect sincerity: it is the determination to adhere to what has been promised—and fidelity to its engagements, which, this day, become the noble expedients proposed by the candour of the King to his subjects. By this simple proceeding, to the intrinsic power of the State will speedily be added the influence of public opinion. These two powers will lend each other mutual succours; and from their union, when well understood, will result the whole power of a great national credit.—We do not now mean to enquire if public credit, considered in the abstract, is in itself a great advantage. I think so, but this is nothing to the purpose. It is sufficient that it does not exist elsewhere; and as a great arm of strength to render it necessary that it should also be found in France. I can only regard it, in the present state of Europe, with respect to its relative advantages, and as a weapon necessary for opposing the weapons of the same kind of which other nations have taken so great advantage. The Ministers of the King are happy in this august Assembly, religiously approaching the sacred altar of honour raised by the glory of the French arms, to be enabled solemnly to abjure and proscribe forever all those miserable conceptions, all

those disastrous operations, known within this century by the names *visu; reductions de rentes; suspensions de remboursements; reductions de valeurs; remboursements; valeurs nominales; distributions; annuities; réduites au tiers; liquidations de valeurs; définitives; reversions; assurances de reversions; rejets de rentes par prescription, &c. &c. &c.* France, at peace with the whole universe; ought to aspire to new celebrity. She ought to endeavour to establish in every department of the administration, candour and justice in the exercise of its powers. To obtain this great result, it is necessary to find the means for paying all demands on the State, and to leave that, with the ability, she possesses the will to do so.—*France has now the means of paying all her expenses, all her debts, as will be seen by comparing that which she has with that which she owes.* The total amount of the debt now demandable is 759,000,000. The revenue of the year 1814 is estimated at 540,000,000, and that of 1815 at 618,000,000. This revenue is entirely furnished by taxes, direct or indirect, with the exception of 10 or 12 millions, the estimated produce of the Forest Domains. For the year 1814 there will be a deficit of 907,400,000 francs. This is occasioned by the events which preceded the 1st of April, and consequently it makes part of the debt of 759,000,000, now demandable. The expenses of the year 1815, fixed at 547,700,000 francs, leave an excess in the revenue for that year of 70,300,000 francs.—The calculations have seemed to some persons to be not sufficiently exact. This desire of perfectness cannot be satisfied. We must for the present content ourselves with approximations; but the House may be satisfied that it has before it the maximum; and the minimum of the result; so that if there be errors, they will be added with no danger. If the results are exaggerated, the surplus on whatever side it will be, will only be advantageous, since it removes the inconvenience of a deficit, and gives the State the means of improvement and present credit. France has been but little accustomed to this sort of inexactness, which, by increasing the difficulties of the present year, is an alleviation of those of the years which follow. We do not hesitate to declare, that if in the want of extraordinary resources we had been reduced to taxation alone, we should not have the less proposed an entire liquidation. It might have been effected by an

addition of some centimes to the indirect contributions, during a certain number of years, and this effort, in favour of public credit, would not have exhausted the strength of the State. But we are happy to be able to present you with a mode of repayment which does not require an increase of taxation, but leaves room to hope for a diminution. France possesses yet 1,400,000 hectares of Forest Land. We propose the sale of 300,000 to effect the payment of the arrears without increasing the burthen on the nation. The produce of the sale of the property of the Corporations, which was previously ordered, and of the other property given up to the Sinking Fund, will be applied to the same object. If supplementary means be necessary, they will be found in the surplus of succeeding Budgets; and that of 1815 presents a surplus of seventy applicable to this end. Amidst all the calculations into which the present discussion leads us, it will be pleasing, and perhaps instructive, to remark, in the relative state of our burthens with those of nations whose prosperity is the most striking, that the situation of France, after so many storms, is still promising. According to the last census the population of France was 28 millions. Dividing equally among all the annual amount of the taxes, which we take at 600 millions, the quota paid by each is little under 22 francs. In England the produce of the taxes, not including those of Ireland, has risen of late years to at least 60 millions sterling, which, divided among 12 millions of inhabitants, give five pounds sterling, or 120 francs, as the contribution for each individual:—that is to say, upwards of five times as much as the amount for each individual in France. In the United States of America the receipts of the Customs, which, previous to the two last years of war, formed almost the only revenue, produced annually 16 millions of dollars. This sum, divided among seven millions of inhabitants, gives about 12 francs for each individual; to which must be added the taxes peculiar to each State, amounting to about 11 francs more, making 23 francs for each individual. Whence it follows, in all respects, whether in population or extent of territory, or taxable property, the advantages of France over these nations are great. These relative approximations are sufficient to shew us the grounds of confidence which remain for us, and those which should encourage an

active and indurated nation, like our own to undertake with ardour all enterprises useful in agriculture, industry, and commerce. Thus is the question respecting our power to discharge our burthens and to deliver ourselves from debts answered.

"It would seem useless to take up your time with the second question, for having shown that we can free ourselves from debt, we have shown that we ought to do it. But, laying aside for the present the consideration of those principles of morality and justice, from which neither Government nor individuals deviate with impunity, and let us examine if sufficient reasons may not be drawn from the interest of the State alone, for the adoption of the principle of speedy and entire payment of our debts. We must acknowledge that the Government in France has been but little accustomed to make use of the power arising from fidelity to its engagements; and in this respect we must rather accuse the nature of things than the men in power; for the theory of a regular and constant credit can only be established under representative and constituent Government such as that which the bounty of the King enables us now to enjoy for the first time. It is because this powerful spring was wanting, that France, situated in a most happy climate, and possessed of the richest soil, covered with a numerous, active, and industrious population, heaped in short with all the elements of prosperity, has nevertheless remained, in some respects, below the level which she ought to have attained. Thus are explained the disadvantages which have attended some operations of the Government in the times just passed, as well as during former periods. The exactness with which the present Government will acquit all its engagements, will give France a new power, which has been too long unknown. *The Ministers have thought that they will give the best pledge for the future, paying at present the creditors who contracted bona fide debts with the last administration, and by ridding the future from the embarrassments of past times.*

It was necessary to prove by examples the utility of the honourable system which the Government proposes to follow, and which it intends to make the basis of our laws and our financial administration, we may adduce the wonderful advantages which other States have derived from it. The first example is still furnished us by England,

whose Government, by an inviolable fidelity to fulfil all its engagements towards its creditors, has remained in a condition, notwithstanding twenty years of war, in spite of the fetters and prohibitions which ex-pelled, from almost every port on the Continent, her ships and merchandise, to buy now every year, for upwards of ten years, at a moderate interest, more than 25 millions sterling—a sum equal to our ordinary revenue, estimated at six hundred millions of francs. And if the state of the ex-haustion to which twenty years of Revolution have brought us, be objected against us, I shall answer, by pointing to the analogous example of America where the Government, by following the system which we are desirous to see adopted, had raised itself from the most critical to the most prosperous circumstances.—Emerging from a Revolution and a bloody and ruinous war, that country had yet to struggle against all the embarrassments which a wretched paper-currency entails; the land was uncultivated and unsaleable; the population did not exceed two millions and a half of persons; the Government had to provide for an arrear of seventy millions of dollars; the capital of the debt was sold with difficulty, at from ten to twelve per cent. In this situation, the United States, convinced of the great advantages attending a strict fulfilment of its engagements, provided for the entire payment of the seventy millions of dollars. A year after, the same stock, which might have purchased at ten or twelve per hundred of their nominal value, were at par. The public paper was immediately increased 346 millions of francs. This resolution also created, as by enchantment, capital—the first need in a Country after a Revolution of which the effects always are injurious to it. The interest of money soon returned to a due proportion; agriculturists, manufacturers, and traders, obtained from the capitalists enlarged assistance; with which they were able to develop all their enterprises.—If such were the effects of the good faith and strictness of the United States towards their creditors, such and greater must they be in France. It is in France especially that credit and the lowering of interest must produce all kind of prosperity; its situation such as to need only capital to multiply useful works and undertakings which diffuse lustre and greatness among nations, and are the foundations of a people's prosperity. The Government believes, that it has pre-

pared these happy results by the arrangements which we have the honour to present to you. One of them tends directly to lowering the interest of money, by causing loans to be opened, for the purpose of buying up or extinguishing the obligation on the Royal treasury; this facility of borrowing gives the Government the means of offering the owners of obligations the discharge, unless they prefer a reduction of the interest. This option will be proposed at all times, when there is a possibility of borrowing at a rate lower than that of the obligations, and thus the high rate of interest on these debts become of no consequence. We must acknowledge, that to complete the new order of things in our financial administration a sinking fund is necessary.—The economy which you may have remarked in all the parts of the Budget, in all the expenses of the Ministries, has thrown a temporary obstacle in its way, and it is from respect for such an institution that the King's Ministers have thought proper to defer all proposition in relation to it; they have thought that it was not necessary to run the risk of compromising the success of it by too great haste in its production, for the establishment of a sinking fund derives its strength and usefulness from its permanence and immutability. The law which creates it should be inviolable; a single change of it would cause all the fruit of it to be lost, for by the laws of accumulation, it is time, continuity, and perseverance, which produce the prodigious results that seem explicable only by the science of numbers. I thought proper to express regret, that circumstances have not permitted a measure of administration of such importance to be comprised in the new plan of the system of the finances from its beginning; but I have the pleasure of expressing my confidence, that it will form an essential and fundamental part of the plans of the next year's budget. You see, Gentlemen, to what degree the King is desirous that the propositions of his Ministers, and the acts of his Government, should bear a character of probity, conformable to the elevation of his soul, and which, by providing for all interests, inspires with a just confidence the hearts of all. This is a new era, in which the justice and moderation of the Prince, whose presence amongst us has restored peace to the world, will make us, daily, more sensible to the reciprocal advantages of virtues which may be so easily establish-

ed in France, under the powerful sanction of honour. And may we hope that the influence which the manners of our nation have so long exercised over other people, will render general throughout Europe this moderation, which has become more necessary than ever to the happiness of subjects, and the glory of Sovereigns.

**LORD COCHRANE.**—In last week's *Register*, I inserted a communication from a correspondent, containing a partial extract from the Address presented to Lord Cochrane by the inhabitants of Culross, with his Lordship's answer. The following has since been transmitted, with a request that I should give it publicity.—

"We, the Inhabitants of the Royal Burgh of Culross and neighbourhood, beg leave to offer your Lordship our heartfelt congratulations on being re-elected a member to serve in the House of Commons for one of the first citus in the Kingdom; which event may be considered as the verdict of the last tribunal to whom you had appealed from the charges lately preferred against you. While the firmness with which you met those charges has called forth our highest admiration, we rejoice they have now been so clearly proved to be unfounded, and that the cloud which threatened your destruction has been dispelled. In the joy every where diffused on this occasion, none can more cordially participate than the Inhabitants of Culross, and we beg to assure your Lordship of their unabated attachment to, and respect to, the family of Dundonald.

"Calling to mind the many heroic actions your Lordship has performed in your country's cause, we look forward with confidence to a renewal of your ardent and gallant exertions for her advantage, notwithstanding the persecutions you are now suffering. And we sincerely hope, that in defiance of party and faction, you shall again shine forth an ornament to your profession—an honour to your country—and be boast of this place, the ancient residence of your noble family.

"We beg also to express our wish, that our Lordship may speedily forget the sufferings his honourable mind must sustain whilst struggling against gross and unfounded accusations.

"Signed in the presence and by the appointment of the Meeting.

"WM. MELVILLE, B.

"JOHN CAW, Secretary."

# COBBETT'S WEEKLY POLITICAL REGISTER.

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## SUMMARY OF POLITICS.

**CORN BILL.**—I have before me the Report of the Committee of the House of Lords, on the subject of the Corn Bill.—The manifest object of the “*inquiry*” of this Committee is to lay the ground for a Bill to prohibit the importation of corn, until our own corn will sell at such a price as shall enable the grower to grow it, and to pay his rent and taxes.—As it is my opinion, that a Bill of this sort will be again brought forward, I shall, before hand, put in my protest against any such measure.—I have several objections to it, and, that I may have the better chance of being understood, I shall state and explain, as clearly as I am able, the grounds on which they rest, under distinct heads.—I must first, however, premise, that I do not see any *injustice*, towards the rest of the community, in the passing of such a Bill as was proposed last year. I dislike such a Bill, because it would be injurious to the country at large; because it would do general harm; and not because it would benefit the farmer at the expence of the community.—The state in which this country now is, is a very singular and critical state. A long and expensive war has created taxes enormous. These taxes (to say nothing of those necessary for the new war with America) must be kept on, or it will be impossible for the Government to pay the interest of the National Debt. To pay these taxes, and the poor rates, which latter alone amount to nearly half as much as the whole revenue of France, prices must be, on an average of years, kept up to nearly the point of the last five or six years. To keep up prices to this point the products of the earth in other countries must be excluded, and especially the products of France, lying so near to us, and now become infinitely more rich in agricultural productions than at any former period.—France, in consequence of her happy Revolution, seems to have become a new country. She has now an abundance of all the necessities of life, and her superabundance she is selling to us. There is annually a

great fair for neat cattle at *Barnet* in Hertfordshire. Hither are brought the cattle from Scotland, Wales, Devonshire, and elsewhere, to be distributed amongst the numerous graziers and stall-feeders of the southern and eastern counties of England. When exhibited at this fair, the cattle cover a space of ground about *two miles in circumference*. Now, I have no scruple in saying, that I am fully convinced, from my own observation, and from information gathered nearly upon the spot, that the French have, since the month of May last, brought to, and sold in this country, a far greater number of neat cattle than are brought, in any one year, to this great national fair.—Let any one estimate the effect of such an importation. The effect really has been the lowering of the value of every man's neat stock *above one third*.—France, therefore, freed from the feudal system, freed from the dionery of the monasteries, freed from tithes, possessing a happier climate, and paying lower wages for labour, can, does, and will undersell the grower of corn and breeder of cattle in England. Besides the neat cattle above-mentioned, the French have brought, and are daily bringing, great numbers of swine, fat as well as lean; of sheep, fat and lean, and the fat, of surprising fatness; of poultry, of all sorts, of the finest quality; of butter, eggs, fruit, and even garden vegetables.—It would really seem, that two or three new counties of England had risen out of the sea, teeming with food, without having any one to eat it.—The effect of this must be, it has been, it is, and it will be, the lowering, and the keeping down of, the price of these articles in England, Ireland, and Scotland. For, though these products *are* sold on the coast, they have their effect all over the Kingdom. They swell the general supply, in the same way, and with as perfect regularity, as your hand, put in on the side of a bucket of water, makes the water rise in every part of the bucket.—Therefore, if you pass a law to “*protect the farmer*,” as it is called, against the importation of corn, why not include cattle, sheep, and hogs, which form nearly one half of his

property, and which are as necessary as bread?—My objections to such a law are *first*, that, *it being a benefit to mankind in general, that countries should be at liberty to supply each other with their products, such a law would be hostile to that great and beneficent principle.*—Why should such a war be made against nature, against the *universal good of man*? Why should we, who live in a less happy climate, and who labour under many disadvantages, unknown to our neighbours; why should we not participate of their superabundance? Here is a peison of fixed income in England. Why should he not eat the cheap beef, mutton, and pork, raised by his neighbour in Normandy?—“*Why!*” exclaims the farmer and landlord: “*Why!* why, because we are compelled to pay as much tax and poor-rate as if none of this supply came from France to supplant ours in the market. Take off the taxes *created by the war*; take off the poor-rates, *created by the war*, take off these, place us where we were in 1792, and we shall be able to supply you at as cheap a rate as the French can.”—In answer to this, I have to observe, in the first place, that, if there be any fault in the creation of the tax, who is more to blame than the *farmers and landlords*? Did they, in any one instance, *oppose the war*? On the contrary, did they not *address the King* to undertake it and carry it on? Did they not, in all parts of the country, pledge their *lives and fortunes* for the carrying on of the war? Did they not say, that they were ready to spend their last shilling, and the last drop of their blood, in the cause of Kingly Government against Republicanism? And, did they not, by voluntarily arming themselves as *Yeoman Cavalry*, *actively* support, physically support, the *war-party*, against all the remonstrances and attempts of the opponents of the war? Were these professions insincere? If they were, those who made them deserve no pity; and, if they were sincere, ought they to grumble and growl at the loss, which they are now sustaining, seeing that the object of all their prayers is attained; namely, the fall of Republicanism, and the re-establishment of Monarchy in France? The debt, which now swallows up more than half of the taxes, arose necessarily out of the war; the expense of the new war against America have a like source; the *pro-rata* is attributable to France. And, as the far-

mers and landholders, were amongst the forwardest in support of the war, must they not be unreasonable indeed, to object to pay their share of those taxes? Yes, they are, indeed, willing to pay their share of the taxes, but they wish to have such *high prices* as will enable them to do this without any distress, any loss, any falling off in their flourishing state. But, gentlemen, this is unreasonable. You have had what you wished for. You have destroyed Republicanism in France, and are now giving a drubbing to the Yankees; and, will you not *pay* for this? Do you think, that the soldiers and sailors, and contractors and paymasters, and barrack-people, and purveyors and purveyors, are not to be *paid* for gratifying you? You huzza at the grant of an immense sum to Lord Wellington; you almost kiss the shoes of the gallant Duke; you are ready to cram your fists down the throats of those who do not feel disposed to bawl as loud as yourselves. *Grant!* yes, gentlemen; but what is the *grant* without the *money*? A grant does not mean words. Palaces and splendid equipages, and pleasure grounds and ample domains, are not made of *parliament*. It is *money*; money, good gentlemen, that the grant means; whence, then, is the money to come but out of the taxes? whence are the taxes to come but, in part, at least, out of your pockets? And, as it is in the nature of taxes to produce poverty and misery, what right have you, above all men living, to complain of bearing your share of that poverty and misery?—You appear to have thought, that the taxes you were paying would support a war, which would so completely ruin the people of France, that they would not recover in a century, or, at least, before we should be at them again with another war; and you were exceedingly gratified at being told, that Napoleon had left nothing but old *crippled men, women and children*, to till the land. How surprised you must have been to see the wheat, barley, oats, neat cattle, sheep, hogs, and poultry of France come crowding upon our shores, the moment that peace was made! These old cripples, and the women and children of Napoleon, must have been very busy in the fields! The truth is, that, while England, by that war against the Republicans of France, which you were so eager to support, has been loading herself with unrepayable debts, and unbearable taxes, the people of France have been tilling and enriching their country; they have been





multiplying its means of increasing population; they have been freeing it from those restraints, those bars to agricultural improvement, which before kept them poor and miserable amidst the richest gifts of nature. You have been, for years, amused with lies, which your evil passions, your hatred and envy, led you to believe; and you now find the sorrowful truth forced upon you in a way that makes you *feel* as well as *hear*; and, which is not the least galling part of the change, you find your own countrymen, who joined you in hallooing for the war; you find the colonels and captains, and barrack-masters and pursers, all exclaiming against you, because you want to sell them a loaf at a shilling, when they can get it from the people of France at ninepence, notwithstanding Napoleon left none but old crippled men, women and children, to till the land!—There is in our statute book a law, punishing with *death*, and death too, of the most horrible kind, any man who should send from this country even a *bushel of potatoes* to France, when the people of that country were thought to be in a state of *famine*. This law was passed at the outset of the war against the Republicans of France. They were not starved. They set themselves to break up the parks, to turn the monasteries into farm-buildings, to make the drones labour for their bread. The result is, that they have enough to *spare* to reduce our prices one third; and you have the mortification to find, that those who have become captains by the war, prefer the French cheap loaf to the English dear loaf.—One of the charges against Napoleon was, that he had *ruined agriculture*, that he had left the farmer *no market* for his produce. It seemed odd, indeed, that the farmer should be at a *loss for a market* for what the *old crippled men, women and children*, were able to raise. But this was the assertion; and he was cursed, through all our edifying prints, for this his tyrannical 'Well' He is put down. The French farmer has a *market* in England; and the moment he sends his produce to it, that moment would you pass a *law to stop him*. Yes; you would have a law passed to deprive the French farmer of that very market, for having deprived him of which you so heartily cursed Napoleon! You would have a law passed for the purpose of making the French farmer endure, during peace, that very evil, which you abused Napoleon for causing him to endure, dur-

ing war!—With reflections like these in my mind, it is impossible that I can pity (I speak *generally*, of course,) the farmers or the landlords. But it is certain, that they cannot grow wheat, with the present taxes, so cheap as the French, who pay so little tax and no tythe, send it hither; and that, unless French be prohibited from sending their products hither, many of our farmers must be *ruined*.—*Eh bien!* And what then! They endeavoured to ruin the people of France. *Ruin*, however is a word of indefinite meaning. A man calls himself *ruined*, if he cannot ride as fine a horse as he has been used to ride. The truth is, that, if no law of prohibition be passed, agriculture in England (if the present taxes continue) must, in some measure, decline; part of our food will be raised in France, now freed from feudal shackles and tythes; part of the capital now employed in farming will be withdrawn from it; part of those who now till the land will be driven to other occupations. And where is the *harm* of all this? Is it for this reason that the fertile fields of France are to be closed against us? What! are the big-bellied, bluff-cheeked, port-guzzling, loud-talking farmers of England, whose daughters play upon the piano, to be *ruined* by the sale of the produce, raised by the *old crippled men, the women and children* of France!—We know that, before the Revolution, a principal article of food, in France, was the *frog*. In our favourite national song, "*Oh, the Roast Beef of Old England*," the air of which, on the drum and fife, we hear, in our streets, calling our sons of Mars to their dinners, it is said, that the "shirtless Frenchman, *meagre, pale and lean*," lives upon "*soup meagre, frogs, and salad*." How, then, must this Revolution, which, we are told, "*humanity* ought to deplore," have changed things in France, since you, the farmers and landlords of England, want a law passed to prevent the French from sending their *spare* . . . . . not *frogs and salad*; but their *spare bread*, and when these frog-eating people do actually send us, not only a great deal of bread, but thousands upon thousands of milch cows, heifers, oxen, fat hogs, fat sheep, and poultry, and eggs and butter in prodigious quantities. How must this Revolution have changed things in France!—But, if the farmers in England be ruined, and the landlords be obliged to lower their



rents one half, *how are the taxes to be paid?* That is a question, with which I never embarrass myself. I never ask how the can be paid, or how they can be dispense with. It is for those who halloo for the war against the French, and who now halloo for the war against the Americans to discuss those interesting questions. The war has been, and is, the cause, and the sole cause, of the taxes; and, therefore, to halloo for the war was to justify, and call for, additional taxation. So that it is beyond all measure stupid as well as base in those who halloo for war to complain that they have the expenses of it to pay.—A free intercourse between nations is a right of human nature. I disapprove of imposts upon wine, oil, sugar and every thing else, and though I am aware, that it would be no more unjust towards the manufacturer of cloth to permit French cloth to be imported duty free, than it is unjust towards the manufacturer of corn to permit French corn to be imported duty free, it does not follow, that, because the entry of cloth is prohibited, I must agree in the propriety of prohibiting corn. I am glad that, at least, there are *some* articles, in which the trade is free; and, especially, as the wide difference in the prices of these articles compared with those of our own, must necessarily give rise to reflections, which may finally lead to those inquiries, as to the real causes of this difference, which inquiries may do a great deal towards producing an event, so much to be desired by every well-wisher to the cause of freedom.—It is very certain, that the Government is in a dilemma upon the subject of the Corn Bill, which, if I mistake not, must, if passed with effect, become a Cattle Bill too. If the Government bring in such a Bill, the Captain and Barrack-master will complain, that they are thereby compelled to buy their bread dearer from the English farmer than they could get it from the French farmer; and if no such Bill be brought in, these gentlemen may begin to complain, that proper means are not adopted to raise taxes, out of which is to come their half-pay. The dilemma is a painful one, I must confess, but I must leave the partisans of the war, the most prominent of whom are the farmers and landlords, to get out of it as well as they can. I have, indeed, heard of a scheme, which I will just mention, though I, by no means, give it as feasible, or as

having my approbation. It is this: to apply to the farmers of France, who have but little Government tax to pay, and who have no *poor-rates* nor any *tythes* to pay, to make, annually, a collection amongst themselves, and send it over to be distributed amongst the farmers of England. At the first blush, indeed, it does appear reasonable, that those who have the *profit* of agriculture should bear a part, at least, of its burdens. But this scheme is impracticable; and, therefore, I must, as I said before, leave the remedy wholly to the *partisans of the war*, past as well as present.—Of all the motives to intercourse between nations no one is so powerful as the want, on the one part, of the *necessaries of life*, of which, on the other, there is a superabundance. Our intercourse with the baker and butcher is much more constant, and of greater importance, than that with the carpenter or mason. We are better acquainted with their persons, their manners, their character, and with the immediate causes of their prosperity or decline. So it is between nations; and, as I am thoroughly convinced, that it would be of the utmost importance to this country to make its people well acquainted with the state of France, and with those causes which have led to that state of prosperity and abundance, which enable her farmers to come here *in-person*, and undersell ours in our own markets and fairs, I do most anxiously hope, that no measure will be adopted to put a stop to, or to restrain, in the smallest degree, this amiable and promising intercourse.—I must deter, till a future number, my other objections to *any law*, tending to prohibit, or restrain, the importation of the products of the earth from any foreign country, and especially from France.

AMERICAN WAR.—The following account of a battle, and of a *victory* on our part, gained over the Americans, is, perhaps, the most curious of any that ever was published, even in this enlightened, Lancaster-school country.—Before I insert it, let me observe, that the scene of action is in the heart of *Canada*, though, from his accounts that we have had, any one, not armed against the system of deception that prevails here, must have supposed, that here was not a single American remaining in Canada.—The *victory* in question is said to have been gained near the famous falls of Niagara, and, we shall now see

what sort of victory it was, according to the account of the Commander himself, and which account will become a subject of remark, after I have inserted it.

Head-quarters, Falls of Niagara  
20th July, 1814.

#### DISTRICT GENERAL ORDER.

Lieutenant-General Drummond offers his sincerest and warmest thanks to the troops and militia engaged yesterday, for their exemplary steadiness, gallantry, and discipline in repulsing all the efforts of numerous and determined enemy to carry the position of Landy's-lane, near the Falls of Niagara: their exertions have been crowned with complete success, by the defeat of the enemy and his retreat to the position of Chippawa, with the loss of two of his guns and an immense number of killed and wounded, and several hundred prisoners. When all have behaved nobly it is unnecessary to hold no particular instances of merit in corps or individuals. The Lieutenant-General cannot, however, refrain from expressing, in the strongest manner, his admiration of the gallantry and steadiness of the 89th regiment, under Lieut.-Colonel Morrison, and Major Clifford, who ably and gallantly supplied the Lieutenant-General's place after he was wounded, 41st light company, under Capt. Glen, and detachment of the 8th, or King's, regiment, under Captain Campbell; and Royals acting with them; also a party of incorporated militia, by whom the brunt of the action was for a considerable time sustained, and whose loss has been severe. To the advance under Lieut.-Colonel Pearson, consisting of the Glengary light infantry, under Lieut.-Colonel Battersby, a small party of the 104th, under Lieut.-Colonel Drummond; the incorporated militia under Lieut.-Colonel Robinson, and detachments from the 1st, 2d, 4th, and 5th Lincoln militia, and 2d York, under Lieut.-Colonel Parry, 103d; the Lieutenant-General offers his warmest thanks. They are also due to the troops which arrived under Colonel Scott during the action, viz. the 1st, or Royal Scots, under Lieut.-Colonel Gordon; 8th, or King's, under Major Evans; 103d regiment under Colonel Scott; flank company 104th, with the Norfolk, Oxford, Kent, and Essex rangers, and Middlesex, under Lieut.-Colonel Hamilton. The admirable steadiness and good conduct of the 19th Light Dragoons under Major Lisle, and of the detachment of Royal Artillery under Captain MacLachlan, are entitled to

particular praise: the latter officer having been badly wounded, the command of the artillery devolved to Captain Mackouchie, with whose gallantry and exertions Lieutenant-General Drummond was highly pleased. Sergeant Austin, who directed the firing of the Congreve rockets, deserves very great credit. To the officers of the General and of his personal Staff, to Captain Holland, Aide-de-Camp to Major-Gen. Riall, Lieut.-Gen. Drummond feels himself greatly indebted for the assistance they afforded him.—He has to lament being deprived (by a wound early in the action) of the services of Major Gen. Riall, who was most unfortunately made prisoner, whilst returning from the field, by a party of the enemy's cavalry, who had a momentary possession of the road. Lieut.-Gen. Drummond has also to regret the wounds which have deprived the corps of the services of Lieut.-Colonel Morrison 89th regiment, and Lieut.-Colonel Robertson of the incorporated militia. In the fall of Lieut. Moorsom of the 104th regiment, serving as Deputy Assistant Adjutant-General, the service has lost a gallant, intelligent, and meritorious young officer.—The Lieutenant-General and President has great pleasure in dismissing to their homes the whole of the volunteer militia, who have so handsomely come forward on the occasion, confident that on any future emergency, their loyalty will be again equally conspicuous. He will perform a grateful duty in representing to his Majesty's Government, the zeal, bravery, and alacrity with which the militia have co-operated with his Majesty's troops.

(Signed) J. HARRIS,  
Lieut.-Col. and Dep. Adj.-Gen.

#### Names of Officers Killed, Wounded, and Missing.

##### OFFICERS KILLED.

General Staff—Lieut. Moorsom, 104th regt.  
Deputy Assistant Adjutant-General  
1st, or Royal Scots Lieut. Hemhill.  
89th Regt 2d Batt.—Captain Spunner, and  
Lieut. Latham.

Incorporated Militia—Ensign Campbell.

##### OFFICERS WOUNDED.

General Staff—Lieut.-General Drummond, severely, not dangerously; Major Gen. Riall, do. and prisoner; Lieut. Colonel Pearson, slightly; Lieut. Le Breton, severely.

Royal Artillery—Captain MacLachlan, dangerously.

1st, or Royal Scots—Capt. Breckon, slightly; Lieut. Haswell, severely, not dangerously; Lieut. D. Fraser, ditto, ditto, missing.

1st Batt 8th, or King's—Lieutenant Noel and Ensign Swayne, slightly; Ensign McDonald, severely.

89th Regt.—Lieut. Col. Morrison, Lieut. Sanderson, Steel, Pearce, Tiplon, Floyd, and Miles, severely, not dangerously. Lieut. Red-

man and Adjutant Hopper, slightly; Lieut. Grey and Ensign Sanders, dangerously.

19th Regt.—Lieut. Langborne, slightly.

Glengary Light Infantry—Lieut. Kerr, ditto.

Incorporated Militia—Lieut. Col. Robinson,

slightly; Capt. Fraser, severely; Captain

Wheburn, slightly; Capt. M'Donald, severely;

1st Arm. amputated; Lieut. M'Dougall, mortally;

Lieut. Ratan and Ensign M'Donald, severely;

Lieut. Hamilton, slightly.

2d Lincoln Militia—Adj. Thompson, slightly;

4th Ditto—Capt. H. Nellis and Ensign Ken-

edy, slightly.

5th Ditto—Major Hatt, severely.

2d York Militia—Major Simons, severely;

Capt. M'Kay, slightly; Capt. Rockman, Lieut.

Orfield and Smith, severely.

#### OFFICERS MISSING.

Royal Engineers—Lieut. Yale.

1st, or Royal Scots—Lieuts. Clyne and Lam-

mont, supposed to be prisoners.

8th, or King's Regt.—Quarter-Master Kirnan

4th Lincoln Militia—Captain H. Nellis and

Quarter-Master Bell.

#### OFFICERS PRISONERS

General Staff—Capt. Loring, Aid-de-Camp to

Lieut.-Gen. Drummond.

89th Regt.—Capt. Gore.

103d Regt.—Capt. Brown; Lieut. Montgomery

and wounded; Ensign Lunie.

Glengary Light Infantry.—Ensign Robin.

Incorporated Militia—Capt. M'Lean, Ensign

Wear; and Quarter-Master Thompson.

Provincial Light Dragoons—Capt. Merritt.

Total Loss, including Officers.—Killed, 24—

Wounded, 559—Missing, 199—Prisoners,

42.—General Total, 878.

In consequence of the great use made by the enemy of buckshot; many of the wounds have proved slight.

(Signed) EDWARD BAYNES, Adj.-Gen.

Was I not right reader, in calling this a *curious account*? Did you ever before hear, except from the mouths or pens of some of our own commanders, of a *victory* of this sort before? It is a fault, which I always have to point out, in our histories of battles, that we never begin, as the historians of all other countries do, by stating the *strength* of the armies on both sides.—We are left here to guess at the force in the field. We are not told what was even our own strength upon the occasion. If we had been furnished with this information, we should have been able to judge pretty correctly of the nature of the combat, and of the merits of the two armies. When we find that there has been a total loss of 878 men, including a vast proportion of *officers*, we must conclude, that the "*Drubbing*" has not been on the *Americans* only; for the army under General Drummond did not, in all probability, amount to more than *three or four thousand men*. There appears to have been only *four battalions of regulars engaged*, which would hardly surpass 2,000 men. What the militia might have amounted to I cannot tell; but, as far as I am able to judge

from the account, I should suppose that we must have lost, upon this occasion, *one man out of every five*; so that this is a sort of *victory* that is very costly, at any rate.—

But, except in victories of this kind, who ever heard before of such numbers of *missing* and *prisoners* on the part of the *victors*?

When armies are defeated, they have generally pretty long lists of *missing* and *prisoners*; but, when they gain a victory, and, of course, remain masters of the spot on which the battle has taken place, how odd it is to hear that they have so many people *taken and lost*, the latter of whom they can give no account of! And, especially, how odd it is, that so many of these taken and lost persons should be *officers*, and officers of very high rank too! Never, surely, was there before a *victory* attended with circumstances so much resembling the usual circumstances of a *defeat*. The commander *severely wounded*; the second in command *severely wounded*, and made *prisoner* into the bargain; the aide-de-camp to the commander made *prisoner*; several Colonels and Lieutenant-Colonels wounded; a great number of officers and men *missing* and made *prisoners*. If such be the marks of a *victory*, gained over the Americans, I wonder what will be the marks of a *defeat*, if unhappily, we should chance to experience a *defeat*? At any rate, taking the matter in the most favourable light, what a *bloody battle* this must have been! To be sure, that is a consideration of little weight with the enemies of freedom, who would gladly see half England put to death, if they could thereby have their desire of exterminating freedom in America gratified. But this is not all. The battle has not merely been bloody, but it has afforded a proof of the *determined courage* of the *American army*, and leads us to believe, that, if we persevere, the contest will be *long* as well as bloody; and it is the *length* of the contest that we have to fear. The malignant wise man, who writes in the *Times* newspaper, expresses great sorrow, that the "*heroes of Topouse*" were not arrived in Canada, previous to the late *victory*. But what could they have done more than to render the "*success* of our arms *complete*?" And this, we are told, was the case without their assistance.—The same writer, in the same paper, complains of the Sovereign of Holland for sending an Ambassador to Mr. Madison; and observes, that, if he had waited a *few months*, he might have been spared the

humiliation of sending an embassy to Madrid and his set. Hence it would appear, that this wise man gives our fleets and armies but "a few months" to conquer America. It was thus that the same sort of man talked in the memorable times of Burgoyne and Cornwallis. But, in those times, America had not a population of two millions, she had no Government; the greater part of her sea-ports were in our hands. We had a fourth part of the people for us; and the rest were without money, and almost without clothing and arms.—

It is not deny that we are by the expenditure of two or three hundred millions of money, do the Americans a great deal of mischief. I dare say, that we shall burn some of their towns, and drive some thousands of women and children back from the coast. But, in the mean while, America will be building and sending out ships; she will be gaining experience in the arts and practice of war, she will be pushing on her domestic trade and manufactures; she will be harassing our commerce to death; and our taxes will be increasing, and annual loans must still be made.—It is provoking, to be sure, but it really is so that we must leave the Americans in the enjoyment of their real liberty, in the enjoyment of freedom which is no sham; must be content to see their country the asylum of all those in Europe who will not brook oppression; we must be content to see America an example to every people, who are impatient under despotism, or.... or (dreadful alternative!) we must be content to pay all our present taxes; and to have new ones added to them!—

Nay, after having, for several years, made these new sacrifices in the cause of "regular government, social order, and our holy religion," it may, possibly, happen, at last, that America will remain unhurt; that, having been compelled to learn the art of war, she may become more formidable than ever; and that, in the end, her fleets, in the space of ten years, may dispute with ours that trident, which we now claim as our exclusive property.—Already do we hear persons, who were so eager for giving the "Yankees a hearty drubbing," ask why this is not done. They are already impatient for the conclusion, before the beginning has well taken place. They ask, why the heroes of Thoulouse were not at the late victory. How unreasonable this is! Just as if the Government could convey them in a balloon! Besides, were those heroes to have no time for repose?

Were they to be set on, the moment they had been taken off? The Government, to do it justice, have lost no time. They have sent out men as fast as they could get them ready. But, it requires time to transport men, and guns, and horses, and oats, and hay, and straw, to America; to say nothing about bread, and beef, and pork, and butter, and pease, and rice. Nay, we see, that they have had to send out the timbers for ships, to Canada, where, one would have supposed, there was wood enough, at any rate. If we were to get possession of New York, I should not be at all surprised to hear, that the Ministers were sending fuel thither for the cooking of the men's victuals.—This is very different from what was seen in Portugal, Spain, and France. We shall find no partisans in America; and especially shall we find nobody to take up arms in our cause.—All must go from this country. It is a war of enormous expence; and we must expect to pay that expence. If it come to a close in *seven years*, I shall think that we have very good luck. The troops who are going out now, and who have been held in readiness to go out for so long a time, will hardly be able to pull a trigger before next June. By that time the Americans will have half a million of men, and FREE men too, in arms; and who is to subdue half a million of men, armed for the defence of their freedom and their homes? How did the people of France, as long as the sound of freedom cheered their hearts, drive back, hunt, and lash their invaders? And, have the Americans less courage, or less activity, than the French? How silly is it, then, to expect to conquer America in "a few months!"—It is a little strange, that the Government have published no *Extraordinary Gazette*, giving an account of the great "victory," of which we have been speaking. They are not, in general, backward in doing justice to our winners of victories.—But it is useless to say much about it. Time will unfold the truth; and, according to all appearance, we shall have time enough to learn all about the events, as well as the effects, of the war against the Republicans of America.—It is strange, that we have no account of the exact numbers of the prisoners that we ourselves have made. If any officers had been taken by us, would they not have been named? And if we have taken no officers, while the Americans have taken so many of ours, what manner of victory is this?

The preceding remarks were written in the country, and sent to press on Wednesday, before I received the following letters on the affairs of America.

#### BATTLE OF CHIPPAWA.

MR. COBBETT,——We have now for some time been accustomed to accounts of naval conflicts with the Americans, from which we have been able to form a pretty correct idea of what the *seamen* of that nation are capable of doing.—It only remained to have a specimen of the courage of their *soldiers*, to shew that, if we had reason to despair of ever overcoming the navy of the United States, there is as little reason to suppose that we shall succeed in beating their army; or that we shall be able to realise the haughty threat of *reconquering* America, and serving Mr. Madison, as we arrogantly boast having served the Emperor Napoleon.—We shall certainly succeed in creating great *alarm* on the American coast; we may destroy towns, villages, and a deal of property, and compel many, particularly women and children, to fly to the interior for protection. We may even occasion the removal of the seat of Government from Washington.—But, is there any thing more natural than that the peaceable inhabitants of every country should be alarmed, when an enemy actually invades their territory? When we, in this military nation, with our shores encompassed by an invincible navy, an almost every man a soldier, were only *threatened* with a visit of Napoleon's legions, consternation and alarm pervaded all ranks; measures of precaution were taken, on all hands, to repel the daring intruders, and the removal of the seat of Government, with the property of the nation, to places of greater security, on a landing being effected, were every where spoken of as matters of course.—If we thought we had reason to be afraid, and to adopt these precautions on the mere *threat*; on the prospect only of an event which might never, and certainly did not, happen, is it very extraordinary that the people of America should have the same feelings; when they find the event actually take place, which we scarcely anticipated?—But what were the effects of this alarm in this country? Not surely rebellion and turn-out against the Government. No idea of that kind was ever entertained.—Every man, on the contrary, was roused to a sense of public danger. All factions

ceased, and those who had been formerly the most violent in their opposition to Ministers, now rallied round them, and were among the foremost to take up arms against the common enemy. This is the effect always produced when the independence of a country is threatened; yet we are gravely told, by the supporters of corruption, that the efforts we are now making to overthrow the American Government; the terror and alarm we are exciting, by burning and destroying every thing we can reach; that these violences, the bare possibility of which produced so great a shew of resistance here, must infallibly bring about a Revolution in America, and lead the people there to join the standard of their invaders! This is what our vile newspaper press is constantly ringing in our ears, and what, I find, has almost become a prevailing opinion in every class of society.—What the general feeling may be when the circumstances attending the Battle of Chippawa are fully known; whether the people will then begin to change their opinion, and be disposed to admit that the Americans may be good patriots, I shall not pretend to say. But this I shall venture to assert, that if the Americans continue, as I have no doubt they will, to display such extraordinary traits of heroism as they did in the late engagement, not all the forces we can send out—no, nor all the huching troops of other nations, be they what they may, will ever bring America back to its former state of subjugation to this country.

An *Extraordinary Gazette*, and the American official accounts, having now put the public in possession of the details of the battle of Chippawa, I shall, with your permission, make a few remarks on that important and interesting occurrence. Before doing this, however, it may be proper to attend to the accounts which have been published on both sides.—Lieutenant-General Drummond has written a long letter on the subject, which occupies about four pages of the *Gazette*, and is filled chiefly with details as to the previous formation of his troops, and praises of his officers for their gallantry and courage during the action. The following extract contains all that he says as to what took place during the battle:—"I had scarcely completed this formation, when the whole front was warmly and closely engaged. The enemy's principal efforts were directed against our left and centre. After repeated attacks, the troops on the left were

"partially forced back, and the enemy  
 "gained a momentary possession of the  
 "road: This gave him, however, no ma-  
 "terial advantage, as the troops which had  
 "been forced back formed in the rear of  
 "the 89th regiment, fronting the road,  
 "and securing the flank. It was during  
 "this short interval that Major-General  
 "Riall, having received a severe wound,  
 "was intercepted as he was passing to the  
 "rear, by a party of the enemy's cavalry,  
 "and made prisoner. In the centre, the  
 "repeated and determined attacks of the  
 "enemy were met by the 80th regiment,  
 "the detachment of the Royal and King's,  
 "and the light company of the 41st regi-  
 "ment, with the most perfect steadiness  
 "and intrepid gallantry, and the enemy  
 "was constantly repulsed with very heavy  
 "loss. Of so determined a nature were  
 "these attacks directed against our guns,  
 "that our artillerymen were bayonneted  
 "by the enemy in the act of loading, and  
 "the muzzles of the enemy's guns were  
 "advanced within a few yards of ours.  
 "The darkness of the night, during this  
 "extraordinary conflict, occasioned several  
 "uncommon incidents, our troops having  
 "for a moment been pushed back, some of  
 "our guns remained for a few minutes  
 "in the enemy's hands, they were, how-  
 "ever, not only quickly recovered, but the  
 "two pieces, a six-pounder and a five and  
 "a half-inch howitzer, which the enemy  
 "had brought up, were captured by us, to-  
 "gether with several tumbrils; and in lim-  
 "bering up our guns at one period, one of  
 "the enemy's six pounders was put, by  
 "mistake, upon a limber of ours, and one  
 "of our six pounders limbered on one of  
 "his, by which means the pieces were ex-  
 "changed, and thus, though we captured  
 "two of his guns, yet, as he obtained one  
 "of ours, we have gained only one gun.  
 "About nine o'clock (the action having  
 "commenced at six), there was a short in-  
 "termission of firing, during which it ap-  
 "pears the enemy was employed in bringing  
 "up the whole of his remaining force, and  
 "he shortly after renewed his attack with  
 "fresh troops, but was every where re-  
 "pulsed with equal gallantry and success.  
 "About this period, the remainder of Ma-  
 "jor-General Riall's division, which had  
 "been ordered to retire on the advance of  
 "the enemy, consisting of the 103d regi-  
 "ment, under Colonel Scott; the head-  
 "quarter division of the Royal Scots; the  
 "head quarter division of the 8th, or

"King's; flank companies, 104th. Some  
 "detachments of them under Lieutenant-  
 "Colonel Hamilton, Inspecting Field Of-  
 "ficer, joined the troops engaged, and I  
 "placed them in a second line, with the  
 "exception of the Royal Scots, and flank  
 "companies, 104th, with which I prolonged  
 "my front line on the right, where I was  
 "apprehensive of the enemy's outflanking  
 "me. The enemy's efforts to carry the  
 "hill were continued until about midnight,  
 "when he had suffered so severely from  
 "the superior steadiness and discipline of  
 "his Majesty's troops, that he gave up the  
 "contest, and retreated with great pre-  
 "cipitation to his camp beyond the Chip-  
 "pawa. On the following day he aban-  
 "doned his camp, threw the greatest part  
 "of his baggage, camp equipage, and pro-  
 "visions, into the Rapids; and having set  
 "fire to Street's Mills, and destroyed the  
 "bridge of Chippawa, continued his re-  
 "treat in great disorder towards Fort Erie.  
 "My light troops, cavalry, and Indians  
 "are detached in pursuit, and to harass  
 "his retreat, which I doubt not he will  
 "continue until he reaches his own shore.  
 "The loss sustained by the enemy in this  
 "severe action, cannot be estimated at less  
 "than fifteen hundred men, including sev-  
 "eral hundreds of prisoners left in our  
 "hands. His two commanding Generals,  
 "Brown and Scott, are said to be wound-  
 "ed, his whole force, which has never been  
 "rated at less than five thousand having  
 "been engaged." Enclosed I have the ho-  
 "nour to transmit a return of our loss,  
 "which has been very considerable. The  
 "number of troops under my command did  
 "not for the first three hours exceed six-  
 "teen hundred men; the addition of the  
 "troops under Colonel Scott, did not in-  
 "crease it to more than two thousand eight  
 "hundred of every description."  
 "As the enemy's account of this engage-  
 "ment, contrary to the usual practice of  
 "American writers, is very short, I shall here  
 "give it at full length—"Copy of a Let-  
 "ter from Capt. J. Austin, Aide to Gen.  
 "Brown, to the Secretary at War, dated—  
 "Head quarters, Buffalo, 29th July 1814.  
 "I have the honour of addressing you by  
 "desire of Gen. Brown, who is now con-  
 "fined by wounds received in a severe en-  
 "gagement with the enemy, on the after-  
 "noon and night of the 25th instant.—Our  
 "army had fallen back to Chippawa.  
 "The enemy collecting every regiment  
 "from Burlington and York, and meeting

"with no opposition on Lake Ontario, transported by water to Fort George, troops from Kingston, and even Prescott, which enabled them to bring against us a force vastly superior, under the command of Lieut.-Gen. Drummond and Major-General Riall. They were met by us near the Falls of Niagara, where a most severe conflict ensued. The enemy *despised the ground with resolution*, yet were driven from every position they attempted to hold. We stormed his batteries directly in front, and took possession of all his artillery. Notwithstanding his immense superiority both in numbers and position, he was *completely defeated*, and our troops remained on the battle ground without any interruption. As, however, both General Brown and General Scott had received severe wounds, almost every chief of battalion disabled, and our men quite exhausted, it was thought proper to retire to our encampment, which was done in good order, without any molestation from the enemy—our wounded having first been removed. Major General Riall, with the Aide-de-Camp of Lieut.-Gen. Drummond, and about 20 other officers, with 200 privates, are taken prisoners. The loss on both sides is immense—but no account has yet been returned. The Aide and Brigade Major of Gen. Scott are both severely wounded, and Capt. Spencer, an Aide of Gen. Brown, most probably dead, having received two balls through his body. Both Generals Brown and Scott are on this side confined by their wounds. General Ripley commands on the other.—I have the honour to be, very respectfully, Sir, your most obedient servant, L. AUSTIN, Aide-de-Camp.—P. S. Gen. Brown received his wounds at the same instant during a late part of the action, but still continued to keep his horse until exhausted by loss of blood. This probably has rendered his wounds more painful than they otherwise would have been."

On reading these two accounts of the same affair, one is forcibly struck with the opposite statements they contain, and which it would be a vain task in me to attempt to reconcile. We, it is natural, will be inclined to believe our own General, while the Americans will as naturally believe theirs. The safest way, in my opinion, is to consider the affair a *drawn battle*. But whatever may be said as to this, there can be no dif-

ference of opinion as to the most important feature in it—namely, the *undisputed bravery* of the Americans, and the little hope this affords that the contest will be soon terminated.—It is not so clear on the enemy's account, who were the assailants; but General Drummond states, that it was the Americans who *commenced* the attack in the first instance, and who afterwards *renewed* it, after both sides had received reinforcements. This shows that the soldiers of the United States are as little afraid of us as their sailors. They had heard as much about our victories in Spain and Portugal as their seamen had heard of our naval exploits. Yet, with as little experience, they dared to face the conquerors, and, notwithstanding our troops were long experienced in war, and accustomed to triumph, the American soldiers *renewed* the attack with equal determination. "Of so determined a nature," says General Drummond, "were these attacks directed against our guns, that our artillerymen were bayoneted by the enemy in the act of loading, and the muzzles of the enemy's guns were advanced within a few yards of us."—Thus, it will be observed, is not a panegyric of their own General, but a compliment paid by a British Officer who witnessed "this extraordinary conflict," and which, as a brave and courageous man, he could not refrain paying even to an enemy. It will also be recollected, that the Americans were not, in this instance, fighting upon their own territory. They had invaded our possessions, and were attacking us upon our own ground. Consequently they had not the same motives for extraordinary exertion they would have had, had they been repelling invasion, instead of being themselves the invaders. Can it be doubted, therefore, when they are driven back, *if we are able to do it*, that they will fight with equal courage, when they have their homes and their country to protect against foreign aggressors? As to what is said about the *superior numbers* of the Americans at the Battle of Chippawa, I would remark, that British valour was formerly held to consist in our soldiers beating their foes with an *inferior force*. During the last American war, we used to boast that one Englishman could beat three Frenchmen at any time, though, I confess, I did not hear much of this sort of fighting in the late war with France. How comes it then, that we did



not, on this occasion, beat the Americans; when, as admitted by our own General, we had *three* men to their *five*, and that these three, in point of military skill, were superior to the whole American army put together. Without meaning to question the truth of what General Drummond states, I do think there is evidence that the British army, at or near the scene of action, was upwards of four thousand strong, while the enemy were under *thirt* thousand.—The Montreal papers of the 22d July, are just before me, in which I find it *officially* stated, that dispatches had been received by General Drummond from Major-General Riall to the 17th instant, at which time, “the Major-General’s collective force amounted to *above four thousand*, with which it was his intention “to take up a position at the Twelve Mile Creek,” and, in the same dispatch, it is added, that “the enemy in the afternoon “of the 15th, advanced a strong column “from Queenston, consisting of about *three thousand men*, with a six-pounder and howitzer, and approached Fort George, “evidently with the intention of establishing their positions, to enable them to “carry on their operations against this post.”—In a subsequent dispatch, from General Riall’s head-quarters, at Twelve Mile Creek, dated the 22d July (only three days before the Battle of Chippawa), it is said “the troops were in good spirits, “had daily skirmishes with the enemy, “always to the advantage; bringing in “many prisoners. *The army was about being joined by the 89th and De Watteville’s regiments.* General Drummond “would arrive on the 24th.”—The engagement took place on the 25th, and, from General Drummond’s letter, it appears that, on his arrival, he “moved with “the 89th, and detachments of the Royal “and King’s, and light company of the “41st, in all about *eight hundred men*, to “join Major-General Riall’s division at “the Falls.”—If we add these eight hundred to the division with General Riall, which, as already noticed, exceeded four thousand, the whole united force under the command of General Drummond, will be found to amount on the day of the battle, to at least five thousand men. It is no where said that the Americans had been reinforced since the 15th, when their army was estimated at “about three thousand.”—Had additional troops joined, previous to the 25th, our officers could easily have

ascertained this, for the opposing armies were so close upon each other as to have “daily skirmishes.”—To what then are we to attribute their *silence* respecting a circumstance of such importance, and which, in the hourly expectation of a general action, they could not fail to know?—It would have a considerable influence, not only in deciding the contest, but in enabling officers afterwards to determine where the greatest merit lay?—It is said, that our General detached a part of his troops from the main body, and marched them to some other point, I answer, that this is a *gratuitous* way of reasoning. But admitting it, for argument’s sake, I would then say, if the American army had really increased to five thousand, it will be impossible to clear our commanding officer from blame, for exposing our army, in such circumstances, to the risk of being attacked and defeated by a superior force.—But if it is supposed the enemy were *not* reinforced, and had only three thousand men, as originally stated, General Drummond will then stand acquitted for having reduced his force to an equality with his opponents. It is impossible, with the clear evidence arising out of the Montreal official accounts, for me to entertain any other view of the subject: unless, indeed, I give up my judgment altogether, and take the *Courier*, or some such scurrilous and prostituted journal, for my

This brings me to make a few remarks on some statements respecting this subject, which appeared in the *Courier* of Wednesday. It was there said, that the American officer in the account which he gave of the battle of Chippawa, *admitted* that he had been *defeated*, attributed this defeat to the *superiority* of the British army, and that the Americans had, from the commencement of the action, 5,000 men engaged. The *first* and *second* assertions, I shall shew to be *false*, by the very document which the *Courier* refers to in order to establish their truth; and the *third* I shall prove to be *false* by the statement of General Drummond. It is *not admitted* in the enemy’s account of the battle, that they were *defeated*. On the contrary, that account expressly says:—“Notwithstanding his (General Drummond’s) immense superiority, both in numbers and position, he (Gen D.) was *completely defeated*, and our troops remained on the “battle ground without any interruption.” The question here, let it be recollected, is



not whether we or the Americans had the best of the day; but whether the assertion of the *Courier*; that the American General acknowledges he was defeated, is true or false. Instead of acknowledging any such thing, he affirms the contrary, which, on this point at least, destroys the credit of that living journal. As to the second point, we have the following reasons assigned, in the American dispatch, for the retreat of their army:—"As both General Brown and General Scott had received severe wounds, almost every chief of battalion disabled, and our men quite exhausted, it was thought proper to retire to our encampment." The *Courier* said, that it was pretended by the enemy, they retired in consequence of the superior forces we brought against them. The quotation I have just given, shews this statement to have been as unfounded as the former. --With regard to the last particular, that the Americans, to the amount of five thousand men, were engaged with our troops from the commencement of the action, either the *Courier* has stated what it knew to be false, or we must charge this falsehood to the account of General Drummond. This gallant officer says, that the whole force of the enemy engaged "has never been rated at less than five thousand."—But then he no where states, that this number of men were in action from the beginning. On the contrary, after stating, that the battle commenced at six o'clock, he adds, "About nine there was a short intermission of firing, during which, it appears, the enemy was employed in bringing up the whole of his remaining force, and he shortly after renewed his attack with fresh troops."—Here then is it established, beyond all doubt, that it was only a part of the American army that engaged a part of ours, during the first three hours of the combat. It was not till after a pause in the operations, and after both armies had received an addition of fresh troops, that the action was renewed, in which the whole force of the Americans were brought into the field. The *Courier*, however, challenges the veracity of General Drummond, and, in opposition to the Gazette, boldly asserts the fact to be, that the Americans "had more than 5,000 men, whilst we had, for the first three hours, no more than 1600!"—Such is the way in which our vile press sport with truth, and mock the willing dopes of their own credulity.

22d. Sept. 1814.

V L P T E A S.

## AMERICAN NAVY.

MR. CORBET.—The very clear illustration, which you have so lately given, of the original grounds of the war with the United States of America, and the convincing manner in which have shown, that these grounds have ceased to exist, is highly creditable to your talents, and to your character as a public writer. You cannot, however, but be aware, that, in the present state of our corrupt press, little good is to be expected from your patriotic and disinterested exertions. Instead of our writers on the American war meeting the question, as they ought, and as you have so candidly done, they seem to vie with each other in rendering it obscure, and in endeavouring to fix the stigma of the war upon the Americans, which, it is so very plain, can be fixed no where but upon ourselves. Thus, by confounding facts, and bewildering the minds of their readers, they succeed in gaining their approbation of measures, which, were the truth told, they would condemn, and in rousing public indignation against a people who have sprung from the same stock as ourselves, and whom every consideration of policy and justice ought to lead us to respect as brethren. These effects are certainly deplorable; but they are the result of a credulity that seems to be interwoven with the composition of our countrymen, and for which, I am afraid, there is no effectual remedy. Combined with this credulous disposition, there is a strong predilection in the public mind to regard the successes of the enemy, if not defeats, as of no consequence whatever, while every partial advantage we obtain, is magnified into a splendid and glorious victory, and every predatory landing on their coasts, as almost decisive of the fate of the entire continent of America! The *Courier* of Monday last, for example, contains the following insolent gascade:—"Whilst our army is distinguishing itself by such brilliant successes in Canada, our navy keeps every port in the United States in a state of alarm and confusion! We sail up rivers, take towns, destroy magazines, and advance to within twenty miles of the American capital. This is as it should be. We owe it," as we said on Friday, "not only to ourselves but to posterity, in the war provoked by America, and engaged in for the most unjust purposes, to make such an impression upon her fears as shall curb her desire of aggrandisement and conquest for many years to

"come."—In this short extract, there are *not less* than three distinct falsehoods as to the *cause* of the war with America. It was *not* provoked by the American Government, but by us. It was *not* entered into on their part for unjust purposes, but to vindicate the *personal* rights of its citizens. It is *not* from a desire of aggrandisement and conquest that the Americans prosecute the war, but to resist the attempts now made (after the original grounds of war have ceased to exist) to compel the relinquishment of a portion of territory in our favour, which never before was the subject of contention.—As to our navy keeping the ports of the United States in a state of *alarm* and *confusion*, I am not disposed to question this. But I have yet to learn that we have either "taken towns or destroyed magazines" belonging to the enemy. At least, if we have done more in this way than holding out *threats*, I should like to have some better evidence of the fact than the statement of the *Courier*. It is true, I recollect something of an attempt, on the part of Sir John Warren, to take possession of Craney Island. But here, if the Americans did not defeat our purpose, they were indebted for their good fortune to the *stupidity* of the planners of the attack, who found it necessary to relinquish it after our troops were in the boats, in consequence of the want of water to carry them in shore—a circumstance as capable of being ascertained *before* as after the attempt. The affair which has just happened near the Falls of Niagara, has all the appearance of a *drawn* contest, in which neither of the parties had any great advantage over the other. When the American account of this battle arrives, it will then be seen how far my opinion is correct. Meanwhile, though the *Courier* seems to be *fully satisfied* with these great and glorious achievements, I perceive that the *Times* newspaper does not feel quite so easy upon the subject. In the leading article of this morning there is the following disponding paragraph—"We must own that we had hoped, *ere this*, to have had to record 'victories obtained in America at a *less* expence of blood. It is not economy in war, it is cruelty, to keep back the force which would render opposition vain. It is a wanton waste of valuable lives, to take the field with an inferior army, when we have it in our power to display an irresistible superiority. From the moment of the treaty of peace, it has

been a matter of *astonishment* to the public in general; what could have provoked the *intemperate transportation* of our victorious troops at once from *Bordeaux to America*.—When this servile tool of a party professes to be so very ignorant, as to the reason why Lord Wellington's army was not immediately shipped off for America, he seems to have forgot all that he so lately said, about the *necessity* of our keeping up a *large army* in Belgium, in order to support the claims of our dear ally, the Prince of Orange, to that country. It was that me alone that paralyzed our efforts against the Americans, and until Ministers give up their views as to continental arrangements, or these matters be finally adjusted, it is in vain to expect a vigorous prosecution of the war on the American soil.—But then, we have a *navy*.—Yes, a *formidable* navy, consisting of a *thousand* ships of war. A navy, by which we have actually *annihilated* the fleets of France, Holland, Spain and Denmark, and rendered all other European States in a manner *tributary* to our victorious flag. Why does not the *Courier* boast of the mighty things done against the American navy, which is but in its infancy, by so tremendous a force? Why does the *Times* indulge itself in declamations about the distribution of our *army*, when the disposal of our *navy*, and the little it has accomplished against America, presents so wide a field of animadversion? Have our brave tars done enough for glory, that they are now to be laid aside? Or rather, has not the influence and importance of those who conduct the affairs of this essential department of our national defence, been superseded by that of the army? Whichever of these may be the cause of our naval inaction, it is *galling* to think of the numerous losses the country is every day sustaining, through the activity and daring of the Americans. A list of raptures, made out from Lloyd's list up to the beginning of this month, makes the number of our vessels taken by the enemy amount to ONE THOUSAND TWO HUNDRED AND FORTY NINE! In the month of August alone, no less than one hundred and five of these were captured. But it is not capturing merely that is the most vexatious and degrading part of the business. The greater part of these vessels have been taken in *sight of our own ports*, by an enemy over whom the *Courier* exults, that "our navy keeps every port in the United States in a state of alarm and confusion."

Would it not be *wiser* if that navy, instead of employing itself in *alarming* the old women and children on the coast of America, and burning their houses, were to return home and *protect* our own coasts, and commerce, from an evil ten times more fatal to us than all the injury we can ever do in that predatory warfare? This is not that sort of *glory* to which British tars used to be accustomed. A Nelson and a Cochrane sought out, fought, and vanquished the enemy. We seem to shun the contest; or if we do engage in it, such is the rapiditate to which our gallant tars have been reduced, by long neglect and discouragement, that the Americans have almost uniformly been the victors. It has been attempted to ac-

count for these decided advantages, by stating, that the enemy's vessels were larger, and carried more guns than ours. Formerly, the courage of our seamen used always to consist, in their beating an enemy *superior* both in number and weight of metal.—It is not, however, the fact, that our vessels have *always* been *inferior* in point of strength to the Americans. This will appear quite evident from the following statement of the relative strength of the different ships of war, taken by the Americans; and by us since the commencement of hostilities, and the number of guns carried at the time by the captors, and the captured.—

*The Ships of War taken from us stand thus:—*

<i>Vessel's Names.</i>	<i>Rate</i>	<i>Mounted.</i>
Frigate, Java.....	8 guns..	19
— Macedonian.....	78	19
— Guerrier.....	38	19
Six p of War, Frolic.....	18	24
— Peacock.....	18	20
— Epervier.....	18	22
— Reindeer.....	18	20
— Avon.....	18	20
Gun-Brig, Boxer.....	14	16
— Dominica.....	10	17
— Bellahoe.....	8	10
Six and of Vessels on Lake Erie, under the command of Capt. Barclay.....		68

<i>By whom taken.</i>	<i>Rate.</i>	<i>Mounted.</i>
Constellation.....	14 g.	32
United States.....	14	32
Constitution.....	41	32
Wasp.....	18	20
Hornet.....	18	20
Peacock.....	18	22
Wasp.....	18	20
Ditto.....	18	22
Enterprise.....	14	16
Decatur (Privateer).....		7
Perry (ditto).....		5
Taken by a Squadron, under the command of Commodore Perry.		

*The following Captures made by us:—*

Chesapeake.....	36	48
Argus.....	16	20
Lexington.....	32	44

Shannon.....	38	49
Pelican.....	18	32
Phoebe.....	30	49
Olmutz.....	20	28

All the vessels taken by us from America appear, from the above statement, to have carried *fewer* guns than the captors. Several of these, taken from us were *superior* in this respect to the Americans who took them; and although those captured by the latter were not all of that description, yet, if we calculate the number of guns actually mounted at the time of engaging by all the vessels put together, it will appear that our ships of war carried in the aggregate 512, while those of the enemy had only 466—making a difference of 46 guns *less* on board the Americans.

The above facts speak volumes:—They shew the shameful and gross imposition of *amusing* the public, with accounts of great successes, said to be obtained by our army in America, while an *entire silence* is kept up as to our disasters at sea; they refute the ungenerous and invidious charge brought against the Americans, that they owe their naval victories to the superior number of guns carried by their ships of war; and they overthrow the assertion, which has

been so often made, that our commerce is sufficiently protected by a judicious disposal of our navy. If these facts, relative to our *maritime* war with America, have become so clear and demonstrable, it will be nothing surprising, considering how much our Rulers occupy themselves with European affairs on the Continent, should our American troops be ultimately compelled to retire from the contest, with equal disgrace and humiliation.—I am, your constant Reader, NAUTICUS.

*Depford, Sept. 21, 1814.*

**LORD COCHRANE, AND THE ELECTORS OF WESTMINSTER.**

*Kirkcaldy, Sept. 8, 1814.*

In consequence of previous intimation, a considerable number of the well-disposed and respectable Inhabitants of Kirkcaldy, assembled at the Wellington Inn here, for the purpose of forming a Congratulatory Address to the Honourable, Free and Independent Electors of Westminster, on their re-election of the Right Honourable

*Lord Cochrane*; when the following was publicly read and approved of, ordered to be signed by the Chairman, in name of the Meeting, and transmitted by the Secretary to the Honourable Sir Francis Burdett, Bt. Baronet:—

WILLIAM DAVIDSON, in the Chair.

GENTLEMEN,—In imitation of the very respectable Inhabitants of Paisley, we now presume to step forward to congratulate you on the laudable and praise-worthy step you have lately taken, in re-~~electing~~ electing the Right Honourable Lord Cochrane as one of our Members for Westminster, whom the base time-servers of the day had, through wicked and deceitful means, unworthily deprived of his seat in Parliament. Not satisfied with this, his Lordship's enemies pushed matters so far as to obtain a sentence of pillory, fine, and imprisonment, as if he had been a common felon—nay more, deprive him of those laurels he had so magnanimously won, and so justly merited at the hand of his country. His Lordship's firmness and praise-worthy resignation under these uncommon sufferings, we cannot too much admire and respect; and we fondly hope that, notwithstanding all these afflictions, his innocence will soon be confirmed by the exposure of those base intriguers and their intrigues, to the utter confusion of all time-serving placemen and their confederate henchings. We rejoice that his Lordship possesses laurels more noble and lasting, which it is not in the power of Princes, nor their advisers to bestow, or take away. We also trust, that when his Lordship shall assume his honourable seat, he will be more emboldened than heretofore, in conjunction with your other Honourable Member Sir Francis Burdett, in opposing corruption and its abettors, till the nation, roused from its lethargy, shall unite, in behalf of all those who have been unjustly wronged; and thus will our little happy island outvie, and triumph over all her enemies, both at home and abroad. Gentlemen, we hope and flatter ourselves that you will have no cause to lament the re-election of your Right Honourable Member; we have no doubt his Lordship will be proud of the honour you have done him, as it cannot but attach him more closely to you, and to the interests of the nation. We know that many thousands in Great Britain rejoice at the step you have taken, and the victory ob-

tained by his Lordship, who, nevertheless, are afraid to show themselves, lest, like some of old, they are put out of the Synagogue. We still hope, however, that the stigma cast on his Lordship's friends, instead of intimidating them, will rather embolden them to come forward, and publicly declare the sense they have of his Lordship's innocence. That the honourable and praise-worthy Electors of Westminster may prosper, and succeed in all their laudable undertakings, and long enjoy the distinguished services of their able and truly honourable representatives; and when they shall have done their duty in their day and generation, that others, in succession, may fill their place who shall equal them in abilities and fortitude, is the ardent wish of this Meeting.

Signed by appointment,  
WILLIAM DAVIDSON, Chairman.

#### CORRUPTION

SIR.—I do not think that a word, in the whole circle of our language, could be found to designate more aptly, and with greater effect, the system presently acted upon in this country than the word *Corruption*. Dr. Johnson says that it signifies *wickedness, perversion of principles; the means by which any thing is intruded; deprivation*.—I was lately reading the Discourses of Algernon Sidney, concerning Government, in which I found the following passage, that struck me very forcibly as applicable to the present times, and as greatly tending to illustrate the meaning Dr. Johnson has affixed to this word.—Some of your readers may, perhaps, be able also to discover the resemblance “Cesar set up his tyranny by spreading corruption farther than others had been able to do; and though he, Caligula, and some others, were slain, yet the best men found it as impossible to restore liberty to the city when it was corrupted, as the worst had done to set up a tyranny whilst the integrity of their manner did continue. Men have a propensity to run into all manner of excesses, when plenty of means invite, of which the succeeding Emperors took advantage, and knowing that even their subsistence depended upon it, they thought themselves obliged by interest, as well as ambition, to make honours and preferments the rewards of vice, and though it be not always true in the utmost extent, that all men follow the example of the King, yet it is of very great efficacy.

*Filices witnesses and accusers had a better trade under Tiberius than under Trajan, who abhorred them; and whores, fillers, with other such vermin, abounded certainly more when encouraged by Nero, than when despised by Antoninus and Marcus Aurelius.* All tyrannies have had their beginnings from corruption: the histories of Greece, Sicily, and Italy, shew that all those who made themselves tyrants did it by the help of the worst, and the slaughter of the best. men could not be made subservient to their lusts whilst they continued in their integrity, so their business was to destroy those who could not be corrupted, they must therefore endeavour to maintain the corruption by which they attain to their greatness. 'Tis not easy to name a Monarch that had so many good qualities as Julius Cæsar, till they were extinguished by his ambition, he knew that his strength lay in the corruption of the people, and that he could not accomplish his designs without increasing it. he did not seek good men, but such as would be for him; and thought none sufficiently addicted to his interests, but such as stuck at the performance of no wickedness that he commanded having spread his poison among the soldiers, his next work was by corrupting the Tribunes to turn their power to the destruction of the people, which had been erected for their preservation."—Yours, &c. DION.

SPANISH AFFAIRS.—In Europe and in South America the affairs of Spain are every day assuming an aspect more consoling than they have of late, because they are more favourable to liberty. The last accounts from Buenos Ayres convey the agreeable intelligence of the surrender of Monte Video, the last strong hold, in that quarter, of Spanish despotism. "The fall of Monte Video," says the writer of these accounts, "is considered as a death blow to the monarchical system in this part of the world."—In the mother country, oppression still rears its head, but measures are pursuing of a nature so obnoxious, that the disaffected must, ere long, become sufficiently formidable to overawe their oppressors.—Almost every where the people are ready to proceed to extremities, and to repay, with usury, the wrongs they are suffering by the re-establishment of political and spiritual tyranny. The country is in a

manner hermetically sealed, for the purpose of preventing intelligence of its real situation transpiring. But this does not always prevent the truth from coming out. From Cadix a proclamation, and general order, has been received, issued by the Captain General of that province on the 28th ult. which sufficiently develope the agitated state of the public mind. He complains of "the seditious conduct of some individuals," he talks of "traitors and disturbers of the public repose who continued to mislead the people"; he says that "these offences can no longer remain unpunished;" that "justice shall in future be executed with the celerity it demands," that a military tribunal will be established to decide *within three days*; and that every one is to be brought before it, who may be "accused of having directly or indirectly spoken against the Sovereignty of Ferdinand VII."—When a Government finds it necessary to resort to measures of this description, in order to compel a people to be loyal, it is very plain that its power is fast verging to a close. But the most extraordinary part of this Spanish Captain's proclamation is that which respects the other Sovereigns of Europe.—After stating that every Spaniard "ought implicitly to obey the orders of the Monarch," he assigns as a reason for this, that these orders have been "recognised by the Powers of Europe."—He also asserts, that Ferdinand owes his restoration to the thrones of Spain and the Indies to "the valour and fidelity of his subjects and armies." I question much whether any of the Powers of Europe (unless indeed we except the Pope) have given a direct sanction to the measures of which the people complain. But although they had; although all the world had recommended the re-establishment of the Inquisition, and the uncontrollable domination of the priesthood, it was the duty of the King to reject this; and to shew, by the establishment of good laws, that he consulted the happiness of a people, to whom, he admits, he is indebted for his crown.—In giving them up to the savage controul of a barbarous and British clergy, he puts the seal upon his own ingratitude, and relieves his subjects from all obedience to his orders and decrees.

SUMMARY OF POLITICS.

AMERICAN WAR.—We have now the two accounts of the battle of *Chippawa*, and also the American account of that memorable and important contest. It showed our force at about three or four thousand men; and it appears now, that it did not amount to three thousand, out of which we lost 10 killed, wounded, missing, and prisoners, 978. The Americans say, that their force was inferior to ours. They state that they have *eighteen* of our officers prisoners, and their account agrees with ours as to the numbers that they took in the battle. Our *Gazette* says, that we took "several hundreds of prisoners." But, why have we no detail? why no detailed list of what we have captured? Surely, several hundreds are soon counted. A flock and sheep, spread over a field, are counted in ten minutes. These omissions look suspicious.—It is certain, however, that the Americans did *retreat* with the prisoners they had made, and that they had to contend with a most gallant army. Numerous as were the battles of Napoleon, and brave as were his soldiers, I do not believe, that even he, the greatest warrior that ever lived, can produce, from his wars, an instance of a contest so well maintained, *pro*, in proportion to the numbers engaged, *so bloody* as this of *Chippawa*. Our own account tells us, that our first in command was *severely wounded*, our second in command *severely wounded and taken prisoner*; and, when we come to see the American account, we find, that their first and second in command were both so severely wounded, that neither was able to write, or to dictate, a dispatch to the Government several days after the battle. Yet we find, that this little band of men (as the Americans must be), though really left without heads to direct them, took off the cannon and the prisoners that they had captured during the engagement.—It appears from General Drummond's account, that the cannon of the two armies were run up to each others muzzles; that the fight was so close, and the confusion so

great, that the Americans, in one instance, put their horses into the limbers (or shafts) of our cannon, instead of the shafts of their own; and that the Americans *put down our artillerymen from the very sides of our guns*.—The *Morning Chronicle* expresses its great satisfaction, that the expedition has, at last, sailed from Portsmouth to America. A few more battles, like that of *Chippawa*, would cause this organ of the Whigs to change its tone.—As I said before, it does appear, that the Americans, after the battle, *retired some miles*; and so does an army very often, when it has been successful. How many victories, good God! did we win in Portugal and Spain, without stopping an hour on the field of battle, but retreating from it with all possible speed? Did we not win a most glorious victory at *Corunna*; and did we not instantly embark, in the utmost confusion, leaving the town to the *barbarous enemy*? Did we not win a still more glorious victory at *Talavera*, which earned the winner a title, and yet, did we not leave even our own wounded to the humanity of Napoleon's gallant army?—Now, the Americans, though they retired, they retired with our second in command, and a great many other prisoners. Why, therefore, may they not, in fact, have been the victors, if we were the victors at *Corunna* and *Talavera*?—But, it is of little consequence who really gained the victory. The important fact is, that we have now got an enemy, who fights us bravely as ourselves.—For some time the Americans put on figure on land. They now have proved to us, that they only wanted time to acquire a little discipline. They have now proved to us what they are made of; that they are the same sort of men as those who captured whole armies under *Buigoyne* and *Cornwallis*; that they are neither to be frightened nor subdued; and that, if we should beat them at last, we cannot expect to do it without expending three or four hundred millions of money, keeping up all our present taxes, and adding to their amount, or imposing new taxes.—These are the facts, that

are now proved to us; these are the natural consequences of battles, such as that of Chipawa.—It has been stated in the newspapers, that Admiral Cochrane has taken BALTIMORE, the capital of Maryland; that Stonington has been demolished; that we are about to attack New London; and, therefore, says the writer, Jonathan must look sharp about him.—Baltimore is hardly taken, and will, I dare say, never be taken, without a most bloody contest. But, supposing it to be so; for our ships of great size can go quite up to the city, unless prevented by batteries on shore. Suppose the fact to be true, how are we to maintain that position? And, if we could maintain it for a year, how much nearer are we to our object? Baltimore is exposed to our attacks from its vicinity to the sea, and from the immense river that opens the way to us to reach it. But what is that place, or even all the State of Maryland, when we are talking of this great Republic, inhabited by free men, resolved to defend their country?—From the first, it was allowed by me, that we should do immense mischief, that we might burn many villages, towns, and cities, destroy mills and manufactories, and lay waste lands upon the coast, to the great loss and distress of numerous individuals. But, at the same time, I anticipated, that these acts would only tend to unite the Americans, and, in the end, produce such a hatred against us, as would not only render final success impossible, but, as would tend to shut us out from all future connection and intercourse with that great and fertile region.—There seemed to be wanting just such a war as this to complete the separation of England from America; and to make the latter feel, that she had no safety against the former, but in the arms of her free citizens.—We were told, as the reader will recollect, that the Eastern States would, in case of war, separate themselves from the rest of the Union, and join themselves to us. But, it now appears that our first grand stroke of destruction has been given in these our favourite States. Stonington, we are told, is demolished; and New London's; we are told, about to share the same fate. These places lie in our favourite State of Connecticut, in the midst of the Eastern States, who were to join us against their own Republican Government! This fact is, of itself, quite enough to overthrow all the stories about a separation of these States.—These

States now see what they have to expect at our hands, and, indeed, they did not want to see their towns destroyed, in order to be convinced that their safety lay in their firm obedience to the Union, and in the resolution to stand by their own Government.—It is, I suppose, intended to batter them into a separation; but, who is fool enough to believe, that such a mode will succeed with such a people? The demolition of Stonington will, in all probability, render the name of England so hateful in our favourite States, that no man will dare to raise his breath in defence of her conduct.—If we had confined our land war to Canada, it is possible, that Mr. Madison might have found it very difficult to make the people see how they were interested in the contest; but, the moment we shewed our design of carrying fire and sword along the whole coast of the United States, that moment we bound the whole of the people up like the bundle of sticks, described in the fable; especially as the manifestation of this design was accompanied, on the part of almost the whole of our public prints, with the open declaration, that it was necessary, now that we had the opportunity to subjugate America, to counter-revolutionize her, to destroy her Government, to reduce her to her former state of dependence on us. It is of great importance, that we bear in mind, not only these declarations, but also the time, when they began to be made.—While the duration of the power of Napoleon was not doubted; as long as there appeared to be no prospect of seeing him put down, a sort of ambiguous language was held as to the object of the war with America. Mr. Madison was accused with being a friend to Napoleon, he and his countrymen were abused; but nothing was distinctly said as to the object of the war. As the affairs of Napoleon grew gloomy, our prints, from time to time, grew high in their language as to the object of the American contest; and, when Napoleon was actually put down, they threw off all reserve, and, in the most distinct terms, with an air of official authority, they informed us, that we were not to lay down our arms, till we had effected, in America, what had been effected in France. The Government, we were told, was to be done away. Mr. Madison was to be deposed, as Napoleon had been. Our army, then in France, were to do in America what they had just done in France. That is to say, they were “to deliver the Ame-



"vicars from an oppressive *usurpation*,  
 "and restore them to their *for ever happy*  
 "connection with a paternal Government."  
 These declarations were, at the period I  
 allude, daily made in the *Times* and the  
*Courier*. Nay, it is only a few days ago,  
 that the *Times* newspaper, in expressing  
 its regret, that the Sovereign Prince of the  
 Netherlands had sent an Ambassador to  
 America, observed, that, if he had stopped  
 on a few months, he might have been  
 sent to the disgrace of sending an Ambassa-  
 dor to such people as James Madison  
 and his party. Let it further be borne in  
 mind, that, soon after the deposing of Na-  
 poleon, there having been a debate, in the  
 House of Commons, relative to the reduc-  
 tion of the navy, there was published in the  
 newspapers of the next day, a paragraph,  
 purporting to be the report of a speech of  
 Sir Joseph Yorke, one of the Lords of the  
 Admiralty, in which paragraph it was  
 stated, that, though Napoleon was deposed,  
 we could not yet disdain to any great extent,  
*namely*, that there was Mr. Madison yet to  
 depose.—The newspapers have, ever since,  
 held the same language. They have, since  
 the deposition of Napoleon, wholly left out  
 of sight the *original* ground of the war.  
 Nay, they pretend to have no ground at all.  
 But insist, that, as we now have the *oppor-  
 tunity*; as we have a fleet afloat, and a  
 disciplined army that we know not what to  
 do with, we ought, while the occasion  
 offers, to *re-conquer* America; or, at least,  
 to despoil her in such a way, that she shall  
 never again be able to shew her nose upon  
 the sea.—They have published a list of the  
*American Navy*; and have observed upon  
 it, that, if America be not *now* cut up; if  
 she be not *now*, while France, Spain, and  
 Holland are unable to assist her; if she be  
 not *now* crippled past recovery; if she be  
*now* suffered to have peace; if, in short,  
 she be not *now* destroyed, it is fearful to  
 think of the degree of Naval power,  
 at which she may arrive in the course of  
 ten or a dozen years of uninterrupted pros-  
 perity, having had a proof of what her sea-  
 men are capable of performing.—That I  
 have here not overcharged, not, in the  
 smallest degree, misrepresented the lan-  
 guage of these prints, every reader will  
 allow; and, indeed, I must confess, they  
 spoke, very nearly, the language of the  
 whole nation. How the people of Ame-  
 rica, from whom nothing can be kept se-  
 cret, have received this language, I know  
 not; but, if I were to judge of their feel-

ings by what I know to be their character,  
 I should suppose, that it must have filled  
 them with indignation, if, indeed, that feel-  
 ing did not give way to that of contempt.  
 They must, however, have seen the abso-  
 lute necessity of union and of exertion, un-  
 less they were disposed to become again  
 dependant upon England; unless, in short,  
 they were disposed to become again Royal  
 Provinces, governed by the sons of the no-  
 bility of England.—The time, chosen by  
 our prints for the making of those undi-  
 guised declarations, was very suspicious.  
 It was the moment when France, Spain,  
 and Holland were put into a state, which  
 rendered it impossible for them to assist  
 America. It was the moment when we  
 were freed from all enemies; when all the  
 maritime force of Europe was in our hands.  
 It was, in short, the first seemingly fair  
 opportunity for subjugating America that  
 had been offered us since the conclusion of  
 the American war; and this opportunity  
 the language of these prints must have led  
 the Americans to believe was about to be  
 taken for the purpose of executing the  
 project.—In the year 1794, or 5, a Mr.  
 Rutledge, who was a judge in South Car-  
 lina, made a speech, in which he brought his  
 country to join itself with the Republic of  
 France in a mortal war against England.  
 "She will," said he, "*never forgive us*  
 ' for our success against her, and for our  
 having established a free Constitution.  
 Let us, therefore, while she is down,  
 seize her by the throat, strangle her, de-  
 liver the world of her tyranny, and thus  
 confer on mankind the greatest of bless-  
 ings." As nearly as I can recollect  
 them, these were his very words. I am  
 sure that I have the ideas correct.—I and  
 many more cried aloud against the barba-  
 rity of such sentiments. They were con-  
 demned in speeches and pamphlets innume-  
 rable.—But, have we not reason to fear,  
 that the present language of our newspa-  
 pers may make the Americans think that  
 Mr. Rutledge was in the right; and make  
 them regret, that they did not join the  
 Republic of France in the war? If they  
 had taken that step, in the year 1795, the  
 Republic of France might still have been  
 in existence, and the situation of all Eu-  
 rope very different indeed from what it  
 now is. The English party, the love of  
 peace, and the profits of peace, were too  
 powerful in the United State for those  
 who thought with Mr. Rutledge. Much  
 was said about *principles*. but, it was the



love of the profits of peace which prevailed over every other consideration.—The Americans have now seen enough to convince them, that it would have been their soundest policy to have taken *one side or the other*, long ago.—What they wished for was, *peace and commerce with all the world*; but they have now found, that, to enjoy some peace, they must be prepared to have some war; and that to enjoy independence and freedom, they must make themselves respected in arms.—If the war should end without our doing something, approaching very nearly to the *subjugation* of America, it will prove a most calamitous war to us. Because it will have added immensely to our debt; it will have left us horribly exhausted; it will have given France a time of peace and economy wherein to recover her wonted means of meeting us by land or by sea; it will have made the Americans both a military and a naval nation; it will have given to these two nations the most powerful motives to a close connection, dictated by their mutual wants and safety; it will have rendered America not only completely independent of us as to manufactures, but will have implanted in the bosoms of her people a hatred against us never to be removed or mollified.—If, indeed, we were to subjugate America, to make the States again our colonies; or were, at least, to destroy all her ships of war; raze all her fortifications; stipulate with her never again to make a cannon, a ball, or a pound of powder; to place in our hands, as guarantees, all her principal sea-ports and all the mouths of her rivers; and to abstain from every sort of manufacture in the country. If we were to accomplish *either* of these, we might have little to apprehend as the consequence of a five or six years war against America. But, if we accomplish neither, how will the case stand? Why, thus: she will, *single handed*, have carried on a war against us. She will have, through the world, the reputation of having been able, alone, to *beat* England; for, to defend herself against us is, in such a case, to *beat* us. Other nations, sore at the sight of our predominance on the sea, will look up to America as to a balance against us. They will naturally seek a connection with a country, offering innumerable sources of beneficial intercourse. She, whose products are so abundant, and (now, in request all over the world, and

every man of enterprise, will have all the world, England excepted, for her friends. No nation will envy or hate her but England; because, to every other nation, the increase of her population, her produce, her commerce, and her naval power must be advantageous.—She may, and she doubtless, will, *suffer* much in this war. Many of her towns will be knocked down; thousands of her people will be greatly injured. But if she keep on launching ships of war, as she is doing at present, she may have a score of ships of the line and forty frigates, at the end of a six years war, manned with such officers and sailors as those whom we have already seen abroad, and to whom we have had the inexpressible mortification to see so many English ships strike their flags, after contests the most desperate and bloody. If this were to be the effect of this war of *drubbing*, how should we have to curse those malicious writers, who, for so many months, have been labouring to cause this nation to believe, that it will only be a holiday-undertaking to slub, to humiliate, and to subdue the American nation.—I am aware, that there is a description of men in this country, who say, that, even with all these possible, and even probable, evils before us, we ought to have undertaken, and ought now to proceed with, the war. ‘Because,’ say these men, ‘even if these evils should come *with* the war, they would all, or, at least, the worst of them, come *without* it. Not to have undertaken the war, or to put a stop to it now, would have been, and would now be, to leave the Americans in possession of the naval reputation they have acquired, in possession of all the means of augmenting their naval force, and, what is of still more consequence, in the enjoyment of *real* freedom, and of happiness unparalleled, under a *Republican* Government, at once an example and an asylum to all the *despots* of every country in Europe. Leaving her thus, she must, in the present state of men’s minds, prove the destruction of all kingly Governments, and of every hierarchy in the world. Therefore, even failure in the war is no objection to persevering in it, seeing that the worst that can arise out of the war, must arise out of suffering this Republic to enjoy peace, especially with the reputation that she has acquired on that element, the absolute dominion of which we have so long claimed. When there is, at least, a possibility of destroy-



ing this Republic by war, and *no possibility* of avoiding destruction from *war* without war, reason says, *go on with the war*."—I know that there are many that argue thus, because I have heard them argue thus. And, I must confess, that, if I could bring myself to their feelings as to the consequences which they dread, I should be bound to say, that their arguments were unanswerable. As the matter stands, I could, I think, give a satisfactory answer; but, as every one likes to have something left to be supplied by himself, I leave the reader to give to these arguments such an answer, as, after some minutes of sober reflection, his mind may suggest. —Before I conclude, however, I must repeat what I have before said, as to the dilemma in which we are placed. It is very certain, that America, at peace, in the enjoyment of such perfect freedom and such great superiority, under a Republican Government, the very head of which does not receive above five thousand pounds a year, and having no established church, and no use for the hangman; it is certain, that America, presenting this picture to the world, might, and would keep alive the spirit of *Jacobinism* in Europe; and that spirit might, in a few years, produce very serious consequences. —But, on the other hand, to prevent her from presenting this dangerous picture to the world, *we must keep up all our present taxes, and, perhaps, continue to make loans*. —This is the dilemma; the grand dilemma, in which we are at present placed, and out of which, I must confess, I do not see how we are to get, unless we were, as the *Times* supposes we shall, to finish this insolent Republic in the space of "a few months."

NAPLES. —I have for some time intended making a few observations on the wise policy pursued by the present King of Naples, and the great benefits resulting therefrom to his subjects. It will be recollected that Murat, who had been one of the Emperor Napoleon's best generals, enjoyed a more than ordinary share of his confidence, and, as a reward for his merit, was raised to the throne of Naples; was afterwards prevailed upon, by the Allies, to withdraw his support from his former master, and join his troops to those engaged against France. At first sight, this looked like ingratitude. But, when a nearer view was taken of Murat's situation, and

the motives influencing him attentively considered, it appeared to me, at the time, that he acted a prudent part; such a part as fully justified the step he had taken, and cleared him from all censure. The reason he assigned for agreeing to this new alliance was, that he was *obliged* to adopt that measure; that he was threatened with dethronement if he continued any longer in alliance with the Emperor of the French. This, at least, cleared him of all suspicion of having volunteered in the cause of the Allies. Murat, however, had not only acquired the art of war, and learned to be a politician; he had been taught the science of Government; and, as it now appears, was fully occupied, at the time of Napoleon's reverses, with plans of improving the state of the country which he governed, of abolishing the ancient tyranny, and of giving good laws to his subjects. He was evidently aware, therefore, if he rejected the flattering offers that were made him to join the coalition, that there was a probability of his being deprived of the opportunity of ameliorating the condition of his people, without benefiting the cause of France. Hence his acquiescence in the proposal to make common cause with the Allies. It was conjectured by some, not without the appearance of probability, that the King of Naples, notwithstanding his joining the enemies of France, was secretly attached to Napoleon. For this I do not see how any one can blame him, if, at the same time, it is acknowledged, that he owed his elevation to the French Emperor. It has been since said, and that only very lately, that Murat was carrying on a treasonable correspondence, through means of his officers, with the Island of Elba. It is easy to account for reports of this nature, when it is seen that Ferdinand, the deposed King, is publicly avowing his determination not to relinquish his claims to the possession of the throne of his ancestors. There are men, in every country, ready, on all occasions, to court the favour of the great by calumniating their supposed enemies, and to such men —the unprincipled flatterers of the former monarch —may easily be traced these base accusations against the present King. Murat, I have no doubt, entertains the highest respect and regard for Napoleon, and may anxiously desire, without committing any crime, to do him a service. — But that he should *openly*, by sending military officers to the place of his retire-

ment, seem to invite him again to take the field, and to assert his claims to the crowns of France and Italy, which he has so recently resigned, at the desire of the people, would be to suppose that Murat had, in a moment, lost all sense of prudence, and adopted a line of policy totally different from that by which he formerly gained so much credit, and secured for himself the quiet possession of the throne of Naples. Though these vile traducers of his fame deserved, in my opinion, to be treated with silent contempt, Murat has shown otherwise, as appears from the following declaration, published in the *Napoleonic Moniteur* of the 29th ult.—

*“Ministry of General Police.*—It is not without surprise, that the Government has been informed by letters from Civita-Vecchia and Leghorn, that some individuals, calling themselves officers, employed in the service of his Majesty the King of Naples, and decorated with his Royal Order, have announced themselves as Envoys from the Court of Naples to the Isle of Elba. Although nobody can be deceived as to the object of this miserable stratagem, the undersigned thinks it necessary to declare, that these intriguers do not belong to the kingdom of Naples; that they are unknown to it, and that they have never been charged with any mission to the Isle of Elba. All the Local Authorities are requested to arrest every individual who shall state that he is charged with a similar mission.”—This declaration must prove a death blow to all the hopes of the partisans of Ferdinand. Besides, they must know, that the present sovereign’s title has been recognised by all the powers of Europe, not even excepting Great Britain, who, nevertheless, are so inconsistent as to refuse acknowledging the titles of the very man who, by force of arms, placed Murat on a throne. The respect paid to a General of Napoleon in this case, as well as in the case of the Crown Prince of Sweden, who exercises the sovereign authority by no better title than that by which the French Emperor reigned, ought surely to have procured more attention to the wishes of the latter, when he stipulated—not for the possession of a kingdom to which another had a prior claim, but for the mere acknowledgment of an empty title, that could neither enrich him, add to his consequence, nor injure any of the contending parties.—But, the most amiable part of Murat’s

character remains to be illustrated. I have already said, that, on ascending the throne of Naples, he occupied himself with improving the state of the country, with abolishing the former tyranny, and with giving good laws to his subjects. The external affairs of his kingdom, while the struggle with France existed, must have left him little time to attend to its internal management. Still, it appears, that he possesses a mind, like Napoleon, capable of greater exertions than most other sovereigns; and, as there is every reason to believe he seriously wishes to better the condition of man, that, in the midst of war, he found leisure to enter into effect many of his beneficent schemes. Only six years have elapsed since Murat obtained possession of the throne of Naples. During that short period he has done more substantial good than all the sovereigns of Europe put together have done for the last century. He has awakened a national spirit among the depressed and degraded Neapolitans; he has created a brave and well-disciplined army; he has given them wise, political, and judicial institutions; he has concerted on them the means of acquiring education; and, in every part of his Government, measures are uniformly pursued, calculated in an eminent degree, to promote the happiness and prosperity of the nation. The weakness and crimes of former kings, who abandoned themselves to dissipation and cupidity, while they left their subjects to be the prey of an interested and barbarous clergy, ultimately drove them from the throne, and, through the instrumentality of Napoleon, prepared the way for the elevation of a man, who appears fully convinced that his best title to the Crown, and its future stability, consists in his making the happiness of his people the chief object of his care. The political causes which led to this important alteration in the condition of the people of Naples, have been very ably discussed in a pamphlet recently published by Ridgway, entitled, “A Letter by an Englishman lately on his Travels in Italy; written on his return to England in Aug. 1814.” This pamphlet gives its origin to the pretensions of Ferdinand against Murat’s right of possession, which the author endeavours to establish, and, I think, pretty successfully. First, upon the right of conquest and cession; secondly, the acknowledgment of the title by all the sovereign powers of Europe, and thirdly, the de-

cession and abdication of the throne by the former monarch. But the most interesting part, is that on which this writer grounds Murat's preferable claim upon his attention to "the happiness and prosperity of the Neapolitan people." Here his title rests upon a basis that, I trust, will never be undermined. It was a similar title that commanded my respect for the Emperor Napoleon; and it is a title without which, in my estimation, every Chief ought to be regarded as a tyrant and usurper, and compelled to relinquish sovereign power. That the reader may judge how far Murat, King of Naples, merits his present elevation, and is entitled to possess the throne he occupies, I have annexed to this article our author's remarks.

*On the happiness of the Neapolitans, and on the prosperity of the kingdom.*

Every acute observer will have remarked, that so much trouble and agitation in Europe has happened, only because certain Governments have too much neglected the principal object of their institution—the public felicity, and the general prosperity. If the happiness of a nation is the truest title of a King, and if that happiness consists in causing a nation to be respected abroad, and in protecting at home the personal safety of all, the liberty, property, and industry of individuals, we find this entirely accomplished at Naples by the beneficial effects produced by the Government of Joachim, who has inspired a national spirit in a country so long agitated by violent parties, and rendered amiable the royal authority, which had been for a long time so persecuting and odious. From whence we may conclude, that *affection towards a king, is no more than an affection for his Government, and an acknowledgment of his justice.*—Joachim Murat has succeeded in a very few years in forming a navy, as far as is necessary for the defence of the coasts, and for protecting the commerce of the kingdom. He has excited and encouraged industry, manufactures, and commerce, as much as the general state of warfare would permit. He has formed an army, prone to war, well disciplined, and which has recently given proofs of courage and order, when it was incumbent on it to protect the Ecclesiastical States, and the Grand Duchedom of Tuscany, against the calamities which threatened those countries. The jurisprudence has been reformed; the tribunals administer justice throughout the

provinces with zeal and equity. The taxes are uniformly distributed, and each Neapolitan blesses the order and regularity now established by the Government of Joachim.

Let us now compare this statement, the work of a few years, with the result of the Government of the last dynasty, during the space of seventy years, that it reigned over Naples, and we shall soon perceive the just motives for which the inhabitants of the whole kingdom give so decided a preference to the actual Government.—Charles III. was certainly known to possess a great character for probity, and many other distinguished qualities; but he was wanting in the knowledge necessary for appreciating the resources offered him by the kingdom of Naples, and the genius of its inhabitants: he only conceived the project of a code of laws; he undertook the construction of some public edifices in the capital of his estates, in which he left some traces of magnificence and utility; but every branch of administration, and of political economy, were entirely neglected. Naples possessed neither a civil, nor a criminal code, nor administrative laws. The people of the law, exclusively confined to the knowledge of the laws of the Lombards, of the municipal, of the Roman and canon law, disposed in an arbitrary manner of the fortune and of the liberty of the citizens. To this species of judiciary despotism and legislative chaos, was joined the absolute authority of the King, who, under the name of dispatches, or royal and ministerial decrees, made a capricious interpretation of the laws, destroying the effect and disposition of them. These dispatches had even the force of laws, there not being any power that could stop, or prevent the execution of them. In Naples, with regard to judiciary or administrative institutions, and the public education, there were no traces, except in the remembrance of what had been done by the Princes of the Houses of Suabia and Aragon. The policy of the last dynasty at Naples, was to annihilate every power that might counterbalance or temper the royal authority. There were no means of opposing the absolute, or despotic power, but the effect of two institutions. The first consisted of the strength and opinion of the feudal lords over their vassals: the second was in the simulacrum of a national representation in the *Senato* or *Piazza*, a species of corporations chiefly noble, which in the annual the de-

stroying of these two institutions, was the same as reducing the inhabitants of the ~~most~~ <sup>best</sup> country in the world, to the rank of the wretched population of Senegal, or the country of the Caffres: This species of national representation of the ~~Senate~~ <sup>Senate</sup> in *Pizzano* was abolished, and the places in which their sittings were held were demolished: so much did these Princes dread even the traces of the edifice. In order the easier to deceive the Neapolitan nobility, on the motives of this destructive proceeding, the Government ordered all the ancient nobility to be numbered by classes,\* deigning that these, or rather the privileged few of the royal anti-chamber, would perfectly replace, in the administration of the city, those ancient bodies of the *Pizzano*, who, joined to some members of the commercial community, for several centuries past, had invigorated over the public administration. Moreover, the policy of Government was such as, 1st, To oblige the barons and great proprietors to reside at Naples under its jealous inspection: In a short time all the provinces were deprived of their greatest landed proprietors, who, alone, had the power of rendering them rich and happy. 2d, To establish no where but in the capital, tribunals, colleges, universities, honours, employments, arts, manufactures, commerce, and even the printing-offices. It was thus, that the rest of the Kingdom was deprived, through a false and suspicious policy, of every means of civilization, and doomed to ignorance, misery, and servitude. It was thus, that the provinces were abandoned, and nine parts in ten of the population reduced to a state almost of savages, whilst that, the other tenth part, was destined to live amidst the intrigues of the Court, and the tumult of the tribunals and courts of justice, consuming their lives and fortunes in the eternal enjoyments of luxury and dissipation. The Government of Ferdinand sought in vain the means of inspiring a military and national spirit: where there is no example to follow, and where the concentrated order of a good administration exists not, there can be neither army nor country. The Government of Ferdinand was occupied in establishing a powerful navy; but it was

out of all proportion to the revenues of the State; and, above all, with a State that possessed neither commerce, navigation, nor colonies. This great oversight in the Government, produced these disastrous consequences that might be expected.

This was all that was done by the Government of the former dynasty, from the year 1735, in the beautiful Kingdom of Naples; while, on the contrary, in the course of a few years, under the new reign of Joachim, Naples possesses a *civil code*, a *penal code*, an *administrative code*, and a *commercial code*. Each province has its own tribunals; people having suits at law are no longer obliged to ruin themselves, by coming to Naples to solicit a judgment. *Feudalism is abolished*, as well as all exclusive privileges; the Neapolitans enjoy a *perfect equality in the face of the law*. The *abuses of monastic institutions are destroyed*, the prelates and monks, the Catholic religion, the only ones protected by the law, enjoy all the consideration that is due to them, with stipends and funds proportioned to their decent maintenance. *Property is very much divided*. A *republican system of finance*, that unfolds every year to the Neapolitan nation the true state of her wants, and her resources, presents at the same time a table of the established taxes, and of the disbursement made with the public revenues. A *national representation assembles every year*, forming the councils of the commons, district, and provinces; the deputies are chosen by the people. These councils statute and deliberate on the objects of interior administration, whether it be relative to the administration, or to the use made of the public money. They may propose plans of useful establishments, the King having reserved to himself the right of approbation. No law is published, unless approved of by the Council of State.—All the provinces enjoy the benefit of *colleges, lycæums, primary and secondary schools, and charitable establishments*. They have *judicial offices and manufactures*; in short, under the new Government, all the inhabitants, from Calabria ultra to the extremity of *Abruzzi*, have within their reach all the different institutions, *judiciary, administrative, and of public education*; and they have the means of making a progress in civilization, without being under the necessity of recurring to the capital.—As to the Neapolitan army, it is *numerous, well-looking, and brave*; it has proved that the southern

\* By decree for the creation of a register of the golden age.

\* A nobleman, who made too long a residence on his estate here, he suspected, was conspirator, in the eyes of the Government, and could not gentleman go to his estate without permission.

Italians have rivaled in courage, and the thirst of glory, even the Italians of the north, in the fields of battle, in Spain, in Germany, and in Italy.—This army, which, led by its king, has distinguished itself under his orders, has nothing in common, nor that can be compared with the army of 1798, nor with that of 1806. It has for its chief, and for its model, a great captain, who has made his essays in Africa, as well as in Europe. It has imbibed a national spirit, because the sovereign who commands it is occupied in promoting civilization, and causes the rights of the people to be respected.—I do not here speak merely of the troops of the line, which are equally remarkable for discipline, and for exactness in their manœuvres. I owe the same praises to 70,000 legionaries, or national guards, armed, enregimented, and all chosen from amongst the body of the proprietors of the kingdom. These are the 70,000 legionaries, that, whilst the regular army was employed in Germany and in Spain, have alone defended all the coasts of the kingdom of Naples with as much zeal as bravery, and I might here invoke the testimony of my compatriots, the officers and sailors of the English navy, who are ever ready to do justice to the brave of all nations.—The *armata* is not given its, and out of proportion with the state of the revenue as in the time of Ferdinand. It is composed of good officers and sailors, and adapted to its principal destination, which is to defend the coasts, the commerce, and the coasting trade, against the pirates, and the Barbary powers.

Such are the various titles of the actual Government to the affection of the people, who in Joachim Murat have placed all their hopes of a perfect civilization, of reform in the administration, and of the public welfare in general.—After this painting of the prosperity of the kingdom of Naples, is it possible to raise a doubt whether it will most promote the happiness of the Neapolitan people, to continue to live under the reign of Joachim, author of so much good, or to retrograde by returning under the Government of Ferdinand Bourbon?

COLONEL QUINTIN.—It appears that this officer is now before a *Court-Martial* at Brighton. The reader may, probably, remember, that about two years and a half ago, there was a discussion, in the House of Commons, on a motion of Lord Pulteney, relative to the employment of German

and other foreign officers in our army. During this discussion, it was shewn, that it was *unlawful* to employ such persons in any other corps than in those authorised, by Act of Parliament, during the present war; and this Quintin was particularly named, as a person employed *contrary to law*. The fact was not denied by the Ministers, and those who justified their conduct and the conduct of the military departments; but, it was asserted; and especially by Colonel Palmer, the other Colonel of the regiment (the 10th dragoons), that this Quintin was a person of *most rare and wonderful merit*.—With these facts in my memory, it was not without feelings of great indignation, that I read the other day, in the *Globe* newspaper, a paragraph stating, that in the Court-Martial now carrying on against Colonel Quintin, Colonel Palmer acts *offensively*, not by choice; that the charges have been made *by the junior officers*, and that these charges will *revert upon themselves*, if they should fail in making them good.—It appears to me to be, that this paragraph must have been not only to cause the question to be *propagated* by the public, but to *intimidate the prosecutors and the evidences*. Let it be observed, that, at the time this paragraph was published, the Court-Martial was actually assembled; the trial was actually going on, and, it is clear as daylight, that the object of this publication must have been to produce a feeling in the public for the accused, and *against the accusers*.—Now, who would dare to take upon him to say, in print, that Colonel Palmer acted an *unwilling* part in the performance of the office of prosecutor? who, I say, would, without some extraordinary cause, dare do this? And thus, not very darkly to give it to be understood, that the Colonel, at least, looked upon the charges as *groundless*?—But, be this as it may, whence comes the assertion, that, if Quintin be *acquitted* the guilt will fall upon the *junior officers*, who, it is said, have accused him? Whence comes this assertion? Whence comes the boldness to broach such a doctrine? If a man be acquitted on a charge of sheep-stealing, or of murder, does the charge, or its consequences, fall upon the accusers? Is the man, who accuses another of forgery, in case of acquittal, hanged in the stead of the accused? We know that this is not so; and, we also know, that, if it were so, NO MAN WOULD EVER BE AC-

CUSED of sheep-stealing, murder, or forgery. This would be the most effectual mode that could possibly be devised for smothering accusations; and, if adopted in the Army, or Navy, it is pretty clear, that we shall never again hear of any misbehaviour of any officer of high rank.—It must be evident to every one, that the *inferior* officers have much against them in the making of accusations against their superiors; that they must feel the many disadvantages under which they labour; that at never can be a *trifling* matter to put them in motion against their Commanding Officer, who has so many means of annoying the first to complain of his conduct.—Therefore, when complaints are preferred by junior officers against their Commanders, they ought, it seems to me, to be heard with attention; and *support* ought to be tendered them, and not threats held forth to *intimidate* them.—I know nothing of the nature of the charges against this foreigner; I have never heard them stated, I have never heard any particulars relative to the conduct or the character of the man; but, I know well; that it is, during the sitting of a Court of any sort, upon any case, monstrously indecent and unjust, to publish *threats*, calculated to *intimidate* prosecutors or witnesses, and, that such is the tendency of the paragraph above-mentioned, no man in his senses can doubt.

**CORN BILL.**—Since my last, I have the mortification to hear, that the importation of cattle from France is *stopped altogether*; and that butter, eggs, &c. are to pay a heavy duty.—I have no doubt, that the *Corn Bill* is to be tried again; and, therefore, I shall, in the course of two or three Numbers, make all the efforts I am able to prevent the adoption of so mischievous a measure; a measure which would deprive us of the only advantage promised us in peace; namely, an intercourse with a nation which has freed itself from its ancient trammels.

#### AMERICA.

MR. COBBETT.—Since the close of the drama, entitled "a war against spartaco," we have had a little more to attend to the lesser drama, entitled "the American War," which is now performing for the amusement and satisfaction of John Bull.—While the former, with all its accompaniments was going on,

in a manner, close at our doors, the latter was deemed too distant, and too insignificant for "the most thinking people in the world," to think any thing at all about it.—Now, however, the case is different.—As we have got Boney, like Prometheus, fairly chained to his rock, with, I suppose, the accompaniment of his vulture too, in the shape of remorse, or rather of regret, we have leisure to look about us, and to consider this *nice little bit of a war* in all its bearings.—John Bull has bawled himself hoarse, hurraing for the peace.—He has burnt oceans of oil, and tons of tallow, besides abundance of royal rockets, and squibs, and crackers, in celebrating the *glorious peace*! And after all the noise and fuss is over, he stands with a stupid stare of amazement, wondering how the deuce this peace feels so very unlike what he expected.—He feels almost as incredulous about it, as Lord Peter's brothers did, when he wanted "to palm his damn'd crusts upon them, as mutton!" He holds a dialogue with himself, something like the following,—*"So, we have got peace, have we?"*—Aye, so they tell me; but somehow "or other" it does not feel of the right sort.—But what say the Funds? rising, "eh? Sinkung, sinking"—What says "Omnium"? Below par.—Property Tax "taken off"? Not a sou.—Other taxes "lowered"? No, not one.—Ships paid off; "troops disbanded"? No such thing.—*"Humph! this may be peace; but, odds, it feels, somehow or other, devilish like a war."*—Aye, honest John Bull; and devilish like war thou wilt find it, let me tell thee. The sapient and humane editor of "the Times" talks of "*crushing* the Americans at once," just as a giant would crush a blind puppy! But good Mr. Times, that is easier said than done. As far as vulgar Billingsgate abuse can go, you, and your brother of the *Courier*, have done your best to irritate and inflame the Americans. But, we might as well expect pure water from a jakes, as decent language or liberal sentiments from two such corrupt sources.

In the Minister's speeches, delivered through the Regent, we have been repeatedly told of the *unprovoked* aggression on the part of the Americans! If he had concluded to mention the instances of aggression, it would have been more satisfactory; for I, for one, must be pardoned, for not believing even his *royal* word upon such an occasion. So far from having been the aggressors, they bore with our



insolent Orders in Council, much longer than we would have borne any thing similar on their parts; and all they now ask is that we shall not stop their ships, and take what of their crews we think proper, without proving them to be British subjects. This is, on their part, the *sole cause* of the war! Give up this, and they will make peace to-morrow.—But, softly; that would not suit our *worthy* Ministers. War is their harvest, and taxes and loans are their crops. Now, no man likes to reap a scanty crop, when he may have a full one. They have of late been accustomed to the sweets of handing upwards of ONE HUNDRED AND TWENTY MILLIONS A YEAR, with all the power and patronage consequent upon such an enormous sum; and, I am afraid, it would require even more virtue than they are possessed of, to conclude a peace which would deprive them of one half of their power, besides disobliging a vast number of *worthy* people, who, at present, are in the best humour possible, but who would grumble sadly, if their sop was taken from them.—The American War is an *entertainment* of that kind, that they can and will spin out just as long—as John Bull has any money to pay for it.—They may burn some sea-port towns, and do a deal of mischief to individuals, but, as to making any serious impression on America; I question if even the learned Secretary to the Admiralty believes it to be possible. We tried it once before, when all our means were fresh and vigorous; when the American population was not *one third* of what it is now, when their Government was weak and without credit, and when we had many partisans in their country.—How our attempt ended, is well known; and how any similar attempt would now end, may be very easily conjectured.—Among all the other evils our infatuated Ministry are bringing upon their devoted country, they are forcing America to become a great naval power; and although our present *able* and *active* Admiralty may ridicule the idea, yet the oldest of them may live to see cause to think very differently upon this subject. Our merchants now begin to take the alarm; these impudent dogs of Yankees are taking their ships at their very doors. They deserve to suffer; richly deserve it. The bulk of them have all along been zealous Government men of the true *Pitt Street* strenuous supporters of the war, so long as they could make a farthing by it; and all most

anxious for *humbling* the Yankees; but now that they are getting *some* raps over the knuckles from these same Yankees, they make a most terrible song about it.—Instead of petitioning the Agent to read a lecture to *his* friend Croker, about *convoying* their sugar and tobacco, they would have acted more justly and more wisely had they petitioned him at once to put an end to an unjust and unnecessary war, instead of singing out about their paltry individual losses, which, compared to those of the nation, are as a drop in the ocean.—Talleyrand, in the *Exposé* of his budget, says, that every individual in this country pays *five* times as much in taxes, as every individual in France pays. Their debt is trifling; while ours is creeping up almost beyond the power of figure to count. The prospect is sufficiently appalling; but, I repeat it, the *fingering* of the immense sums which the Ministry are of late been accustomed to, is too precious a privilege to be abandoned without compulsion. Let them then be compelled to abandon it; let the voice of the people be heard, in a way not to be misunderstood; let petitions and remonstrances from all quarters be poured in, demanding that an end be put to an odious and unjust war; and let them not be misled by a cry about our maritime rights, but calmly ascertain whether these rights are *not* wrongs. In short, in judging of these, let them apply the universal golden rule of “doing as they would be done by.”—I remain, Sir, yours, &c. G. K.

Strathmore, Sept. 19, 1814.

ATTACK ON FORT ERIE—BATTLE OF CHIPAWA—DEVASTATION AT WASHINGTON.—I have inserted below the most material parts of the *official* documents respecting these important occurrences, upon which I will make some remarks in my next. At present I shall only observe, that notwithstanding all our *boasting* about the taking of Washington, we have not been the *gainers* by the event whatever the Americans have lost. Our troops, in fact, were obliged immediately to *decamp*. They could not remain a single day.—and thus must they do every where they land. Only think of the *expense* of such a war! We conquer nothing; we capture nothing; and almost every action is followed by a *retreat*.—

GENERAL BRONX'S REPORT OF THE BATTLE OF THE 25th OF SEPTEMBER AT THE FALLS OF NIAGARA. SIR,—*Commodore* and I was, and have been,



since the last engagement with the enemy, I fear that the account I am about to give may be less full and satisfactory than under other circumstances it might have been made. I particularly fear that the conduct of the gallant men it was my good fortune to lead, will not be noticed in ~~the~~ <sup>our</sup> way, due to their fame and the honour of our country.

You are already apprized, that the army had on the 25th ult. taken a position at Chippawa. About noon of that day, Colonel Swift, who was posted at Lewistown, advised me by express, that the enemy appeared in considerable force in Queenstown, and on its heights; that four of the enemy's flat had arrived during the preceding night, and were then lying near Fort Niagara; and that a number of boats were in view, moving up the strait. With a few minutes after this intelligence had been received, I was further informed by Capt. Deamon, of the Quarter-master's department, that the enemy were landing at Lewistown, and that our baggage and stores at Schlosser, and on their way thither, were in danger of immediate capture.

It is proper here to mention, that having received advices as late as the 20th from General Gaines, that our fleet was then in port, and the Commodore sick, we ceased to look for co-operation from that quarter, and determined to disencumber ourselves of baggage, and march directly to Burlington Heights. To mask this intention, and to draw from Schlosser a small supply of provisions, I fell back upon Chippawa. As this arrangement, under the increased force of the enemy, left much at hazard on our own side of the Niagara, and as it appeared by the before stated information, that the enemy was about to avail himself of it, I conceived that the most effectual method of recalling him from this object was to put myself in motion towards Queenstown. General Scott, with the 1st brigade, Towson's artillery, and all the dragoons and mounted men, were accordingly put in march on the road leading thither, with orders to report if the enemy appeared, and to call for assistance, if that was necessary.

On the General's arrival at the Falls, he learned that the enemy was in force directly in his front—a narrow piece of woods alone intercepting his view of them. Waiting only to give this information, he advanced upon them. By the time Assistant Adjutant-General Jones had delivered his message, the action began, and before the remaining part of the division had crossed the Chippawa, it had become close and general between the advanced corps. Though General Ripley, with the 2d brigade, Major Lindman, with the corps of artillery, and General Porter, at the head of his command, had respectively pressed forward with ardour, it was not less than an hour before they were brought to sustain General Scott, during which time his command most skillfully and gallantly

maintained the conflict. Upon my arrival I found that the General had passed the wood, and engaged the enemy on the Queenstown road, and on the ground to the left of it, with the 9th, 11th, and 22d regiments, and Towson's artillery.

The 25th had been thrown to the right, to be governed by circumstances. Apprehending that these corps were much exhausted, and knowing that they had suffered severely, I determined to interpose a new line with the advancing troops, and thus disengage Gen. Scott, and hold his brigade in reserve. Orders were accordingly given to Gen. Ripley. The enemy's artillery at this moment occupied a hill which gave him great advantages, and was the key of his whole position. It was supported by a line of infantry. To secure the victory, it was necessary to carry this artillery, and seize the height. This duty was assigned to Colonel Miller, while, to favour its execution, the 1st regiment under the command of Colonel Nichols, was directed to menace and amuse the infantry. To my great mortification, this regiment, after a discharge or two, gave way, and retreated some distance before it could be rallied, though it is believed the officers of the regiment exerted themselves to shorten this distance.

In the mean-time, Colonel Miller without regard to this occurrence, advanced steadily and gallantly to his object, and carried the height and the cannon. General Ripley brought up the 23<sup>d</sup> (which had also faultered) to his support, and the enemy disappeared from before them. The 1st regiment was now brought into a line on the left of the 21st, and the detachments of the 17th and 19th, General Porter occupying, with his command, the extreme left. About this time Colonel Miller carried the enemy's cannon.

The 25th regiment, under Major Jessup, was engaged in a more obstinate conflict with all that remained to dispute with it the field of battle. The Major, as has been already stated, had been ordered by General Scott, at the commencement of the action, to take ground to his right. He had succeeded in turning the enemy's left flank—had captured (by a detachment, under Captain Ketchum) General Riell, and sundry other officers, and showed himself again to his own army in a blaze of fire, which defeated or destroyed a very superior force of the enemy. He was ordered to form on the right of the 2d regiment. The enemy rallying his forces, and, as is believed, having received reinforcements, now attempted to drive us from our position, and regain his artillery. Our line was unshaken, and the enemy repulsed. Two other attempts, having the same object, had the same issue. General Scott was again engaged in repelling the former of these, and the last I saw of him on the field of battle, he was near the head of his column, and giving to its march a direction that would have placed him on the enemy's right. He

was with great pleasure I saw the good order and intrepidity of General Potter's Volunteers from the moment of their arrival but during the last charge of the enemy those qualities were conspicuous.

Stimulated by the examples set them by their gallant leader, by Major Wood of the Pennsylvania corps, by Col. Dobbin, of New York, and by their officer in general, they precipitated themselves upon the enemy's line, and made all the prisoners which were taken at this point of the action.

Having been for some time wounded, and being a good deal exhausted by loss of blood, it became my wish to devolve the command on General Scott, and retire from the field; but, on inquiry, I had the misfortune to learn that he was disabled by wounds, I therefore kept my post, and had the satisfaction to see the enemy's last effort repulsed. I now resigned the command to General Ripley.

While returning from the field, I saw and felt that the victory was complete on our part, if proper measures were promptly adopted to secure it. The exhaustion of the men was, however, such as made some refreshment necessary. They particularly required water. I was myself extremely sensible of the want of this necessary article. I therefore believed it proper that Gen. Ripley and the troops should return to camp, after bringing off the dead, the wounded, and the artillery; and in this I saw no difficulty, as the enemy had entirely ceased to act. Within an hour after my arrival in camp, I was informed that General Ripley had returned without annoyance, and in good order. I now sent for him, and after giving him my reasons for the measure I was about to adopt, ordered him to put the troops into the best possible condition; to give them the necessary refreshment; to take with him the pickets and camp-guards, and every other description of force, to put himself on the field of battle as the day dawned, and there to meet and beat the enemy if he again appeared. To this order he made no objection, and I relied upon its execution. It was not executed. I feel most sensibly how inadequate are my powers in speaking of the troops, to do justice either to their merits or to my own sense of them. Under able directions, they might have done more and better.

I enclose a return of our loss; those noted as missing, may generally be numbered with the dead. The enemy had had little opportunity of making prisoners.

I have the honour to be, Sir, &c.

(Signed) JACOB BROWN.

Hon. John Armstrong, Secretary at War.

Copy of a Letter from Brigadier-General Gaines to the Secretary at War, dated

Head-quarters Fort Erie, U. C.

Aug. 15, 7 a.m.

DEAR SIR—My heart is gladdened with gratitude to Heaven and joy to my country,

to have it in my power to inform you that the gallant army, under my command has this morning beaten the enemy, commanded by Lieutenant-General Drummond, after a severe conflict of near three hours, commencing at two o'clock, a.m. They attacked us at each flank, got possession of the salient position of the old Fort Erie, which was regained at the expense of the battery, with a dreadful slaughter. The enemy's loss is killed and prisoners about 800—near 300 killed.—Our loss is considerable, but I think not one-tenth as great as that of the enemy. I will not detain the express to give you the particulars. I am preparing my force to follow up the blow.—With great respect and esteem your obedient servant,

ROBERT P. GARDNER,

Brigadier-General Commanding.

Hon. J. Armstrong, Secretary at War.

Downing-street, Sept. 21, 1814

Captain Smith, Assistant Adjutant-General to the troops under Major-General Ross, arrived this morning with a dispatch from that Officer, addressed to Earl Bathurst, one of his Majesty's Principal Secretaries of State, of which the following is a copy:—

Tonawnt, in the Patuxent, Aug. 30, 1814

MY LORD—I have the honour to communicate to your Lordship, that on the night of the 23<sup>rd</sup> inst, after defeating the army of the United States on that day, the troops under my command entered and took possession of the city of Washington.

It was determined between Sir A. Cochrane and myself, to disembark the army at the village of Benedict, on the right bank of the Patuxent, with the intention of co-operating with Rear-Admiral Cockburn, in an attack upon a flotilla of the enemy's gunboats, under the command of Commodore Barney. On the 20<sup>th</sup> instant, the army commenced its march, having landed the previous day, without opposition. On the 21<sup>st</sup> it reached Nottingham, and on the 22<sup>d</sup> moved on to Upper Marlborough, a few miles distant from Pig Point, on the Patuxent, where Admiral Cockburn fell in with and defeated the flotilla, taking and destroying the whole. Having advanced to within sixteen miles of Washington, and ascertaining the force of the enemy to be such as might authorise an attempt at carrying his capital, I determined to make it, and accordingly put the troops in movement on the evening of the 23<sup>d</sup>. A corps of about 1,200 men appeared to oppose us, but retired after firing a few shots. On the 24<sup>th</sup>, the troops resumed their march, and reached Bladensburg, a village situated on the left bank of the eastern branch of the Potomack about five miles from Washington.

On the opposite side of that river the enemy was discovered strongly posted on very commanding heights, formed in two lines, his advance occupying a fortified house, which, with artillery, covered the bridge.

over the eastern branch, across which the British troops had to pass. A broad and straight road, leading from the bridge to Washington, ran through the enemy's position, which was carefully defended by artillery and riflemen.

The disposition for the attack being made, it was commenced with so much impetuosity by the light brigade, consisting of the 85th light infantry and the light infantry companies of the army, under the command of Colonel Thornton, that the fortified house was shortly captured, the enemy retiring to the higher grounds.

In support of the light brigade, I ordered up a brigade under the command of Colonel Brooke, who, with the 4th regiment, attacked the enemy's position, the 4th regiment pressing his right with such effect as to cause him to abandon his guns. His first line giving way, was driven on the second, which yielding to the irresistible attack of the bayonet, and the well-directed discharge of rockets, got into confusion and fled, leaving the British masters of the field. The rapid flight of the enemy, and his knowledge of the country, precluded the possibility of many prisoners being taken, more particularly as the troops had, during the day, undergone considerable fatigue.

The enemy's army, amounting to eight or nine thousand men, with three or four hundred cavalry, was under the command of General Winder, being formed of troops drawn from Baltimore and Pennsylvania. His artillery, two pieces of which fell into our hands, was commanded by Commodore Barney, who was wounded and taken prisoner. The artillery I directed to be destroyed.

Having halted the army for a short time, I determined to march upon Washington, and reached that city at eight o'clock that night. Judging it of consequence to complete the destruction of the public buildings with the least possible delay, so that the army might retire without loss of time, the following buildings were set fire to and consumed—the Capitol, including the Senate-house and House of Representatives, the Arsenal, the Dock-yard, Treasury, War-office, President's Palace, Rope-walk, and the great bridge across the Potomack. In the Dock-yard a frigate, nearly ready to be launched, and a sloop of war, were consumed. The two bridges leading to Washington over the eastern branch had been destroyed by the enemy, who apprehended an attack from that quarter. The object of the expedition being accomplished, I determined, before any greater force of the enemy could be assembled, to withdraw the troops, and accordingly commenced retiring on the night of the 25th. On the evening of the 29th we reached Benedict, and re-embarked the following day. In the performance of the operation I have detailed, it is with the utmost satisfaction I observe to your Lordship, that cheerfulness in undergoing fatigue, and

anxiety for the accomplishment of the object, were conspicuous in all ranks.

To Sir Alexander Cochrane my thanks are due, for his ready compliance with every wish connected with the welfare of the troops, and the success of the expedition.

To Rear Admiral Cockburn, who suggested the attack upon Washington, and who accompanied the army, I confess the greatest obligation for his cordial co-operation and advice.

[Here the General enters into an eulogium on the good conduct of the officers of the army and navy, and concludes thus.]

An attack upon an enemy so strongly posted could not be effected without loss. I have to lament that the wounds received by Colonel Thornton, and the other officers and soldiers left at Bladensburg, were such as prevented their removal. As many of the wounded as could be brought off were removed, the others being left with medical care and attendants. The arrangements made by Staff Surgeon Baxter for their accommodation have been as satisfactory as circumstances would admit of. The agent for British prisoners of war, very fortunately residing at Bladensburg, I have recommended the wounded officers and men to his particular attention, and trust to his being able to effect their exchange when sufficiently recovered.

Captain Smith, Assistant-Adjutant-General of the troops, who will have the honour to deliver this dispatch, I beg leave to recommend to your Lordship's protection, as an officer of much merit, and great promise, and capable of affording any further information that may be requisite.

Sadgiving in hoping for the approbation of his Royal Highness the Prince Regent, and of his Majesty's Government, as to the conduct of the troops under my command,

I have, &c.

(Signed) Ross, Major-General  
Total Return of the Killed, Wounded, and Missing, of the Troops under the command of Major-General Ross, in action with the Enemy, on the 24th August, 1814, on the Heights above Bladensburg.

1 Captain, 2 Lieutenants, 5 sergeants, 55 rank and file, 10 horses, killed; 2 Lieutenants, 1 Colonel, 1 Major, 1 Captain, 11 Lieutenants, 2 Ensigns, 10 sergeants, 135 rank and file, 8 horses, wounded.

Admiralty-Office, Sept. 27, 1814.

Captain Wainwright, of his Majesty's ship *Tonnant*, arrived this morning at this Office, with dispatches from Vice Admiral the Hon. Sir Alexander Cochrane, K. B. by John Wilson Croker, Esq. of which the following are copies:—

*Tonnant*, in the *Patent*, Sept. 2, 1814.

Sir—I have the honour to acquaint you, for the information of my Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty, of the proceedings of his Majesty's combined sea and land forces since my arrival with the fleet within

the Capes of Virginia; and I beg leave to offer my congratulations to their Lordships upon the successful termination of an expedition, in which the whole of the enemy's flotilla, under Commodore Barney, has been captured or destroyed; this army, though greatly superior in number, and strongly fortified with cannon, defeated at Bladensburg—the city of Washington taken—the capitol, with all the public buildings, military arsenals, dock-yard, and the rest of their naval establishment, together with a vast quantity of naval and military stores, a tri-gate of the largest class ready to launch, and a sloop of war afloat, either blown up or reduced to ashes.

Such a series of successes in the centre of an enemy's country, surrounded by a numerous population, could not be acquired without loss, and we have to lament the fall of some valuable officers and men; but considering the difficulties the forces had to contend with, the extreme heat of the climate, and their coming into action at the end of a long march, our casualties are astonishingly few.

My letter of the 11th of August will have acquainted their Lordships of my waiting in the Chesapeake, for the arrival of Rear-Admiral Malcolm, with the expedition from Bermuda.

The Rear-Admiral joined me on the 17th, and as I had gained information from Rear-Admiral Cockburn, whom I found, in the Potomack, that Commodore Barney, with the Baltimore flotilla, had taken shelter at the head of the Patuxent, this afforded a pretext for ascending that river, to attack him near its source, above Pig Point, while the ultimate destination of the combined force was Washington, should it be found that the attempt might be made with any prospect of success. To give their Lordships a more correct idea of the place of attack, I send a sketch of the country upon which the movements of the army and navy are portrayed: by it their Lordships will observe, that the best approach to Washington is by Port Tobacco, upon the Potomack, and Benedict, upon the Patuxent, from both of which are direct and good roads to that city, and their distances nearly alike; the roads from Benedict divide about five miles inland; the one by Piscataway and Bladensburg, the other following the course of the river, although at some distance from it, owing to the creeks that run up the country; this last passes through the towns of Nottingham and Marlborough to Bladensburg, at which town the river called the Eastern Branch, that bounds Washington, to the eastward, is fordable, and the distance is about five miles. There are two bridges over this river at the city; but it was not to be expected that the enemy would leave them accessible to an invading army.

Previously to my entering the Patuxent, I detached Captain Gordon, of his Majesty's ship Seaborne, with that ship, and the ships

and bombs named in the margin\*, up the Potomack, to bombard Fort Washington which is situated on the left bank of that river, (about ten or twelve miles below the city) with a view of destroying the fort, and opening a free communication above, as well as to cover the retreat of the army, should its return by the Bladen-burg road be found too hazardous from the accession of strength. The enemy might obtain from Baltimore; it was also reasonable to expect, that the militia from the country to the northward and westward would flock in, so soon as it should be known that their capital was threatened.

Captain Sir Peter Parker, in the Menelaus, with some small vessels, was sent up the Chesapeake above Baltimore, to divert the attention of the enemy in that quarter, and I proceeded with the remainder of the naval force and the troops, up the river, and landed the army, upon the 19th and 20th, at Benedict.

So soon as the necessary provisions and stores could be assembled and arranged, Major-General Ross, with his army, moved towards Nottingham, while our flotilla, consisting of the armed launches, pinnaces, barges, and other boats of the fleet, under the command of Rear-Admiral Cockburn, passed up the river, being instructed to keep upon the right bank of the army, for the double purpose of supplying it with provisions, and, if necessary, to pass it over to the left bank of the river, into Calvert County, which we deemed a safe retreat to the ships, should it be judged necessary.

The army reached Nottingham upon the 21st, and on the following day arrived at Marlborough; the flotilla continued advancing towards the station of Commodore Barney, about three miles above Pig Point, who, although much superior in force to that sent against him, did not wait an attack, but at the appearance of our boats set fire to his flotilla, and the whole of his vessels, excepting one, were blown up.

(Signed) ALEXANDER COCHRAN,

Vice-Adm. and Commander-in-Chief.

John Wilson Croker, Esq.  
Secretary, Devastation, Alarm, Meteor, Manly,  
and Friends

#### NATIONAL DEBT.

MR. COBBETT, — I had last week put together a few thoughts respecting the relative situations of France and England, and intended to have requested of you a place for them in your Register; but, on reading your Summary of Politics of the 17th inst. I find you have anticipated my idea, and have done it in so masterly a manner, that, I think, its publication ought not to be confined to the Register alone, but that it would be a public benefit if you were to have that Summary printed by itself, and sold at a very low price throughout the three kingdoms. It

ought not to be confined merely to the reading of those who can afford to take a winter, but should be diffused, and vigorously inculcated upon the minds of all who are possessed of the powers of reflection. It has too long been the fashion, to leave what is called the *poor* out of the question; to deem that opinion of no weight, and their wants simply provided for by the *Poor House*. It is now time to alter our opinion; to consider them as our fellow-creatures, and, instead of shifting them off, as we now do, to the parish, it is our duty to enquire how so many millions of our fellow-creatures, equally gifted by nature with ourselves, and to whom a character of former industry to procure their admittance into the *Workhouse* is necessary; how they have become *poor*, while those, who grumbling at the payment of the miserable pittance we allow for their maintenance in those receptacles of distress, are become *rich*. It may be necessary also to take into our consideration the respective numbers of each, and thence to draw a conclusion.—If the operation of a certain cause, or a certain number of causes, has produced the effect of impoverishing a given number of industrious inhabitants, and of converting a given number of other inhabitants, not more industrious, but more fortunate, i. e. the number of the latter bears no proportion to the number of the former, although the intrinsic quantum of poverty and riches may nearly counterbalance each other; so that, strictly speaking, the state may not have lost thereby, property having only shifted hands; yet, falling into our consideration that society owes its existence to mutual, not partial advantage, and that Government is for the good of all; we shall find ourselves under the necessity of pronouncing that state of society to be bad which allows, and that state to be defective which operates to the advantage of the few, and the ruin of the many. Neither can we be so blind as not to see, that a society, formed on principles which throw all power and all means into one scale, cannot, and the philanthropist will add, ought not to be of long duration. But, Sir, when we have found, that these evils arise from the wanton and profuse expenditure of the public money, collected under the denomination of taxes; and proceeding further in our investigation as to the manner in which those taxes are imposed, what they are intended to perform; in what manner they are employed; it may, perhaps, strike some people, that it had been better for the English nation, in particular, and for mankind at large, had such civilisation never taken place in England, or had its Government never been invested with the power of raising a single shilling on land; the foundation of those taxes, the source of wealth to a few, and of misery to thousands. The Loan, however, once contracted, and security given for their payment, it will be more than ridiculous, it would be inhuman; to continue seeking the payment of the taxes at the hands of those who have already reached the *Workhouse*, or are posting thither. France now sets us an example, and *sus est et ab hoste docet*, by selling a part of the *Crown Domains*, to pay off the National Debt. Why then should not Britain follow the example? Why are not some of the *Crown Lands* applied to extinguish a part of our debt? Why is not a part of the lands of individuals to undergo the same fate? They are already pledged to the very Loan; they have again been repledged by the lives and fortune, men to the Crown, to carry on the war, and no one, most certainly, will dispute the validity of either pledge; the first by deliberate Acts of the United Legislature, and the other by voluntary declarations on the part of the landed and faulced gentry. But towards that portion of the public *possessed of nothing*, except their labour, and their industry, such offers, such gifts, can certainly have no relation.—Land and property are represented; they may be legally given. Labour sends no Member to Parliament. Ought Parliament then to call upon the labour of the people? Landholders and Stockholders offer their lives and fortunes to wage war, whence the poor derive only additional misery. Let the lives and the fortunes, so offered, be the price of their fondness for blood-luck; but the simple peasant, the industrious mechanic, ought not to be the sacrifice. The rich called for war, let the rich pay the taxes; or, rather, let their *superfluities* be offered upon the altar of the country, to pay off the National Debt. My paper, however, reminds me, that it is time to finish this Letter: perhaps on a future occasion the subject may be resumed.

ARISTIDES.

Sept 22, 1814.

SUMMARY OF POLITICS.

AMERICAN WAR.—The expedition against the *City of Washington*, or, rather, the result of it, has produced, in this country, the effect which might naturally have been expected.—“The Yankees are done for! Their *Metropolis* has been taken! They ran away at the sight of our troops! Mr. Madison and his Government have decamped! The States are left without Rulers! The ‘ill-organized association,’ says the *Times* newspaper, ‘is on the eve of dissolution;’ and the world is speedily to be delivered of ‘the mischievous example of the existence of a Government founded on democratic rebellion.’”—Thus says the *Times*, and thus say a vast majority of this taxed nation.—This was to be expected. The name of *Metropolis* was enough. The people here were sure to look upon it as the *London* of America; and, of course, to conclude, that America was subdued, or very nearly subdued. This is, too, the notion held forth by the newspapers; and, in fact, it universally prevails.—Now, the truth is, that the City of Washington is no city at all except in name. It was begun to be built only about sixteen years ago. The Congress has not met at it above ten or twelve years. It was built by a sort of *Lottery*, the shares of which fell, at one time, to less than 10 per cent. of their cost. The *Lottery* was drawn; the prizes were not paid. I do not, indeed, know what may have been done since I left the country, but, at that time, it was the general opinion, that it never would be a place of any consideration, though the law compelled the Congress to meet there. “Wherever the King is, there is the Court;” but, the Republican Government of America, though they may have had the puerile pride of erecting a *Capitol* and a *President’s Palace*, could not make a city, which implies a numerous population and great wealth.—But our officers, naval as well as military, appear to have perceived what would hit the taste of way-laying Johnny Bull. Johnny, who has no doubt of his

having conquered France, would, of course, be delighted at the prospect of conquering America, towards which he would necessarily look on the capture of Washington as an almost last step; and, indeed, I heard some people, usually very sensible, say, upon the receipt of the news, “Thank God, we shall now have peace, and have the income tax taken off.”—What, in the eye of common sense, is the event, of which we have made such a boasting? We have, with an enormously superior naval force, ascended a very capacious bay in America, to the distance of about sixty miles. We have landed an army; we have repulsed the militia of superior numbers (as we say); we have entered a straggling town of wooden buildings, which our own newspapers had told us the Americans themselves had acknowledged to be defenceless; we have set fire to several buildings and some ships; we have (thank God) burnt the President’s Palace, and a building on a ridiculously grand scale, called the *Capitol*, where the Legislature of the Union held its sittings; we have then retreated, and regained our ships with such haste, that we have been compelled to leave our dead, and many of our wounded officers as well as men, to the mercy of an enemy, whom our newspapers call unprincipled, cowardly, and cruel.—This is what the *Morning Chronicle* calls one of the most “gallant dashes” of the war. This is styled success. This is a victory to boast of. This is to induce the Americans to go down upon their knees, and solicit peace on any terms!—Why did our army not remain at Washington? When the French got to Berlin, Vienna, Naples, Hanover, Madrid, Amsterdam, they remained in them as long as they pleased. When they got to Moscow even, they remained for some weeks. But we, we capture the *Metropolis* of America, and we decamp instantly. We set off in such haste, that we leave behind us many of those who have been wounded in the capture. Oh! reader! how has Napoleon been blamed for leaving behind him his sick and wounded, when he retreated from Russia! And yet

we can extol the bravery and wisdom of those who, in our own service, do the same thing!—Far am I, however, from blaming Mr. Ross for leaving his wounded behind him; for, in the first place, he was sure that he left them in the hands of a very humane people, and, in the next place, by delaying his departure, he might have added a very long list to his killed and wounded. But, it is impossible to find out any apology for Mr. Ross, upon this occasion, without furnishing an apology for the so much reprobated conduct of Napoleon. Mr. Ross assigns the best possible reason for his wonderfully expeditious retreat to the ships, namely, he was afraid, that if he delayed this movement, the militia might collect in such numbers as to intercept him.—'The militia!' What that same sort of troops, whom he had just overthrown as it were by merely showing his red coats? How were they to collect in such haste? Whence were they so speedily to come?—Thank you Mr. Ross, for this acknowledgment, though, perhaps, made involuntarily, because it proves clearly, that you were fully convinced, that you were got amongst a people, on whose cowardice and whose want of patriotism, you could place not a moment's reliance; because it clearly proves, in short, that, if we succeed in this war, we have a people, an armed people, to subdue. There is one fact, stated in the report of the enterprise, to which our news-writers pay no attention; but which is of very great importance. After the American troops had gone off, and left ours to enter the city, Gen. Ross, our commander, had his horse shot under him, as he was going along at the head of his men, by a gun fired from the window of a private house. There can be no doubt that the ball was intended for the rider. This might have given him, and I dare say, did give him, a tolerably lively idea of what sort of people he was got amongst, and it ought to convince wise Johnny Bull, that to follow the advice of the *Times* newspaper, and send a large force into the heart of the country, there to take up a "commanding position," is much safer upon paper than it is upon land.—The *Times* and *Courier* are notified that our commanders did not *dare their departure* from the Capital. I dare say, that they had no disposition that way; but they ought to have collected a force to do it with

safety. That was the reason why they did not do it, and, for my part, I think the reason quite satisfactory.—The episode to the "brilliant dash," seems to have been marked with nearly all the characteristics of the "brilliant dash" itself.—Sir Peter Parker, with his ship's company and marines, go in search of a parcel of militia in a wood. The reader may not, perhaps, be aware, that there is no sort of resemblance between the American and the English militia. These militia in America receive no pay, no clothing, no arms, from the Government. Every man goes out in his own ordinary array, and carries his own arms and accoutrements. Ninety-nine times out of a hundred he finds his own powder and ball. In short, it was a body of the people, voluntarily assembled, and acknowledging no superiority not of their own electing—this was the sort of force against whom Sir Peter Parker marched.—They were, as usual, greatly superior in numbers, and, as usual, they were defeated, and run over. But, in the end, Sir Peter Parker lost his life, and his second in command succeeded. . . . .  
 . . . . . in what? Why, in bringing off to the ship almost all our wounded!—As to the destruction of the public buildings at the city of Washington, it will give great pleasure to all those who really love Republican Government. There are palaces enough elsewhere. America wants none; and, it will, I dare say, be very long before she will see another. There are very good buildings in Baltimore, Philadelphia, and many other elegant and populous cities. There wants no grandeur; there wants no capitol, no palace, no metropolis, no court. All these bring taxes and standing armies; and the Americans want neither.—There was, the other day, an article, in the *Times* newspaper, which struck me as a remarkable instance of the force of habit, and as a clear proof, that a man may accustom himself to slavish ideas, till he, in good earnest, regards as a reproach every mark of freedom.—The article, to which I allude, was a commentary on a paper, published by the person to whom the defence of New York is committed, and who, in a very pressing manner, invites, exhorts, requests, and beseeches persons, capable of bearing arms, to come forth and augment his force, &c. &c.—Upon this, the Editor of the *Times* observes, that this Officer cuts a most sorry and lamentable figure, and he jests most





merely upon the *tune* of the poor gentleman "cho," says he, "*invites, cautions, requests, beseeches*. any thing but **COMMANDS**" —Well! and what of that? Are the people less happy, because no one assumes a *commanding tone* towards them? Is their situation less enviable for that? Is their character less dignified, because they will not suffer themselves to be *commanded* in any way whatever? They do not like to be *commanded* by any body, and why should we quarrel with them on that account? —This Editor, and many others, seem astonished, that Mr. Madison should have been two years at war, without being prepared for *defence*. But, *what* do they mean by *defence*? Three hundred, nay, twenty hundred thousand men, would not be sufficient to guard every point, where a few men can be landed for a few hours, on a coast (including bays and mouths of rivers) of *three or four thousand miles in extent*. Such adventures as Admiral Cochrane gives an account of, might, with such a navy as ours, be performed, on such an extent of coast, in spite of two or three millions of regular soldiers.—The *defence* of America, and, indeed, of any country, does not mean the preventing of the bombardment of a village, or the burning of a city, or the carrying off of "*stock*." It means, the preventing of that country from being subdued, or, so much humbled as to make a disgraceful peace. And this defence, in America, must be *left to the people themselves*. Mr. Madison could raise no regular armies. The people do not give him the means to do it. They know very well, that for want of a regular army, they are liable to have some towns knocked down, or sacked; but they prefer this to the putting of a standing army into the hands of any man in their country. We, indeed, are of a taste widely different. We have Field-Marsals, hundreds of Generals, and Colonels, and Majors, and Captains, and Barrick-masters, and Commissaries, and Cadets, and so on. We have military depots, academies, colleges, and so on to a long list. We have, besides, great numbers of foreign officers, some of whom have had *commands* in England itself, and of counties of England. We have also greater numbers of foreign soldiers in our pay. This is our taste. We like to have these people. But, then, we **VERY CHEARFULLY PAY** for all these fine things. We are willing to *purchase* our safety in this way. Now, as

I never heard that the Americans quarrelled with us on this account, why should we quarrel with them for their *taste*? They prefer a few towns sacked or beaten down, now and then, to the paying for a standing army, for barracks, depots, and military colleges. Their taste may be bad. They may prove themselves very stupid in not liking to see their streets crowded with beautiful, tall, straight gentlemen, with pretty hats and caps, with furs and whiskers, with cloaks, and glittering swords and boots, that shine like japan mugs. But, *stupidity* is no *crime*; and, if they do not like these things, we, who have so much more refinement amongst us, and so much more elevation of mind, should view them with pity, rather than with scorn, should speak of them with compassion, rather than with reproach. We might as reasonably reproach them (and the French too, by the bye) for not having a taste for *tythes*. We like these too — Mr. Burke said so, many years ago. We like to give our clergy a tenth part of our crops. But, then, have we not our churches and cathedrals, our prayers and our sermons, our bells and our singing, our lord's supper, our baptism, confirmation, churching of women, absolution of the sick, and burial of the dead. We have all these things, and a great many more, in return for the tenth of our crops; and the Americans (poor fellows!) have none of them. Yet, we ought not to *reproach* them on this account. It is, doubtless, bad taste in them; but, as I said before, bad taste is not *criminal*.—Another thing I wish to point out to the attention of the reader.—He frequently sees, in our newspapers, *extracts from American papers*, all tending to degrade the Government and decry its measures.—Out of the three or four hundred newspapers, published in America, there are probably ten or twelve who proceed in this line. These are carefully sent hither by Consuls, or other persons residing there. From these only extracts are published *here*; and, be it observed, that, if we possessed the papers on the other side of the question, we should be *exposed to utter truth*, if we were to publish such extracts from them, as it would be necessary to publish, in order to give the public a fair view of the state of men's minds in America —But, the hireling printers do me thing for us — they, by their extracts, move to us *how great is freedom in America*. The *Times* tells us, that the paper



in America expresses its opinion, that the President himself had a narrow escape from Washington; and, that another expresses its regret that *he was not taken by the enemy*. Now, reader, imagine, for a moment, the case of an enemy landed in England, and some writer expressing his regret, that *the said enemy had not captured the king!*—You tremble for the unfortunate creature—you tremble.

Your teeth chatter in your head. I hear them chatter, and well they may. How many loyal men do I hear exclaim “send the traitor to the gallows! rip out his bowels and throw them in his face! Cut off his head! Quarter his vile carcass, and put the quarters at the king’s disposal!” Yet, we hear the American writers wishing that their chief magistrates had been taken by the enemy; and, we do not find that any thing is either done or said to them. Their publications are still left to take their free course. If they be true, and speak sense and reason, they will gain a friend, as they ought. If false, or foolish, they will only gain for the writers hatred or contempt, which, I dare say, has been the case in the instance before us.—But, reader, let us not, with this fact full in our eyes, be induced to believe that the Americans have nothing to fight for; or, that any man who loves freedom, can wish to see a change in the Government; or, at least, in the *sort* of Government which exists in that country.

—As to Mr. Madison, against whom our hired men rail so much, *he* cannot be much to blame for *any* thing relating to the war. It was the Congress; the representatives of the people, the *real*, not the *sham*, representatives of the people who *declared war*. In fact, it was the people themselves, who were resolved no longer to endure this, which they had so long and so loudly complained of.—A war in America *must* be the *people’s* war. The defence of the country *must* be left to the people. Not only as to the fighting, but as to the time, place, and every thing else belonging to the war.—The people know very well the extent of their danger. They are well apprised of every thing. They were awake before-hand, that what has taken place would take place, and though many individuals must and will suffer, that will be no more than they ought to suffer against the Government.—One thing I am very certain, and that is, that we are carrying

on precisely that sort of warfare, which all the real friends of Republican Government would wish to see us carry on. It is a sort of warfare (especially when the *ground* of the war is considered), which cannot fail to *unite* the parties, into which the people have been divided, nor do I think it at all improbable, that we may cause Mr. Madison to be President ten years longer than he would have been without our war against his country, and our threat to *dispose* him. For many men will naturally say, that, though they would have liked to see him, following the example of Washington and Jefferson, decline a third term as President, yet, seeing that his so doing might be interpreted as a mark of submission to us, he ought again to be elected.—The favourite idea in England appears to be, that we ought to send out a great *overwhelming* force, get possession of some place in the heart of the country, and thereby compel the Government to surrender up the Republic on our own terms—I suppose, that our commanders knew better than to *attempt* any thing of the kind. I suppose, that our Government knew better than to order them, or authorise them, to make any such attempt. And yet, what are we to do by such a mode of warfare as we are now carrying on?—Suppose we were to get possession of New York and some other maritime towns; what should we gain but an enormous expence to keep those places? Cooped up in them, how ridiculous should we look! No: we shall never beat that people, unless the *people themselves join us*, and, as this has not been the case yet, in any one instance, what reason have we to expect, but that it never will be the case, in spite of all the allurements held out to that people in the prospect of participating in the support of the army, the navy, the church, the law, the nobility, and the financial system of the former “*Mother Country*”?—But, we must not, in this larger view of the American War, overlook particular events, and especially, that just announced to us from Fort Erie.—In my last, I noticed the bloody battle *Chippawa*. After that battle, it appears that the contest was renewed (*our army having been reinforced*) in the front of Fort Erie, into which the Yankees had retired, and where our gallant countrymen and their associates seemed to have been resolutely bent to fulfil our wishes, and to give them “*a drub-*

1814.] Was't the "drubbing" fell upon our own gallant army, who amounted to only about 2,000 men, and who were compelled to retreat, with all possible speed, leaving 905 either dead, wounded, or prisoners!—The American General, GAINES, says, that he destroyed our people at the point of the bayonet. Our General says, that the angle of a bastion was blown up with two hundred of our men on it. This last night—and yet the would not be much altered in our favour. Such a conflict as this I never before read of. It surpasses that of Chippawa; and that surpassed, in point of proportionate destruction, any thing in modern warfare.—And, it ought to be observed, that a great part of this army of Yankees were *militia*, some of them *volunteers*, and not a man of them who would suffer any one to say that he had him under his *command*!—It is, then, a fact beyond all dispute, that the Yankees will sometimes fight, and, as there is no such thing as ascertaining beforehand the precise time when the fighting fit will come on them, they being such an *irregular* sort of people, and subject to no kind of discipline, I think it is the height of prudence in our Commanders on the Atlantic coast not to venture too far at a time from our ships.—Upon hearing of the battle of Erie (for it cost as many men as several of the battles of Wellington), I was, I

confess, eager to hear what the *Times* writer would be able to say upon the subject. I had half a mind to hope, that he would begin to repent of the part he had acted, in the stirring up of this war; but, on reflection, I concluded, that, like the reprobates mentioned in the good book, repentance was not in his power. This conclusion was right, as the reader will now see.—“The *unfortunate event* which “cast a partial shade over the successes of “our Canadian army is at length communicated to us in an authentic shape. “We extract, from the papers received “yesterday from that part of the world, a “copy of Sir George Prevost’s General “Order, dated Montreal, 25th of August; “which states the loss sustained at the “attack on Fort Erie, of the 13th preceding, at 902 killed, wounded, and “missing. Compared with the whole number of General Drummond’s force, this “loss is no doubt very considerable. but “we are glad to see no hint given, that “the event is likely to occasion our troops “to fall back. The misadventure must,

“no doubt, be ranked among *those chances* “*of war* to which the *bravest armies*, and “*best laid plans*, are subject. It was “preceded by a brilliant achievement, “executed four days before by Captain “Dobbs, of the Royal Navy, who, with a “party of seamen and marines, most gallantly boarded and took two armed “schooners, anchored close to Fort Erie. “The consequence of this capture being to “deprive the enemy’s position of a great “part of its defence, General Drummond “resolved to follow it up by a general at “tack on Fort Erie and the American “entrenchments. In this daring attempt “he had nearly attained *complete success*. “The spirit of our brave soldiers surmounted every obstacle. They had actually entered the fort, and had already “turned part of its guns against the enemy’s last point of refuge, when suddenly “a tremendous explosion took place, which “not only destroyed many valuable lives, “but necessarily involved all our operations in confusion, and left no alternative “but a precipitate retreat to our first approaches. It is evident, therefore, that “General Gaines’s boast of having repulsed our men at the point of the bayonet, is idle gasconade. The lamentable result was, in all probability, occasioned by “an accident, but if the American General “had any share in it, it was one which “reflected more credit on his *policy* than “on his *bravery*. To spring a mine on an “assailing enemy, may be in such circumstances an allowable mode of destruction; “but whilst *humanity* is pained by contemplating such an event, there is no “counter feeling of admiration for the “*heroism* of those by whom the *direful* “deed was executed.”—Oh! you vile hypocrite! “*Humanity*” on your lips! on these same lips from which have proceeded so many urgent exhortations to exterminate Americans; and who, in this very same number of your sanguinary paper, commends Sir Thomas Hardy for having bombarded, and, as you then thought, burnt to ashes the dwellings of the people of the village of Stonington! *Humanity*!—This cant may do in a country where cant is so much in vogue, but, be you assured, that it will only excite contempt in the breast of the enemy—You can discover “no heroism,” can you, in the defence of Fort Erie, who had lost their water-side defence before the battle began? The three officers of Colonel Scott’s regiment,

who came out of the battle *alive* and *not wounded*, would, like Job's servants, tell you a different story; unless, indeed, like Bobadil, they were (which I am sure they would not do) to attribute their beating to the *planets*, instead of the American bayonets.—For my part, I believe General Gaines's in preference to General Drummond's report. Not because I question the veracity of the latter, but because I know that he *might* be misinformed, and that General Gaines *could not* be misinformed, as to the fact. But, as I said before, this fact of the blowing up of the angle of a bastion does not materially affect the merits of the case; and, unless the American people be very different in their natures from all other people, the event must have created a wonderful sensation in the country; and I am sure, that, in the eyes of any man in England, whose reason is not totally deadened by prejudice, it must have excited a dread, that, if we pursue that project of subjugation, so strongly recommended by the writers here, we are now embarked in a war of extraordinary bloodshed, of no ordinary duration, and of an expense that will keep on all our present taxes, and occasion constant annual loans.

SPAIN.—The abettors of corruption, who fattened so well while the war lasted with France, and who have so sincerely and so loudly deplored its termination, are making another effort to produce a partial war, at least, on the Continent. They have tried in vain to provoke France, they have failed in again embroiling Austria, Russia, and Prussia; and the war with America has been so unproductive, has given birth to so few contracts, and what have been entered into have been so unprofitable to the contractors, that they and the other satellites of corruption, who devour the produce of the labour of the country, without assisting in any shape to its increase: these men, finding the profits of their unprincipled traffic decreasing every day, are making a new effort to give a more advantageous turn to their own affairs, by involving us in a war with Spain; with that very people for whom we so very lately *professed* to sacrifice so many thousands of lives, and so many millions of money, merely to deliver them from a *foreign* yoke, and to restore them to *independence*—We were extremely mad at Napoleon for leading, as we said, the *beloved* Ferdinand

into captivity; for relieving his *pious* and *virtuous* subjects from the tyranny of the priests; and for presuming to give them good laws against their will. All this we were quite indignant and enraged at, and although, as far as I have been able to discover, we were neither *called upon* by the royal family of Spain, nor by the people, to avenge their injuries, to chastise the French Emperor for his presumption, or to restore to the nation its *adored* church, its *holy* tribunal, its saints, relics, miracles, and its multitude of lazy monks, nuns, and voluptuous friars. Notwithstanding, I *swear*, it does not appear that we were *solicited* by Spain, to revenge her cause, forth we went, fully armed for battle, to drive the troops of Napoleon beyond the Pyrenees, and to deliver the *sacred* territory from these impious and infidel hordes of Anabaptists. And certainly we did drive them out, no matter by what means, placed Ferdinand again on his throne, enabled him to re-establish the Inquisition, and to restore the clergy to the plenitude of that power, which they had exercised, for so many centuries, to the glory of God, and to the benefit of—themselves.—By conferring these unwonted blessings, the promoters of these measures intended, as they said, that the people of Spain should have the full right to think and to act for themselves, in every thing that respected their laws, their Government, and their religion. We pretended, in short, that we had no other desire than to confirm to them the rights of nature, which give to no one a preference in these matters over another, unless in so far as his virtues and his talents command superior esteem. In return for these advantages, those engaged in conferring them might, and, perhaps, had a right, to calculate on the gratitude of a people for whom they had done so much. But *gratitude* is a word of so varied and so extensive a meaning, that it is not easy to say what view the instigators of the war in the Peninsula entertained of it. One thing, however, appears to be obvious. If it was expected of the Spaniards, in return for the pretended good we had done them, that they should relinquish any of their legitimate rights; that they should sacrifice any part of their trade or commerce; or that they should cease to enact such laws and regulations as they considered necessary to good Government. If any such expecta-

tion— as these were entertained, they were most unreasonable, and what, it need not now surprise any one, could not fail, in the end, to be disappointed.—Independent of the circumstances of the interference on our part being entirely voluntary, which precluded all claim of recompense, every restrictive demand which we might think we had a right to make, nay, every regulation, though now it offensive in its nature, that we might urge the introduction of into Spain, must be viewed by the Spaniards as a species of that tyranny, exercised by Napoleon, which we professed it to be our sole object to destroy. But, however unreasonable and unjust such pretensions may appear, the supporters of corruption, involved on a war, no matter with whom nor what it may cost others, pretend to find a cause for this in a recent commercial regulation of the Spanish Court, a regulation enacted for the express purpose of preserving to a long established monopoly “its beneficial monopoly, and to maintain unimpaired the national industry.”—This measure, the *Indies* and the *Courier* writers have owned in declaring against, as a decided proof of Spanish ingratitude, of malice, of narrow petty malignity towards this country, for which, they say, that people ought to be severely punished, ought to be compelled, by our arms and our soldiers, to read the royal mandate and to conform themselves to those commercial rules which we find beneficial, without regard to the injury they may do themselves, or, in the event of a refusal, to oblige the Spaniards to repay us all the money we have expended for them during the war.—Before I proceed to point out the inconsistencies of these servile writers, I shall here give the document, at length, which has given rise to their unprovoked and unjustifiable clamours —

**Royal Mandate.**—His Excellency the Secretary of State and of Finances, this day communicated to me the subsequent Royal Order.—The Directors of the Royal Philippine Company have communicated with his Majesty, explaining to him that by his Royal Order of the 27th July last, forwarded by your Excellency, when you discharged the office of Minister of State for the Indies, it was commanded that the exclusive privileges for commerce and merchandize, should be preserved inviolable to the said Company, and with the same just intention the

Royal Schedule of the 12th July, 1803 was confirmed. But this Declaration will be inefficient and, even prejudicial, not only to the Company but to the national industry in general, if such Asiatic and European commodities, as are prepared likewise in Spain and America are not prohibited, and if a clandestine trade be countenanced under the colour and pretext of such commodities. To preserve the part to the Company its beneficial monopoly, and to maintain unimpaired the national industry, which is engaged in the manufacture of cottons, it becomes necessary to renew the publication and announcement of the said privilege, and to fix the term of four months for the disposal of this description of goods by the individuals possessing them; and after such term the holders shall sell them to the Company; but should the terms not be agreed upon between the proprietors and the Company, another month will be allowed for the exportation of the goods abroad, according to the arrangement particularized in Articles 57 and 58, in the said Royal Schedule, respecting cotton articles made prize of or otherwise. The said Directors further set forth, that if the Company is to arrive at the rank, elevation and splendour which the nation expected at its establishment, and if it is to repair its immense losses which it has most innocently incurred, it is absolutely indispensable that the indulgence sought be granted, especially at the present moment, when two expeditions from Manilla and Culcutta are approaching the Peninsula, and the effects which they bring can obtain no sale if they are to meet a competition in the market from other commodities of the same class, and the ruin of the Company will be thus accomplished by the exertions they have applied in completing these expeditions. His Majesty the King having duly considered these important subjects, and being persuaded of the just reasoning of the Directors regarding them, has been pleased to determine, that in punctual observance of the exclusive privilege of the Company, from the present time private merchants shall not be permitted to import either into Spain or America cotton manufactures, whether Asiatic or European, concerning, however, the term of four months for the disposal of such goods, after which interval, they are to be offered

"the said Company, but if the conditions should not be acceptable, another month is to be granted for the exportation, as in the case of prize goods, &c. These particulars I communicate to your Excellency by his Majesty's order for your information, and that you may impart the same to the proper officers, that they may in all respects pay obedience thereto. God preserve you, &c. —GONGORA. Paluero, Aug. 29.—To the Superintendants of Revenue."

On the above regulation, the following remarks appeared in the *Times* of Wednesday—"This Prince, who, in all justice and equity, is indebted many millions sterling to this country in money expended in replacing him on his throne; that this very Prince is the first to set the example of an absolute prohibition of our cotton manufactures. For the honour of human nature, we hope that the merchants of Cadiz has received a false alarm. We are unwilling to believe that such ingratitude can exist among men; but if it be true, we hope our Government will peremptorily demand payment of every farthing expended by us in Spain, and will take effectual means (for such we have in our power) to ENFORCE the demand."—In the *Courier* of the same day, these sentiments were echoed in the following manner—"The gratitude of nations for services rendered them is not very proverbial, and the conduct of Spain furnishes us unfortunately with too frequent occasions to make this remark. That Spain owes a debt of gratitude to this nation, greater, perhaps, than any country ever owed another, will not be denied. But in her treatment she has made no difference between us her defenders, and France her oppressor.—It is not merely in a commercial point of view that we deplore this measure—we deplore it upon higher, upon moral grounds; because it seems to be a gratuitous malice, a purposed proof of ingratitude for the services we have rendered Spain. Had she possessed cotton manufactures herself which she wished to encourage, and therefore adopted this prohibitory decree, we could not have blamed her; for it is the duty of all nations to encourage and protect their own manufactures. But Spain has no cotton manufactures, no establishment that can be injured by the importation of our cottons. If such a

decree has been issued, we perfectly coincide with a Brother Journalist, in hoping our Government will peremptorily demand payment of every farthing expended by us in Spain, and will take effectual means (for such we have in our power) to ENFORCE the demand."—Now reader, having read the above mandate of Ferdinand, do you discover any thing in it to justify the abusive and threatening language of these vile journals?—It is not the establishment of a *new company*, with rights prejudicial to our commerce, that they complain of nor is it conferring any privileges of that description upon an old company, that it did not possess before, about which these hatching writers have raised so loud a cry. The Royal Philippine Company, like our East India Company, is an ancient establishment, and the mandate now issued by the King of Spain in favor of the former, can be considered in no other light than as a *renewal* of its charter, which, we know, has been often granted, and is again in contemplation of being granted by our own legislature, to the latter.—My own opinion is, that all monopolies ought to be abolished, that what is called regulating trade and commerce, is prejudicial to both. But I cannot permit it to be asserted, without entering my protest against the doctrine, that, even supposing monopolies were founded in wisdom, any one nation, or Government, should be entitled to grasp at the whole, and threaten to punish all others who presumed to come in for a share of the general plunder. We, forsooth, are to be allowed, not only to exclude the great mass of our own population from a share of our East India trade, but also the inhabitants of most other States; and yet, when the Spanish Government show a similar preference to a favourite body of men among themselves, we immediately open our batteries of abuse against them, and threaten to *punish* them if they follow our example. What are all our statutes passed to protect our colonial products, and our manufactures, but laws *prohibiting* the importation of foreign goods? and what do these prohibitions amount to, in reference to other nations, but a monopoly of trade with us?—We tax the silks and the wines of Spain, of Portugal, and of France. This is turning our monopolizing system to some account. But, if the duty which we impose makes the article so high in price, that few or none can afford to purchase it,

and are obliged to content themselves with an article made at home, though much inferior, the effect is the same upon the country which produces the superior article, as if our Government had granted an exclusive right to a particular company here to deal in that article. If we complain of the Court of Spain for confirming rights granted its own subjects, by which our cotton manufactures may be excluded the Peninsula, they have an equal right to complain of us for conferring exclusive privileges on the East India Company, and for enacting laws which have the effect of an absolute prohibition of the produce of the Spanish soil. The bill lately brought into Parliament for *protecting*, as it was called, the commercial interests of this country, would evidently have been injurious to the growers of corn in France, in Spain, and in all other countries where crops are so abundant as to permit importation. What then would we have said, had these nations complained of us for adopting a measure which tended so manifestly to injure them? Why, we would have laughed at them. We would have treated their remonstrances with contempt. And have not the Spaniards the same right to laugh at us, who do not merely complain of their following our footsteps, but who actually threaten to go to war with them, and to *punish* them, because they enact what laws and regulations they consider best calculated to protect their own commerce and manufactures?—(1) but says the *Courier*, "it is not merely in a commercial point of view that we deplore this measure—we deplore it upon higher, upon *moral* grounds; because it seems to be a gratuitous malice, a purposed proof of ingratitude for the services we have rendered Spain."—As to the "*services* we have rendered Spain," it appears somewhat strange, if these services were as great as we boast of, that their effects should have turned out so very *prejudicial*, that even those who formerly estimated them so highly, are now the loudest to complain of them; the foremost to deplore the *blindness* and *fataality* of a people, who could not, or would not, open their eyes, and be persuaded that we had nothing *selfish* in view; but that all we had done, all the sacrifices we had made, proceeded from the *purest* and most *disinterested* motives. Before, however, the monopoly complained of can be held an *immoral* act on the part of the Spaniards, it must be shown, in the first place, that they

applied to us for assistance; and, secondly, when this is made clear, it must then be shown, that they *promised* to *abolish* some of their ancient regulations prejudicial to our commerce, or to establish some new ones to encourage it, as a reward for the services we intended to perform for them. All this it is incumbent on us to shew before we can charge the Spanish Monarch with *ingratitude*, for enacting a regulation so conducive to the interests of his own people. If we have *lent* money to Spain, it is right she should pay it back when the stipulated term of payment arrives. But, to proclaim war against a whole nation, as the *Times* has done, because its Government has adopted a policy similar to ours, in order to protect its own institutions, is an act so outrageous, and so contrary to all decency, that language is not sufficient to stigmatise it as it ought. It can only be equalled by the canting and hypocritical pretensions of the *Courier* writer, who affects to *deplore* the measure of the Spanish Government, on account of its *immoral* tendency! As a proof of the *sincerity* of the professions of this stickler for morality, we find he has attempted, on this very subject, to impose a palpable *falshood* on the public. He asserts that the Spaniards have *no* cotton manufactories; hence he infers, that the loyal mandate, prohibiting the importation of cotton, proceeded from malice, and a pre-determination to injure us, without any benefit resulting therefrom to themselves. It would be difficult to conceive how any people could act a part so wanton and atrocious, and bad as the Spanish Government appears to be, I could not persuade myself that it had gone so far in wickedness. This was the impression given to my mind, on reading the paragraph which I have cited above from the *Courier*. When I came to peruse the Spanish document, I was not only confirmed in that opinion, but I found it there stated, in direct opposition to the *Courier's* assertion, that the importation of foreign cotton goods into Spain was prohibited, in order to encourage and protect the established manufactories of cotton amongst the inhabitants, and also to insure a ready sale, at a fair price, for several fresh cargoes of goods of that description belonging to the Philippine Company, and then on their passage home to the mother country, but which, it was foreseen, would not turn out so pro-

ductive, if the market was stocked with the manufactures of other nations. If reasons like these are to be allowed no weight in the case of Spain, upon what ground is it that we, almost every session of Parliament, are passing bills to protect and encourage our own manufactures, and to procure them a preference over those of all other nations? We were lately told in the *Times*, that it would be the best policy in the people of France not to attempt, at present, to establish manufactures of their own, but to purchase from us, by which they would, in the course of time, be able to imitate our superior workmanship.—From articles that I have already seen of French manufacture, I see no reason why that people should take the advice that has been so officiously given them, although I can readily discover that the proposal originated in jealousy on the part of those who gave it. The same dread of another successful rival stirring up in Spain, is evidently the true cause of the vexation that has appeared in our protected journals, against the Government of that country. This may serve to justify the spleen and malice of those who never can be at ease, until they add the monopoly of every production of the earth, to that which they already arrogantly exercise over the sea. But, in spite of these malignant passions, what seems to be now viewed as a proper light, in many countries that were formerly inattentive to their true interests, most unfortunately prevail. It is truly ridiculous to hear the enemies of general improvement talking of securing our monopoly by *evient* measures, and boasting of our possessing the means of *effectually punishing* other nations, because they have at last had their eyes open to the wise policy of giving encouragement to their own artisans, and thereby rendering themselves completely independent of their neighbours.

We may threaten, and swagger, as much as we please; but unless we are prepared to punish not only the people of Spain, but also of France, Italy, Germany, Russia, Sweden, and Denmark, where improvements in the arts are everywhere making rapid progress, it is idle to expect that we shall be able to keep up that commercial importance we have so long maintained, but which, in consequence of the prevalence of corruption, and the homely manner in which we envy ourselves to favour other nations, is fast verging to its dissolution. As to the *means*

we are said to possess of *humbling* the Spaniards, too, so we pretend to crush this score the better. I suspect that depends as much, as any does, upon loans, and that it is bound itself under a necessity of having upon the East India Company a trading sum of one million two hundred thousand pounds, *in aid* of *its* *data*, to which a discount was given, can neither boast very high, nor very long, of its abilities to prosecute new wars. It will be soon enough, at any rate, to think of purchasing the Spaniards, when we have completed the drabbling which we have picked ourselves to give to the Americans. — I had written thus far, when the *Paris* papers brought me the Report of the Committee, appointed by the French Government, to consider the petitions of the merchants and manufacturers, praying that a prohibition might be issued against the importation into France of English cotton goods. It is an interesting document, and as it bears me out in the facts and general reasoning which I have stated and accepted above, I shall here insert some of its most striking passages. —

"The merchants and manufacturers of several cities, alarmed at the voice, and no doubt, unfounded rumours of a treaty of commerce, allowing the importation of English cotton goods, have petitioned against a measure which would ruin their establishments, and endanger the existence of 250,000 workmen employed in them. — In the midst of the disorders of our Revolution, it is a noble spectacle to witness the progress of sciences, fine arts and manufacturing industry. In our manufactures are produced draperys, as fine as those of Syria; we have fire arms of all kinds, surpassing in elegance every thing which Europe can boast of, and executed with a rapidity inconceivable before our days; files, which polish the hardest English files; mathematical instruments as correct, and not so costly, as those which the London workmen boasted of; ornaments in bronze, unequalled for dignity of form and delicacy of execution; locksmith wares executed not only in Paris, but even in the departments, which, to an exquisite execution, unite the most wonderful combinations and magnificence; crystals, not inferior to flint glass; velvets which, from the curious combination of their threads, reproduce the colours, and even the expression of the most finished pictures; tanworks, where the discoveries of chemistry are

turned to account; we have invented stereotyping, we have perfected the art of enamelling in all its branches, painting on glass has been re-established more true and keener in its colours than in the times of Francis the 1st, and Henry the 2d. In the first rank, among these conquests with respect to utility, is the spinning of cotton and the weaving cotton cloths, which we long purchased from the Greeks and Venetians, and afterwards from the Portuguese, English and Swiss. During the last thirty or forty years, the taste for white and coloured cottons has diffused itself throughout all ranks. At the time of the Revolution, the consumption of France amounted to sixty millions. Scarcely the half of this amount was produced in our own manufactories, which gave employment to seventy thousand workmen. We made then hardly any white cottons. The Decree of Council of the 10th and 17th July, 1785, which prohibited the introduction of foreign cottons, gave an encouragement to this manufacture.—The famous Commercial Treaty of 1786, permitted the importation of English cottons, and injured the progress of our own. The Constituent Assembly, too wise to be blinded by the seductive but impracticable idea of an unlimited freedom of commerce, by its tariff of customs of 10th March, 1791, established such high duties as to be almost equivalent to a prohibition. The Convention framed a wiser law in the year 2, confirmed in the year 3, prohibiting without exception all the productions of English industry. From this period we may date our principal spinning establishments, and the perfection of our different manufactories. The Museum of mechanical arts, a vast establishment, when all inventions were open to workmen, contributed powerfully to enlighten and stimulate our industry. The Decrees of the 12th Fructidor, year 9, that of the 22d Feb. 1806, and the law of the 30th April of the same year, renewed the prohibitions. The celebrated Berlin decree, declaring the Britannie Isles in a state of blockade, and the Milan decree, consolidated the system of absolute prohibition. The spinning and manufacture of cottons continued to increase till the buildings and machinery were valued at upwards of two hundred millions; and two hundred and fifty thousand workmen were employed, who produced in a year calicoes, &c. to the value of one hundred and seventy millions at least. This property was shut. One of

the most destructive acts of tyranny, in its consequences in all history, shook these establishments to their foundations, namely the Decree of the 20th August, 1810, by which the Government imposed a duty on the introduction of colonial goods, that surpassed three or four times their real value. Cottons did not escape this monstrous tax. The effects were what might have been expected. While preparations were making for the campaign in which our military power was annihilated, our commerce suffered immense losses. In consequence of the rise in the price of the raw materials, the equilibrium between the wants and the capitals was lost. The want of consumption lowered the price, credit only served to deepen the abyss; the manufacturer precipitated the merchant, and the merchant the banker, and even the humble artisans shared in the general failure. The Government, reduced to support manufactures at its own expense, avoided a total repeal by the Decree of the 18th Oct. 1810, which ordered the burning of all English manufactures; this atrocious act was necessary as a counterpoise to the excessive tax, and the manufacturers who stood the first shock by means of sacrifices, were still able to supply the wants of consumers. In 1811, notwithstanding the past losses, the continuing taste for cottons, and the rigour of the prohibition, still sustained our principal houses, but the failures began again to multiply, and the alarm became general. Such was the situation of our manufactures, when a succession of reverses brought the forces of all Europe into our territories. The first demand of the petitioners is connected with this great event. The warehouses of our merchants and manufacturers were then filled with cottons, which had paid a duty of four francs forty cents, six francs sixty cents, and eight francs eighty cents per kilogramme, according to the quality, and this duty amounted to forty millions, being about thirty millions for the present France. In these extraordinary circumstances, the act of the 23d April last, suppressing the whole of the duties, was passed; after which cottons fell one half in price. Many houses were overturned in consequence, and those which did not fail, have contracted engagements which they now find it difficult to fulfil. In this state of things, the merchants of Little Saint Quintin, Rouen, and Paris, implore the justice of the Chamber. I know it may be urged, that it was



impossible to avoid these losses, when our custom-house was overthrown, and England invaded our coasts not only with colonial goods, but also with her own manufactures. In a question so difficult, your Committee has charged me with submitting to you a few observations. The Chamber has already solemnly acknowledged the fundamental principle, that the first duty of Governments is to be just. If the wrong has originated in the free act of the Government, far from us the thought that such an act did not require reparation. But it is notorious, that on the 2d April, and long before, from Antwerp to Genoa, from Bayonne to the mouth of the Charente, at the heels of the four hundred thousand men who had invaded France, goods were introduced for the sake of deriving a profit from our debts. In these circumstances, all that could be done was to diminish the sum of the evil. After a disastrous war, how many irreparable losses, and how many just demands, to which we can only answer in the language of consolation! An enlightened Government will indemnify us by its benefits, for the reverses to which we have been condemned by the errors of the former. And this brings me to the second demand of the petitioners.

"The petitioners desire a law which, for some years at least, shall prohibit absolutely the introduction of foreign cottons. The noble idea that a commerce without shackles, would be the most efficacious means of increasing human industry and happiness throughout the world, though it can hardly be disputed, has never yet been carried into practice by any nation. All wish to draw everything to themselves, even those indigenous productions which nature has distributed unequally to different countries, as if to invite them to a friendly intercourse with each other, all would be sellers, and all purchasers with regret. But regrets on this subject are useless. Every nation which does not wish to effect its own ruin, must now purchase only what cannot be manufactured at home, except at an exorbitant price, or except its industry can be differently employed to much greater advantage and must facilitate the exchange of raw production, but receive as few manufactures as possible in exchange for raw produce. When our manufactures come at home in competition with foreign manufactures, we must either impose a tax on

the foreign, equivalent to a prohibition, or pronounce an absolute prohibition. England has made an absolute prohibition one of the bases of its manufacturing policy.—We have never in any treaty obtained the introduction of our wiles into its ports. What is its famous Navigation Act, but a prohibition against all goods not brought in its own ships, and even against foreign vessels attempting to trade to any of its coasts or seaports? What are at this time the wants and resources of our manufactures, and what is also the position of France? A capital of two hundred millions, two hundred and fifty thousand workmen, goods manufactured to the value of one hundred and sixty millions, which, after deducting thirty millions for raw materials, leave one hundred and thirty millions to be divided among all those concerned in the trade, on the other hand, the ruin of our manufactures and credit, and a general discouragement, these are the facts which must guide us in our determination. An experience of twenty years proves, that our manufactures are sufficient for our own consumption. We need not dread an excessive price; for the competition among our manufacturers would always prove a sufficient remedy. When we compare our situation with that of England, we have great advantages over the English manufacturer in the low price of workmanship; but in England the machinery, which is incessantly improving, supplies more and more the place of human labour; the workman is more experienced and skilful; in France, in many manufactures, the machinery requires to be improved, and the machine and the workman require to be more familiarised with each other. This is not all; the conscription has destroyed a generation skilled in this business, and we must instruct a new generation. Notwithstanding these obstacles, we manufacture common stuffs as well, and nearly as cheap, as the English, and begin to enter into competition with them in foreign markets. In the superior qualities the case is different; but the interval which separates us is inconsiderable, and in a few days will be passed. What do we now want? Encouragements and guarantees. I wish to persuade myself that England will be pleased to see our prosperity increase. May a solid peace unite two nations so deserving of the esteem of each other, for the sake of the happiness of the whole world! But our relations with

England must be determined by circumstances. Why, in our present situation, should she load her vessels with cotton goods, which take back our wines, brandies, oils, soaps, umbrellas, and laces?—Since all colonial commodities have fallen to her share, we have otherwise but too many means of exchange with her. What has your Committee to propose to you?—The former laws prohibiting the introduction of English manufactures are still in vigour, our custom-houses are re-established, and all that is now wanted, is to continue the prohibition. The fears of the petitioners respecting the conclusion of a commercial treaty with England, have appeared to us unfounded. The commercial treaty of 1786, was not signed till three years after the peace of 1763.—This period was necessary to form a correct estimate of the relations between the two nations. After twenty years war, and interruption of all regular commerce, is less time necessary? Besides, a treaty of commerce would not be a reciprocal renunciation of all tax and prohibitions; it would merely be a new system of prohibition and taxation agreed on by the two sides. It requires therefore time to observe for some time the existing machine, to see what we must destroy, and what we must preserve. Perhaps it would be better to have no commercial treaty, and after renouncing reciprocally those measures which war only could justify, to leave each nation to impose such prohibitions and taxes as its own interest might render advisable.—On the whole, the Committee is inclined to believe that the first demand cannot be taken into consideration; and with respect to the second demand, the absolute prohibition of cotton stuffs, as the laws of the year 2, year 5, and 22d February and 30th April, 1806, which enforce this absolute prohibition, are still in vigour, the Committee is of opinion, that the deliberation on this matter should be adjourned till the new tariff come under your consideration.”

#### NATIONAL DEBT.—No. II.

MR. COBBETT.—If I recollect aright my last letter concluded thus:—“Landholders and stockholders offer their lives and fortunes to wage a war, whence the poor derive only additional misery, let the lives and the fortunes, so offered, be the price of their fondness for bloodshed; but the simple peasant, the industrious mechanic, ought not to be the sacrifice.—The allied force let the rich pay

the taxes, or, rather, let their *superfluous* be offered upon the altar of the country, to pay off the National Debt.”—Here then, Sir, I take my stand. The population of this country is stated to be about twelve millions of souls—the rich cannot, at the highest calculation, exceed two hundred thousand, and if to these we add those immediately connected with Government, who live upon the produce of the taxes, we may set their numbers to two millions. Thus, then, two millions live upon the sweat and labour of ten millions of their fellow-creatures. But this is not all, of these ten millions four millions are in the workhouse, and are there in consequence of having been ruined by war and the taxes. Six millions, therefore, of *poor* inhabitants, by hard labour, and incessant industry, maintain, in wretched poverty, four millions of their ruined countrymen; in luxury, two hundred thousand *rich*; and in affluence one million eight hundred thousand dependants on Government, who are employed mostly in looking after and enforcing the payment of these taxes, brought on by the votes, the clamours, and the manoeuvres of the fore-mentioned two hundred thousand *rich* lives and fortune men. I shall here but slightly notice, that that *highly respectable* body, the Stock-jobbers, who, some how or other, have acquired great influence, alike on the public purse and upon the public faith, and have, as we lately witnessed, attempted a kind of judicial sovereignty, an *imperium in imperio*, winked at or encouraged (for reasons best known to themselves), by his Majesty's Government, these may be included in the two millions. All this were, however, well; or, at least, not to be complained of, if it were free for such as disapprove the measures pursued, such as feel themselves oppressed, to leave the country, and carry their labour and industry with them to a land where they might expect some encouragement, more freedom, and fewer taxes. But laws exist to prevent their removal—Britain is to the industrious artificer a Bajazet's cage, and the tenderness and gratitude of the rich consists in shewing him the loat, but, at the same time, placing it out of his reach, while, with an ostentatious humanity, inventing and advising substitutes for bread.

The evil pointed out, the remedy is within our reach. To gratify the powerful and the rich, war has been waged, a large National Debt has been incurred, a monopoly of land has taken place

decay of trade has been experienced.—The number of the poor has daily increased,—the necessaries of life are now beyond their reach,—luxury, in its wretch, keeps pace with public misery,—and the groan of the oppressed is drowned in the Bacchanalian noise and mirth of profligacy!—Ten millions suffer, while two millions riot! *Notumus Leges Angliæ mutari.* But these evils proceed not from the law,—the constitutional laws of Great Britain! To that Constitution a National Debt is unknown. To that Constitution a seven years' Parliament is foreign. In that Constitution, Corruption and Ministerial influence are nowhere mentioned. To that Constitution then let us return.—To pay the National Debt, France sells some of her Crown lands. For a similar purpose, Spain, bigotted Spain, calls upon her Clergy's revenues. Wherefore should England not adopt similar means? These, together with the sale of a part of the pledged, but now monopolized, land, will pay off our National Debt. Our situation will thereby be alleviated, bread will be given to all; industry will acquire a stimulus; our children, no longer born debtors, will cease to be saddled with the wild extravagancies of their forefathers, and Europe, no longer bribed by our gold, will be at peace; while our own lands, subdivided into small farms, will, in every province, enjoy plenty at reduced prices.—We shall no longer need to fly our paper kite. At least, by shortening its string, there will be less danger of its breaking. It may be a bitter pill to the palate of certain individuals, but it will be a most salutary medicine to the body politic; and where public advantage so preponderates, a refusal, or even evasion, becomes treason against the people. *Si Populi prima Lex.* (1855)

#### Public Rejoicing.

MR. COBBETT.—The delirium of joy, occasioned by the downfall of Bonaparte, exhibited in all the various forms of processions, festivals, illuminations, fireworks, sham fights, and park fairs, has at length subsided, and while resting from the labour and smelt of merry-shows, we feel something like returning reason, and a disposition to inquire into our present state as a nation—whether it is such as to have warranted those unbounded demonstrations of joy which we have lately witnessed. That there are, in the present state of things, occasions for rejoicing, I am ready to admit. That the blood and mankind

ceases to flow in Europe, is an occasion worthy of our rejoicing, humanity is relieved, and christianity approves the deed. It is consolatory to think, that, in the short interval of peace with France, perhaps a million of lives have already escaped being sacrificed at the shrine of the ambition of contending nations. It is a matter of great joy, that those principles denominated French, and considered as belonging to, and interwoven with, the French Revolution, espoused, as it was said, only by American Republicans, and the factious Whigs of England, so far from being extinguished from the face of the earth, are existing, in full vigour, and that the right of nations to cashier their Government for mal-administration, is now recognised by the overthrow of Napoleon, and the treaty of Paris, in the presence of the assembled Monarchs of Europe.—It is worthy of our rejoicing, when taking a short retrospect of the last twenty years' conflict, that those hostile bands, which conspired against France, and took up arms to blot her from the Map of Europe, were discomfited, their designs frustrated, and their project overthrown—that, while France was free, the united Deputies of the world attempted her conquest in vain—when the rights of man and of nations were her motto, and Napoleon her General, she went forth to conquest and to glory. But when France became trained and trammelled, under a military despotism, by Napoleon himself, when, in alliance with powerful potentates, the nature of the contest changed, from freedom and independence, to subjugation and aggrandizement—having no longer justice for its basis, France herself was defeated, and became incapable of even defending her territory. It is worthy of remark, and subject for exultation, that before the Allies entered France, they changed their political creed; proclaimed, in every direction, their determination to support the independence of nations; acknowledged the injustice of interfering in the choice of a Government for France; and recognised the right of every people to model their own Governments as they please. But although these are occasions for rejoicing, they are mixed with circumstances of painful regret. If all the evil, injustice, violence, oppression, and cruelty, had centered in the person of Napoleon, and had been dethroned with him, our joy might have been unbounded; but when we see the same principle of aggression remaining in the world, we fear all the bloodshed and misery Europe

has endured, for the last twenty years, has not been sufficient to work new formation, and the old principles which have been cherished on Napoleon's banners, are adopted by his enemies. What else is the revival of the Slave Trade by a British negotiator? What the transfer of Norway? What the claim of our nation to the Sovereignty of the Ocean, and insisting on searching the vessels of neutrals?—a pretended right which we, in no circumstances, would allow others to exercise on our own vessels. What violence of Napoleon can exceed the mode of predatory warfare we are now carving on against America?—attacking unarmed inhabitants of defenceless towns, instead of an honorable contest with armed hosts from such circumstances as these, arising, as I conceive, from a want of just principles, I fear, the notions of Europe, particularly our own, will, ere long, be made to drink deep of the cup of suffer. Yes, the blood of America calls aloud for vengeance on the basely supporters of corruption, who usurp the title of deity, and proclaim themselves the Sovereigns of the sea—an element made, like the air we breathe, and the earth we tread on, for the benefit and blessing of mankind. When reading the severe remonstrances of the merchants of Liverpool, for the loss of their vessels, and their declaration that their ports are in a state of blockade, I cannot help involuntarily exclaiming: 'How now, Sovereigns of the sea! the judgment of Heaven appears to be coming upon you. Already, those whom you attacked, because they were weak and unprepared for war, are driven to make a dreadful retaliation, so sad in its effects as to lead the mercantile interest from the Minister to the Throne, notwithstanding all the efforts of Ministerial influence at Liverpool to prevent such a course.'—Yes, the seizure of vessels, and taking out seamen, under the pretence of their being British born, who had no possibility of proving their birth, appears to me so unjust, that all the *three-shaws* in St. James's, could not efface the melancholy impression from my mind of the humiliation we should, one day, suffer from such unrighteous proceedings. Yet, I did not expect to hear so soon our own ports declared in a state of blockade, or such early complaints of an unprotected trade, and of seamen dragged into captivity. When I read the hireling prints of the day, I winged at Mr. Madison, I thought their falsehoods unworthy of notice; but, through your

medium, I would remind my countrymen, that no posterity they have set up for attacking America, in the least exists. No Tyrant, no Despot is there. No conqueror of Europe, or of gigantic power, terrific in its magnitude, or terrible in its effects. No counterpart of the Tyrant of France, as he was called, violating the rights of men and nations. No, all this is worse than pretence. The blaze of illuminations, or the dissipation of long continued festivities, cannot conceal it from a public now become sober, and capable of reflection. The President of America rules according to well regulated laws, and a wise Constitution, consulting on all occasions that legitimate organ of the people—the Congress. Judging from the language of our corrupt Press, so far from attacking America on these accounts, I am led to suspect, that the love of freedom and independence on the part of the Americans, is the grievance which excites our hatred, our malice, and our revenge, but the effects of which, alas! seems fast recoiling on our own heads. In comparing the events interwoven with, and which are the result of the late Peace, we must be deeply afflicted with the restoration of the Papal Hierarchy, the Inquisition, and the Order of the Jesuits—Powers that, we know, have committed ten thousand times more cruelties than the deposed Napoleon. Our No Popery heroes, feigning to give an independent Catholic Church equal rights; looking on these events with complacency; warrant the conclusion that they have a love for the world of all despotisms—Ecclesiastical domination, which Britain, in her better days, shed her blood to destroy. From these considerations, I am led to conclude, that either more just principles, and more honest politics must speedily be resorted to, or our doom is sealed, and judgment at the door. R. F.

#### THE RECKONING.

You are right, you are right, Mr. Cobbett, when you say, that "unluckily for the cause of peace, all the numerous and powerful class, who deserve their support from the land, whether as landlords, tenants, or by the owners, begin to cry out against the effects of peace, and with them the American war was better than no war at all"—I am happy to see that you have taken the subject of the Corn Bill into discussion, and shall peruse your remarks with pleasure. Your statement as to the import of French cattle astounds me; however I heartily rejoice

at the event, and could wish it encouraged to the fullest extent, as one of the surest means of convincing the deluded people of this country, that peace is more profitable than war; that whilst we have war, we must pay taxes, and whilst we have taxes we must, in spite of profound logic, pay dear for bread and every other necessary of life.—There is one thing, Sir, that I view very seriously, and which I could wish you to discuss, viz. The considerable emigration of our war advocates, and others, who are not content to feed on our flesh, but must take the most destructive means of sucking our hearts blood.—Now, Sir, I could wish you to call for the reckoning, and to point out to the partakers of the feast, the injustice of their departing, *before they pry the soil*, if not the reckoning will fall most intolerable on the honourable and peaceable part of the community, who, we shall suppose, have no just right to pay one atom, as not acceding to or partaking of the spoil. Indeed, no one should be allowed to quit the country who receive their support from the public purse.—Those who are neither placemen nor pensioners, but the true friends of liberty and peace, I would exonerate from any part of the reckoning, because they are unwilling instruments of destruction, and necessitated, by the glittering sword of despotism, to be tame spectators of the infamy.—They are, by the law of Nature, entitled to roam any where and every where.

A REFORMER.

*Sloane-street, Chelsea, S pt. 24, 1814.*

DESTRUCTION OF WASHINGTON.—The *Courier* of yesterday says, “there were reports last night of our having attacked and ‘taken new London, and destroyed the ‘city of Baltimore.’ The work of destruction, therefore, it would appear from this, is to be persisted in during the continuance of the war with America. The following article, extracted from the *Paris Papers*, will shew what opinion the people of France entertain of this predatory mode of warfare:—

“PARIS, 1st OCTOBER.—It is assuredly not without the most painful feelings that our readers have perused the details we have given them, respecting the capture and destruction of the capital of the United States of America. Thus, then, the war is prosecuted in the New World with the same character of fury as for so long a period spread desolation over the Old. It there exhibits the same spectacle of devastation and horror,

at the moment when we flattered ourselves with the prospect of beholding the revival, even in the midst of battles, of those principles of humanity and the law of nations, which a polished and civilized people ought never to violate. Was it intended to furnish him with an excuse, who was justly accused of trampling under foot all those principles, by imitating his barbarous example? What! the English who reproached him with such force and justice, with spreading pillage and conflagration wherever he went, with running and destroying the towns that submitted to his arms, now make themselves masters of Washington, plunder and lay it waste, blow up all its public establishments and principal edifices, and carry off in their ships all that they do not chuse to destroy by fire and sword! It is not an absolutely foreign city to which no tie, none of those ancient relations which doubly claim the rights of humanity ought to insure a less severe fate, if at they have thus treated, it is a city, which may be called English, which speaks the same language, which has the same manners, and composed of inhabitants whose fathers were English! How much was it to be wished, that hostilities had ceased in America, as in Europe, on the fall of him who had given the signal for them in all parts of the world!—Why, at least, has not war itself experienced the good effects of that fall? Why is it conducted in the manner of pirates, who land upon a coast to ravage it, and then precipitately embark again, not feeling themselves sufficiently strong to occupy it and maintain their position? Was it not in this manner that the English landed to the number of five thousand, as it is said, at Washington, and then fled, after having ruined, and, as it were, swept from the face of the earth one of the finest capitals in the world, which must forcibly struck by its magnificence and establishments, one of the most celebrated travellers of the present day, M. de Humboldt? Is it thus that the hero whom they hold forth with just pride to the admiration of Europe, made war in Portugal, in Spain, in France?—The English have often preached up excellent principles of morals and humanity; they have often and justly reproached their enemies with violating those principles; but let them beware—their editing sermons and their severe reproaches will lose much of their force, if they themselves commit those excesses of which they accuse others. Their enemies assert, that it is rather their own interest than that of humanity which in general governs their morality and their conduct; that at this moment, for instance, when they are so zealously pleading the cause of the Negroes, it is less out of love for the African than from jealousy of the French colonies—we indeed believe no such things; but we must confess that frequent examples, such as that which they have just exhibited at Washington, would grievously embarrass their friends.”

WAYS AND MEANS.—In my last, I noticed the circumstance of Ministers having been so hard pressed for money, to carry on the war with America, that they had actually found it necessary to apply to the East India Company for an *advance of duties* on goods not yet imported; or, if brought to this country, not liable to payment of duty for several months to come; and for the sum thus obtained, amounting, as I am informed, to one million two hundred thousand pounds, a *discount* was allowed, though I have not heard to what extent. But this is not the only circumstance which shows that Ministers cannot go on without money, and that they have adopted the resolution of raising it, at least for the present, by other methods than that of loan. — Besides the demand upon the East India Company, which, for obvious reasons, they very quietly submitted to, a requisition has been made upon the other merchants in London, and, I dare say, elsewhere, to pay up their arrears of duties on *bonded goods*, which had not, for some time, been levied, in consequence of the general stagnation of commerce. These gentlemen, however, do not seem so disposed as the East India Company are, to comply with the demands of Government, and have called a public meeting, for the purpose of taking “into consideration” the *very alarming* situation in which they are likely to be placed by the recent determination of the Lords of the Treasury and the *Morning Chronicle*, which is always very *sympathetic* when any thing occurs to indulge its spleen to humour against Ministers, has shewn its *filial feeling* for these merchants, on this very *tragic, very alarming* occasion, by the following sorrowful lamentation:—  
“The security of money, which has forced the Chancellor of the Exchequer to the harsh measure of forcing payment of the duties on all *bonded goods* have been bonded above a twelvemonth, will *dis- tress* and *inconvenience* in the city, much more *gratuitous* than would have been felt

by a new loan. The measure of bonding was adopted for the purpose of making this country a depot for the products of different climes—that they might be supplied as the demand arose for them; and it was an admirable contrivance to secure to the country the earling trade, as well as to ease the merchant when the markets of the Continent were shut up against us. These goods have accumulated in the warehouses for five years, and the amount of duties upon them is said to be *four millions sterling*. Now, to force these goods out upon the market all at once, without regard to the demand or price, is a measure of such *severity* as was never attempted before. Many of the original owners are gone. They disposed of their property, and it may have passed through several hands. In many cases sums have been lent upon the security of these bonded goods—and if they are to be brought forth and exposed to sale, they must fall to a price *ruinous* to all the parties. We suppose that a very strong representation of all the facts will be made to the Treasury against the measure, as they are ordered to clear them out and pay the duties on or before *Sunday the 30th* instant. We suppose the Chancellor of the Exchequer considered that “the *better way*—the better deed.”—If he shall not recede in procuring this seasonable supply, it will be an apology for requiring a loan, or the funding of Exchequer Bills after all.” — Those who have been accustomed to the writer of this journal the *disruption*, will be able to appreciate, by the above article, his *pretensions* to that character. When the unexpected event of the overthrow of Napoleon electrified, as it were, the good people of this country, and almost rendered them frantic with joy, did not the *Morning Chronicle*, on that occasion, *viz* with the prostituted and hireling journals, in abusing the fallen Emperor; in stigmatizing him a *tyrant*, a *despot*, and an *usurper*, and in giving Ministers *credit*, nay *praise*, for the *robbery* of the *trade*

to rid the earth of such a monster?—Was not this a direct *approval* of every warlike measure of Ministers? Was it not a tacit acknowledgment, that every sixpence of money they had levied, had been properly done, and met with their entire approbation?—But what is more.—Has not this organ of a faction, while ranting and whining about the *miseries* and *calamities* of war, given its *heartly concurrence* to the prosecution of the war with America, and *applauded* every step taken by Government to recolonize the United States?—Even the most servile of all the crew of corruptionists, has not been able to exel this contemptible writer in the manner he has *exulted* over the *reverses* of the Americans.—Either the Editor of the *Morning Chronicle* is *sincere* in wishing the Yankees a drubbing, or he is *not* sincere.—If the latter, then does he labour in vain to appear *consistent*, by professions of regard for peace, and abhorrence of war, while he acquiesces in, and applauds, the hostile measures pursued against America.—But if this new war is not altogether displeasing to the organ of the Whigs; if he and his party have resolved to allow Ministers to prosecute it in their own way, without any molestation from them; how comes it that they are endeavouring, as is evident from the above article, to *paralyze* the hands of Ministers? If the war with France required *money* to carry it on; if we could not put down Napoleon, without increasing the National Debt from two hundred and fifty-nine millions to NINE HUNDRED AND SEVENTY, if the deliverance of Europe could not be effected until the country was burdened with an almost incalculable load of taxes, by what means is it that we are to *recognize* America, and to *compel* upwards of eight millions of people, who have shown liking for our Government, to submit to its sway, and to relinquish all the blessings of independence?—Is there any other way of doing this but by *money*?—If nothing of their part, can the men we are every day sending across the Atlantic, to *humiliate* the Yankees, be conveyed thither without money? They must have food as well as clothing. The seamen also must have food who navigate the vessels, and this not in the voyage merely, but for the whole time, until we are to take in conquering the Americans. Then there is the immense quantity of naval and military stores, necessary for such an army, to be

provided for. Can this be done without *money*, or even with a *little* money? No, surely; the war with America, like every other war, can only be supported with money; and where are Ministers to look for it, but into the pockets of those men who *called* for the war, and who *promised* them their warmest support, if they would only give Jonathan a *drubbing*, who assured Ministers that they would consider no sacrifice too great to obtain this desirable object. What right, then, have those men to come forward, now that the American war has begun in real earnest, and complain of the hardship of making them fulfil their engagements? Or where is the *consistency*, the respect for *principle*, so much talked of by the *Morning Chronicle*, when it tells us that it would be *harsh*, *distressing*, *inconvenient*, *grievous*, *severe*, *ruinous*, and the Lord knows what, to *force* these men to keep their promises? Is it *because* they are *alarmed*, because they *begin* to *feel* the consequences of their *folly*, that they deserve compassion? For my part, it gives me real satisfaction to find these lawless for war beginning at last to feel *uneasy* for their situation. I wish sincerely they had begun to be *alarmed* somewhat sooner. It would have been for the interest of all Europe; I may say, it would have been for the interest of the whole human race, if these *alarmists* had, twenty years ago, instead of raising a clamour against liberty; if they had then felt some of those *conjunctions* they now feel, about the cost of the war into which they plunged us.—As it is, however, no real friend of his country will regret their present alarms. Long, too long has the majority, the most deserving class of the community, suffered *inconvenience* and *distress*. *Harsh*, *grievous*, *severe*, and *ruinous*, to thousands, have been the measures pursued under the tedious and lengthened reign of corruption. It is high time, therefore, that the authors of these calamities should themselves have a little experience of the *benefits* resulting from the pernicious system to which they have so long given countenance and support.—My only fear is, that they do not *feel* enough; that they are not sufficiently *alarmed* about their situation; and that, notwithstanding all that their sympathetic brother of the *Morning Chronicle* has so *dolefully* said in their behalf, they will yet be induced to *part* with their money, and to go on believing all that our lying press tells them, about our successes over the

Yankees, and the great commercial advantages which these must shortly produce. The Chancellor of the Exchequer, in the meanwhile, cannot but feel himself placed in a very awkward situation, by the festive spirit displayed by John Bull on this occasion, and perhaps is now regretting, that he so easily departed from the usual, and more palatable way of raising money, by annuity. He was driven to this, I have no doubt, on account of the recent uncommon fall in the stocks, occasioned by the anticipation, in the money market, of a new loan. It was very natural, in these circumstances, to turn his attention elsewhere, and where could he turn it, with greater propriety, than to a quarter where the war had always been most popular, and to a fund which, in truth, belonged to the country. The money had, in advance, of the East India Company, can scarcely be considered in that light; but, in the case now before us, it is admitted, that there is in the hands of the London Merchants, no less a sum than FOUR MILLIONS sterling belonging to the public, that has been accumulating for five years, during which that same public have been submitting to great privations, in order to make up the deficiencies thus occasioned. Had the *Morning Chronicle* been properly alive to the interests of the country, it would have called for the immediate application of this money to the necessities of the State, instead of advocating the cause of a set of men who have enriched themselves by the war, and who, even had they been lovers by it, have no right to complain; because, had it not been for the support they have all along given to war, the nation would never have been in its present calamitous state. These loyalty men too; these Church and State men; these haters of jacobins and levellers—What new proof is this they are giving of their patriotism? Do they wish the country, for whom, only a few years ago, they offered to sacrifice their lives and fortunes; do they wish us now to believe, that there was no sincerity in these professions? Were they loyal only so long as they were relieved from the burdens of the war?—Do they regard it as no longer deserving their support than it enables them, by a vast accumulating of foreign products, to keep up the price of these articles, and thus render war advantageous only to themselves?—But let me not be accused of ascribing improper motives to these Gentlemen. It may be that

the *Morning Chronicle* has misconceived the object of the intended meeting, and thus incautiously rendered its own principles suspected, and exposed its dearest friends to the danger of being ranked amongst the disaffected, the jacobins, and the levellers, who neither delight in war, nor sigh for a participation of the public plunder. I shall not, however, lose sight of the subject; for those who have been the most active in promoting war, and who have derived the greatest benefit from it, are among the last who ought to be allowed to escape without paying their share of the expence necessary to carry it on.—The *Courier*, in noticing that part of the statement of the *Morning Chronicle* which respects the supposed hardship of levying the arrears of duties on bonded goods, says “the goods have been bonded three, four, or five years—at last Government demands the duty upon them. Is it not the same as if Government had given a man permission to defer the payment of his income tax for three years, and then required it to be paid? It must be paid at last.”—From this it appears, that it is seriously intended to put the loyalty of our London Merchants to the test. I hope nothing will occur to induce Ministers to abandon this intention. As to what the *Chronicle* says about a loan, or funding Exchequer Bills, the *Courier* replies, that nothing of the kind is in contemplation; the truth being, “that the *Ways* and *Means* already provided, are sufficient to meet the expenditure to be incurred until some time after Christmas, probably the spring, and the Parliament, at its next meeting, will only be called upon to extend the appropriation of them.”—It might be supposed from this light way of treating the subject, that the money raised and expended since the abdication of Napoleon, had been of a very trifling nature. But the fact is, independent of all the taxes levied previous to that event being still in existence, no less than fifty one millions sterling was borrowed subsequent to the year 1812; and if to this is added the advanced duties, paid by the East India Company, and what is about to be raised of arrears on bonded goods, our national expenditure, in the short period of two years, will be found to be equal, if not greater, than what it was during the most expensive period of the war with France. The sum borrowed since 1812 is in truth, only two millions short of



whole *National Debt* at the death of George I. and more than a third of its amount at the end of the seven years war, in 1762. These facts will appear obvious from the annexed table, and, I think, must render it sufficiently clear, that means have not been wanting hitherto, whatever they may be at present, to give energy to the established system.

King William, of *glorious* memory, was the *father* of our *National Debt*. At his death in

1702, it extended to . . . . .	Millions.
1711 Death of Queen Anne. . . .	48
1715 George I. . . . .	59
1762 end of seven years war . . . .	114
1782 ——— America in war . . . .	268
1792 Beginning of French war . . .	298
1812 Midle of ditto . . . . .	510
1814 Month of June . . . . .	297,328,114

At this time there has been  
 added, by the sinking fund, \$ 221,681,332

Leaving of unreddeed capital 2749,621,227

But as there is *imperial* payable on the money borrowed to form the sinking fund, the redeemed capital cannot be deducted, with propriety, from the amount of the debt, until the instalments of the Sinking Fund are paid the principal and interest of the sums they advanced.

I observe, since the above remarks were sent to press, that the Meeting of the London Merchants has taken place. The chair was filled by that distinguished and staunch *knave* Sir Charles Price, who, *poor man*, has more occasion to regret the termination of the war than all the other Government Contractors put together. Whether the *knave* and his brethren had taken the alarm that their loyalty was in danger of being *suspended*, if they went the length the *St. George's Chronicle* had done, or whether Sir Charles had agreed to take the chair, as a matter of *policy*, to keep down turbulent spirits, who might, on this occasion, be disposed to be *clamorous*, it is certain the Meeting was conducted in a *more agreeable* and *orderly* manner than there was reason, on the result of the business, to expect. The *Chief* report of the proceedings makes the loyal Baronet say, that "He did not think it necessary for him to make many observations, as he conceived that every Gentleman present must perceive how *unxious* it would be to the credit of London, and what a *great hardship* it would be to many individuals, to have their duties strictly levied on so early a day as the 30th. The Committee had come to certain resolutions which we did not submit to them, but I should be happy to hear any Gentleman who wished

"still further to elucidate the subject. He hoped, however, that in whatever observations might be made, the subject would be conducted *coolly*, and that no *extraneous* *unwarrantable* might be introduced into the discussion. They had only one objection—the benefit of the trade, and although they might differ from the Lords of the Treasury on this point, yet so far from making any *unfavorable* observations upon his Majesty's Government, he believed that it was the wish of every one present to support it. It was, therefore, God, the best Government now existing in the world. The resolutions agreed to by the Committee were then proposed, and unanimously adopted. A Committee was then appointed to wait upon the Lord of the Treasury, and point out to them the *unwarrantable consequences* both to trade, and to the individual merchants, from acting upon the notification that had been given."—I am glad it is thus established beyond dispute, that the merchants of London really feel the *unwarrantable* effects of the measures which they have so long and so strenuously supported. The *extraneous unwarrantable*, the *unfavorable* observations, of which the Chairman was afraid, clearly indicates, that the minds of the trading interest began to be *seriously* alarmed. Had these alarms been occasioned by any other cause than *individual* interest; had they arisen from a proper conviction of the impolicy of public measures, had the ruined state of the country, the rapid and enormous increase of our National Debt, the pernicious effects of our paper currency, and the insupportable burden of taxes. Had causes and considerations like these given birth to these fears and apprehensions, my satisfaction would have been greater still. But no—it is *self, mere self*, that occasions these alarms. Not in atom of patriotic ardor influence them; these terrors result only from the dread of being compelled to *disengage* a part of the money, which the *handing monopoly* has enabled them to acquire at the expense of public industry. They would willingly apply a remedy to their diseases, but then it must cost them *nothing*. They have been *clamoring*, for more than twenty years, about the *best Government in the world*.—This only required a stock of *impudence* and good lungs. Give them reason to hope, that another twenty years of clamour will be as *productive* as the last, and they will immediately

forget the *cruel hard-ship*, of compelling them to do justice to the country, and have as bad as ever — But, as already said, I am glad these *corrupt* *Ministers*, who long *exhausted* the public plunder, begin to feel alarmed at their *trials*; first, because it is high time they should experience some of those *pains*, that have sent *thousands* to their graves, and to the workhouse. Next, because, although it is not upon *public* grounds they now complain, something may arise out of their complaints that may open the eyes of the credulous and deluded multitude, and ultimately lead to a favourable change. I see it stated, in all the newspapers, that the Emperors of Russia, and Austria, and the King of Prussia, have issued orders to recal the *excess* of *paper currency*, which the great *emergencies* of the war had occasioned, and, in other respects, are giving their subjects such relief as must convince them that the cry of *peace* is not a deception, and that the benefits resulting from a cessation of arms, are not chimerical. — But in this *happy* country, *under the best Government now existing in the world*, instead of the *circulation* of *paper money* being *lessened*, instead of the public debt being *reduced*, instead of the *war* taxes being *removed*, they are every day *increasing* to a fearful amount. Every where, amongst all classes of society, to whatever side one turns himself, nothing is to be heard but *curse* on the peace. Even when walking along the public streets, it is noway uncommon to be attracted by the *murmurs* of the labourer and the mechanic, who deeply deplore an event, which, they calculated, would be to them the dawn of happiness, but which has not been accompanied with one single blessing. The plain and obvious reason of this disappointment is: people are still in a state of stupid intoxication, of which corruption has dexterously availed itself to plunge the country into a new war. They may complain of their sufferings as much as they please; they may talk to doomsday about the hardships they endure; but as long as they do not shake off their present lethargy; as long as they continue the *willing* dupes, and long the chains of their oppressors, just so long are they underserving of compassion, or of a termination of their miseries.

#### PICTURE OF FRANCE.

MR. COBBETT.—It was not until yesterday that I read a long article, in the

*Morning Chronicle* of Monday, the 3d instant, entitled a PICTURE OF FRANCE. The phraseology, being rather out of the common line, arrested my attention. The subject also, owing to my being familiar with that country, attracted my curiosity, and to relate the unfair statements of a writer, more brilliant than solid, is the purpose of this letter.

Various have been the genius, the pursuits, and the means of information of the numerous tourists, who have availed themselves of the Peace, to take a peep at France. Superficial as these examiners may have proved, each traveller has returned brim-full of consequence, and concerted knowledge, which their *disinterested* modesty has not permitted them to keep to themselves, but obliged them to impart to the public. A few weeks, or perhaps days, residence in Paris: a slender knowledge of the language; an extensive acquaintance of half-a-dozen Frenchmen, among whom stand distinguished their Toussein, and their Taylor, with whom they shall have conversed in a kind of jargon, made of broken English, bad French, and numerous shings. To these may be added, a more intimate and frequent intercourse with English, Scotch, and Irish gentlemen, either strangers there like themselves, or settled, and making fortunes, at the expence of either nation, as they can find customers. With these *powerful* helps our tourists presume to decide in *derrière resort* on the genius, the manners, and the morals of the whole French nation. Thus, the public has to travel through so many erroneous, and, sometimes, contradictory accounts, that France and Frenchmen must long remain unknown to the bulk of the English nation, unless some person, well acquainted with that country, speaking the language fluently, of a rank for admission into all companies, with the talent of accurate observation, and unimpaired with partiality, should stand forth, and faithfully depict a nation and country, *as* since described by another Ministerial writer as *having ceased to exist, and forming a chasm in the map of Europe*—an assertion rather invalidated by that country having cost us 800 millions, spent in digging the pit into which we ourselves and not them must eventually fall. The elegant writer of the PICTURE OF FRANCE, which country, by the bye, during his three weeks excursion, he most likely has surveyed chiefly through the

windows of a stage coach, so as to render, as he emphatically expresses himself, his mind a complete magic lantern—a rapid succession of disjointed images. This writer makes the ground-work of his picture now dwindle into, as he expresses himself, the worst idea of social Paris. We do not deny that it may have been this Gentleman's misfortune, to have fallen into that company where the women were treated as *soubrettes*, as *figurantes*, and perhaps as *grisettes*. But had he been admitted in the respectable circles, he would have found the sex always treated with respect; and he would have had his choice either to treat them so himself, or to receive from some one of their friends, or admirers, a piece of cold iron through his lungs. Had he however frequented the court, or the audiences of the great, he would there have seen the fair always enjoy precedence, and accompanied with the highest consideration. Our traveller likewise complains of French filth, and particularly of their spitting. Unfortunate he must have been in his selection of company, since, as he asserts, every thing on the surface is horrible beastliness, which with us do not exist; they actually seem, in talk, and practice, to cultivate a familiarity with nastiness. In every public place they are spitting on your shoes, on your plate, almost in your mouth. A well worked up picture this. The Gentleman does justice to his brief, and richly has deserved his retaining fee. His oratory is fine; it is deficient only in the small matter of not having strict truth for its basis. We will, however, conceive it possible, that among the *Porteurs d'Eau*, among the ladies de la Halle and of the *Place Maubert*, and among the numerous *Decrotteurs* with whom Paris abounds, some characters may be found nearly as fitting as he depicts them. But if such have been his associates, whereon he builds his PICTURE OF FRANCE, we need not tell him he should be, in a subsequent visit, to the temple of *Cloukina*, thence to draw his description of the *Thuilleries* and the *Louvre*. While he is not ignorant, so let him not be forgetful, that in his own dear Dublin, there are individuals, nay quarters of the town, which it would be the height of misrepresentation and injustice, to hold up as a faithful picture of the Irish nation. But as it is possible his account may have been rendered *outré* for the purpose of pleasing in a certain quarter, he might have

embellished it with some account of French orgies, and drunken parties. They would, in some degree, have given a countenance to those we practise at home. Some travellers, however, who have had a greater intercourse with the French, than the writer of the PICTURE OF FRANCE, assert, that politeness has not been banished; that respect for the sex prevails; that those in the least degree above the common class, are remarkable for good breeding; and that cleanliness and decency are essential parts of the education of both sexes. Yet, as was before hinted, in cities like Paris, London, Dublin, or Edinburgh, there must be a class of people, who pay little respect to either cleanliness or decency. If his lot fell among such, and he himself possesses notions of delicacy, I pity him, and shall cease to wonder at the crude notions he has picked up, respecting the morals and the manners of a people whom he elsewhere confesses received him with cordiality, and on account of his high merit treated him with a respectful politeness, while, in return, he seems to have dipped his satirical pen rather in brandy than in sympathetic ink; and, while decanting on the propriety of giving, or refusing, the liberty of the press, to what he calls the volatile French, he practically demonstrates the abuse to which that liberty may be carried in England, by passing a precipitate and unjust sentence, upon a whole nation, with whom he has had but a three weeks intercourse; forgetful, that however banter and exaggeration may serve the purpose of the hard rhetorician, nothing but truth and impartiality ought to flow from the pen of the historian.

NON CUSIDICUS.

Oct. 12, 1814.

SED VEREDICUS.

## TYTHES.

MR. CORRETT—Having seen in your excellent REGISTER a paper signed *Anti-tides*, proposing, as a means of liquidating part of the National Debt, the sale of the Crown lands, and of the lands of those individuals who have pledged themselves and their property, over and over again, to the carrying on of the war against those monsters, the French, and against their cowardly, sneaking, leader Bonaparte, I was induced to think that that is not the only measure to which this ever frugal Government might have resort; but that there is another, which, if adopted, will prove less beneficial in its effects; I mean the

appropriating of the *church lands*, together with the *tythes*, to the same la-  
 purpose. And that those who at present live upon these lands and tythes may not entirely be turned out of bread, I propose that a moderate income be allowed them for their lives, at the expiration of which, their salaries and offices expire also, unless these people will now attend Divine worship, in the Church of England, and think that it is there carried on as it ought to be, follow the course of the Dissenters, and pay their dues out of their own pockets, and not allow the whole nation to be burdened with the maintenance of a set of people, who are most properly denominated when they are called, *dead hands*. As an inducement to follow this measure, and as a proof that a country is none the worse without hierarchy, but rather the better, we have the example of America at this instant before our eyes, a country which bids fair to become one of the most wonderful and happy on the face of the globe. And if America can thrive without supporting an expensive established clergy, why may not England? Is there any such great difference between the two countries? To be sure, the soil of America is much more productive than that of England, but that is the very reason why every possible burden should be taken off the English farmer, in order to enable him to bring his produce to market as cheap as possible. But to this it may be said, can the taking the tythes from the clergy, and still levying them, but applying them to defray the expences of Government, lessen the burden of the grower? In the first instance it cannot, but in the long run it undoubtedly will; for, on the present system, the farmers are paying these tythes to people who are of no service to the Government; but if the measure were adopted which I here recommend, they would go towards paying our navy and army, and so gradually diminish the amount of taxes indispensably necessary to be raised on the present corrupt system. It must be evident to every one, that the debt is already unpayable; and as, no doubt, many families will be utterly ruined by it, humanity itself should make us use every means to prevent its increase. A. B.

AMERICA.—Some of my readers having found it difficult to procure a copy of the *American Constitution*, and, as that document is now become somewhat inte-

resting, in consequence of the full avowal of our corrupt press, that it is our design to overthrow the Democratic Government of the United States, and to replace it by the best Government in the world; I have thought it advisable to republish the former, in order that, by a comparison of both, the public may judge which of them deserves the preference. As to the right, which we claim, of compelling the Americans to accept of what form of Government may be most suitable to our ideas, and the probability of their complying with our views, the Declaration of Independence, which precedes the Constitution, is the best criterion that can be given upon that subject. With the truth of the statements which this Declaration presents I have no concern. I give it merely as a public document, which all the world saw at the time, and which may be still seen in our files of newspapers, in our magazines, and in accounts of the American Revolution, published at that period. It may, however, be remarked, that our Government afterwards recognised the independence of the Americans, entered into treaties with them, and received their Ambassadors at the Court of St. James's, upon the same terms that we now receive the accredited Ministers of the most favoured nations. These circumstances, in my apprehension, go pretty far to shew, that the complaints of America, and the reasons she assigned in 1776 for separating from this country, were acknowledged here, by our own Government, to be well founded. Since then, a thousand circumstances have occurred to render independence more dear to the people, and to induce them to resist any attempts that may be made to restore British influence. When they forced us out of the country, they only then anticipated the blessings of freedom. Now they enjoy them; and if to this we add, that they have become great as a manufacturing, as a commercial, and as a naval people, we shall soon be convinced, that the recolonization of, and the destruction of democracy in, the United States, is a task much easier accomplished by the pen than by the sword; and that, if we are so mad as to persevere in this project, we may chance not to have so lucky an escape as we had at the termination of our last unnatural contest with that country.

IN CONGRESS, JULY 4, 1776.

The unanimous Declaration of the THIRTEEN UNITED STATES of AMERICA.

When, in the course of human events

it becomes necessary for one people to dissolve the political bonds which have connected them with another; and to assume, among the powers of the earth, the separate and equal station to which the laws of nature and of nature's God entitle them, a decent respect to the opinions of mankind requires that they should declare the causes which impel them to the separation. We hold these truths to be self-evident, that all men are created equal; that they are endowed, by their Creator, with certain unalienable rights; that among these are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness. That to secure these rights, Governments are instituted among men, deriving their just powers from the consent of the governed; that whenever any form of Government becomes destructive of these ends, it is the right of the people to alter or to abolish it, and to institute new Government, laying its foundation on such principles, and organizing its powers in such form, as to them shall seem most likely to effect their safety and happiness. Prudence, indeed, will dictate, that Governments, long established, should not be changed for light and transient causes; and accordingly all experience hath shewn, that mankind are more disposed to suffer, while evils are sufferable, than to right themselves, by abolishing the forms to which they are accustomed. But when a long train of abuses and usurpations, pursuing invariably the same object, evinces a design to reduce them under absolute despotism, it is their right, it is their duty, to throw off such Government, and to provide new guards for their future security. Such has been the patient sufferance of these Colonies, and such is now the necessity which constrains them to alter their former system of Government. The history of the present King of Great Britain is a history of repeated injuries and usurpations, all having in direct object the establishment of an absolute tyranny over these States. To state this, let facts be submitted to a candid world. He has refused his assent to laws the most whole-some and necessary for the public good. He has forbidden his governors to pass laws of immediate and pressing importance, unless suspended in their operation till his assent should be obtained, and when so suspended, he has utterly neglected to attend to them. He has refused to pass other laws for the accommodation of large districts of people, unless those people would relinquish the right of representation in the Legislature; a right inestimable to them and formidable to tyrants only. He has called together Legislative Bodies at places unusual, uncomfortable, and distant from the depository of their public records, for the sole purpose of fatiguing them into compliance with his measures. He has dissolved representative houses repeatedly, for opposing, with manly firmness, his invasions on the rights of the people. He has refused for a long time, after such dissolutions, to cause others to be elected; whereby the Legislative Powers, incapable of annihilation, have returned to the people at large till their exercise; the State remaining, in the mean time, exposed to all the dangers of invasion from without, and convulsions within. He has endeavoured to prevent the population of these States; for that purpose obstructing the laws for naturalization of foreigners, refusing to pass others to encourage their migrations hither, and raising the conditions of new appropriations of lands. He has obstructed the administration of justice, by refusing his assent to laws for establishing judiciary powers. He has made Judges dependant on his will alone, for the tenure of their offices, and the amount and payment of their salaries. He has erected a multitude of new offices, and sent hither swarms of officers, to harass our people, and eat out their substance. He has kept among us, in times of peace, standing armies, without the consent of our Legislatures. He has affected to render the military independent of, and superior to the civil power. He has combined with others to subject us to a jurisdiction foreign to our constitution, and unknown to our laws; giving his assent to their acts of pretended legislation. For quartering large bodies of armed troops among us. For protecting them, by a mock trial, from punishment for any murders which they should commit on the inhabitants of these States. For cutting off our trade with all parts of the world. For imposing taxes on us without our consent. For depriving us, in many cases, of the benefits of the Trial by Jury. For transporting us beyond seas to be tried for pretended offences. For abolishing the free system of English laws in a neighbouring province, establishing therein an arbitrary Government, and enlarging its boundaries, so as to render it at once an example and fit instrument for introducing

the same absolute rule into these Colonies. For taking away our charters, abolishing our most valuable laws, and altering fundamentally the forms of our Governments. For suspending our own legislatures, and declaring themselves invested with power to legislate for us in all cases whatsoever. He has abdicated Government here, by declaring us out of his protection, and warring against us. He has plundered our seas, ravaged our coasts, burnt our towns, and destroyed the lives of our people. He is, at this time, transporting large armies of foreign mercenaries to complete the works of death, desolation, and tyranny, already begun with circumstances of cruelty and perfidy, scarcely paralleled in the most barbarous ages, and totally unworthy the head of a civilized nation. He has constrained our fellow-citizens, taken captive on the high seas, to bear arms against their country, to become the executioners of their friends and brethren, or to fall themselves by their hands. He has excited domestic insurrections amongst us, and has endeavoured to bring on the inhabitants of our frontiers the merciless Indian savages, whose known rule of warfare is an undistinguished destruction, of all ages, sexes, and conditions. In every stage of these oppositions we have petitioned for redress in the most humble terms. Our repeated petitions have been answered only by repeated injury. A prince, whose character is thus marked by every act which may define a tyrant, is unfit to be the ruler of a free people. Nor have we been wanting in attentions to our British brethren. We have warned them, from time to time, of attempts by their Legislature to extend an unwarrantable jurisdiction over us. We have reminded them of the circumstances of our emigration and settlement here. We have appealed to their native justice and magnanimity, and we have conjured them by the ties of our common kindred to disavow these usurpations, which would inevitably interrupt our connexions and correspondence. They too have been deaf to the voice of justice and of consanguinity. We must, therefore, acquiesce in the necessity which denounces our separation, and hold them, as we hold the rest of mankind, enemies in war, in peace friends. We, therefore, the Representatives of the United States of America, in General Congress assembled, appealing to the Supreme Judge of the world for the rectitude of our intentions, do, in the name, and by autho-

city of the good people of these Colonies, solemnly publish and declare, That these United Colonies are, and of right ought to be, Free and Independent States; that they are absolved from all allegiance to the British Crown; and that all political connexion between them and the State of Great Britain, is, and ought to be, totally dissolved; and that, as Free and Independent States, they have full power to levy war, conclude peace, contract alliances, establish commerce, and do all other acts and things which Independent States may of right do. And for the support of this Declaration, with a firm reliance on the protection of Divine Providence, we mutually pledge to each other our lives, our fortunes, and our sacred honour.

## JOHN HANCOCK

<i>New Hampshire.</i>	James Smith,
Joseph Bartlett,	Georg Taylor,
Will am Whipple,	John A. A. A.,
Matthew Thornton,	George Ross,
<i>Massachusetts Bay.</i>	Samuel Adams,
Samuel Adams,	Christopher Rollins,
John Adams,	George Read,
Robert Treat Paine,	Thomas M. Keen,
Elbridge Gerry,	<i>Maryland.</i>
<i>Rhode Island, &amp;c.</i>	Samuel C. C.,
Stephen Hopkins,	William Paca,
William Ellery,	Thomas C. C.,
<i>Connecticut.</i>	C. Carroll, of Carroll,
Roger Sherman,	<i>Virginia.</i>
Samuel Huntington,	George Wythe,
William Williams,	Richard Henry Lee,
Oliver Wolcott,	Thomas Jefferson,
<i>New York.</i>	Benjamin Harrison,
Will am Floyd,	Thomas Nelson, junr,
Philip Livingston,	Francis Pickens, Lee,
Elizabet Lewis,	Catharine Lee,
Lewis Morris,	<i>North Carolina.</i>
<i>New Jersey.</i>	William Hooper,
Richard Stockton,	Joseph Hewes,
John Witherspoon,	John P. P.,
Francis Hopkinson,	<i>South Carolina.</i>
John Hart,	Edward Rutledge,
Abraham Clark,	Thomas Heyward, junr,
<i>Pennsylvania.</i>	Thomas Lynch, junr,
Robert Morris,	Arthur Middleton,
Benjamin Rush,	<i>Georgia.</i>
Benjamin Franklin,	Butler Cowart,
John Morton,	Lynn Hall,
George Clymer,	George Walton,

## CONSTITUTION OF THE UNITED STATES.

We the people of the United States, in order to form a more perfect Union, establish justice, insure domestic tranquillity, provide for the common defence, promote the general welfare, and secure the blessings of Liberty to ourselves and our posterity, DO ORDAIN and ESTABLISH this CONSTITUTION for the UNITED STATES OF AMERICA.

## Article I.

SECT. 1. All legislative powers herein granted, shall be vested in a Congress of the United States, which shall consist of a Senate and House of Representatives.

**Sect. 2.** The House of Representatives shall be composed of members chosen every second year by the people of the several States; and the electors in each State shall have the qualifications requisite for electors of the most numerous branch of the State Legislature.—No person shall be Representative who shall not have attained to the age of twenty five years, and been seven years a citizen of the United States, and who shall not, when elected, be an inhabitant of that State in which he shall be chosen.—Representatives and direct taxes shall be apportioned among the several States which may be included within this Union, according to their respective numbers, which shall be determined by adding to the whole number of free persons, including those bound to service for a term of years, and, excluding Indians not taxed, three fifths of all other persons. The actual enumeration shall be made within three years after the first meeting of the Congress of the United States, and within every subsequent term of ten years, in such manner as they shall by law direct. The number of Representatives shall not exceed one for every thirty thousand, but each State shall have at least one Representative; and until such enumeration shall be made, the State of New Hampshire shall be entitled to choose three; Massachusetts, eight; Rhode-Island and Providence Plantations, one; Connecticut, five; New York, six; New Jersey, four; Pennsylvania, eight; Delaware, one; Maryland, six; Virginia, ten; North Carolina, five; South Carolina, five; and Georgia, three.—When vacancies happen in the representation from any State, the executive authority thereof shall issue writs of election to fill such vacancies.—The House of Representatives shall choose their Speaker and other officers; and shall have the sole power of impeachment.

**Sect. 3.** The Senate of the United States shall be composed of two senators from each State, chosen by the legislature thereof for six years, and each senator shall have one vote.—Immediately after they shall be assembled in consequence of the first election, they shall be divided equally as nearly as may be into three classes. The seats of the senators of the first class shall be vacated at the expiration of the second year, of the second class at the expiration of the fourth year, and of the third class at the expiration of the sixth year, so that one third may be chosen every second year;

and if vacancies happen by resignation, or otherwise, during the recess of the legislature of any State, the executive thereof may make temporary appointments until the next meeting of the legislature, which shall then fill such vacancies.—No person shall be a senator who shall not have attained to the age of thirty years, and been nine years a citizen of the United States, and who shall not, when elected, be an inhabitant of that State for which he shall be chosen.—The Vice-President of the United States shall be President of the Senate, but shall have no vote, unless they be equally divided.—The Senate shall choose their other officers, and also a President *pro tempore*, in absence of the Vice-President, or when he shall exercise the office of President of the United States.—The Senate shall have the sole power to try all impeachments. When sitting for that purpose, they shall be on oath or affirmation. When the President of the United States is tried, the Chief Justice shall preside: and no person shall be convicted without the concurrence of two-thirds of the members present.—Judgment, in cases of impeachment, shall not extend further than to removal from office, and disqualification to hold and enjoy any office of honour, trust, or profit, under the United States; but the party convicted shall nevertheless be liable and subject to indictment, trial, judgment and punishment, according to law.

**Sect. 4.** The times, places, and manner, of holding elections for Senators and Representatives, shall be prescribed in each State by the legislature thereof: but the Congress may, at any time, by law, make or alter such regulations, except as to the places of choosing senators.—The Congress shall assemble at least once in every year; and such meetings shall be on the first Monday in December, unless they shall, by law, appoint a different day.

**Sect. 5.** Each house shall be the judge of the elections, returns, and qualifications, of its own members, and a majority of each shall constitute a quorum to do business; but a smaller number may adjourn, from day to day, and may be authorized to compel the attendance of absent members, in such manner, and under such penalties, as each house may provide.—Each house may determine the rules of its proceedings, punish its members for disorderly behaviour, and, with the concurrence of two thirds, expel a member.—Each house shall

keep a journal of its proceedings, and from time to time publish the same, excepting such parts as may, in their judgment, require secrecy; and the yeas and nays of the members of either house, on any question, shall, at the desire of one fifth of those present, be entered on the journal.—Neither house, during the session of Congress, shall, without the consent of the other, adjourn for more than three days, nor to any other place than that in which the two houses shall be sitting.

*SECT. 6.* The Senators and Representatives shall receive a compensation for their services, to be ascertained by law, and paid out of the treasury of the United States. They shall in all cases, except treason, felony, and breach of the peace, be privileged from arrest during their attendance at the session of their respective houses, and in going to and returning from the same; and for any speech or debate in either house, they shall not be questioned in any other place.—No Senator or Representative shall, during the time for which he was elected, be appointed to any civil office under the authority of the United States, which shall have been created, or the emoluments whereof shall have been increased, during such time; and no person holding any office under the United States, shall be a member of either house during his continuance in office.

*SECT. 7.* All bills for raising revenue shall originate in the House of Representatives; but the Senate may propose or concur with amendments, as on other bills.—Every bill which shall have passed the House of Representatives and the Senate shall, before it become a law, be presented to the President of the United States. If he approve, he shall sign it; but if not, he shall return it, with his objections, to that house in which it shall have originated, who shall enter the objections at large on their journal, and proceed to reconsider it. If, after such reconsideration, two thirds of that house shall agree to pass the bill, it shall be sent, together with the objections, to the other house, by which it shall likewise be reconsidered; and if approved by two thirds of that house it shall become a law. But in all such cases, the votes of both houses shall be determined by yeas and nays; and the names of the persons voting for and against the bill, shall be entered on the journal of each house respectively. If any bill shall not be returned by the President within ten days,

(Sundays excepted) after it shall have been sent to him, the same shall be a law, in like manner as if he had signed it, unless the Congress, by their adjournment, prevent its return, in which case it shall not be a law.—Every order, resolution, or vote, to which the concurrence of the Senate and House of Representatives may be necessary (except on a question of adjournment) shall be presented to the President of the United States; and before the same shall take effect, shall be approved by him; or, being disapproved by him, shall be repassed by two thirds of the Senate and House of Representatives, according to the rules and limitations prescribed in the case of a bill.

*SECT. 8.* The Congress shall have power—To lay and collect taxes, duties, imposts, and excises, to pay the debts, and provide for the common defence and general welfare of the United States; but all duties, imposts, and excises, shall be uniform throughout the United States.—To borrow money on the credit of the United States:—To regulate commerce with foreign nations, and among the several States, and with the Indian tribes.—To establish a uniform rule of naturalization, and uniform laws on the subject of bankruptcies, throughout the United States.—To coin money, regulate the value thereof, and of foreign coin, and fix the standard of weights and measures.—To provide for the punishment of counterfeiting the securities and current coin of the United States.—To establish post-offices and post-roads.—To promote the progress of science and useful arts, by securing for limited times to authors and inventors, the exclusive right to their respective writings and discoveries.—To constitute tribunals inferior to the supreme court.—To define and punish piracies and felonies committed on the high sea, and offences against the law of nations.—To declare war, grant letters of marque and reprisal, and make rules concerning captures on land and water.—To raise and support armies, but no appropriation of money to that use shall be of a longer term than two years.—To provide and maintain a navy.—To make rules for the government and regulation of the land and naval forces.—To provide for calling forth the militia to execute the laws of the Union, suppress insurrections, and repel invasions.—To provide for organizing, arming and disciplining the militia, and for governing such part of them as may be employed in



the service of the United States, reserving to the States respectively, the appointment of the officers, and the authority of training the militia according to the discipline prescribed by Congress.—To exercise exclusive legislation in all cases whatsoever, over such district (not exceeding ten miles square) as may by cession of particular States, and the acceptance of Congress, become the seat of the Government of the United States, and to exercise like authority over all places purchased by the consent of the legislature of the State in which the same shall be, for the erection of forts, magazines, arsenals, dock-yards, and other needful buildings.—And, to make all laws which shall be necessary and proper for carrying into execution the foregoing powers, and all other powers vested by this Constitution in the Government of the United States, or in any department or office thereof.

*Sect. 9.* The migration, or importation, of such persons as any of the States now existing shall think proper to admit, shall not be prohibited by the Congress prior to the year one thousand eight hundred and eight; but a tax or duty may be imposed on such importation, not exceeding ten dollars for each person.—The privilege of the writ of *habeas corpus* shall not be suspended, unless when, in cases of rebellion or invasion, the public safety may require it.—No bill of attainder, or *ex post facto* law, shall be passed.—No capitation, or other direct tax, shall be laid, unless in proportion to the *census*, or enumeration herein before directed to be taken.—No tax or duty shall be laid on articles exported from any State. No preference shall be given by any regulation of commerce or revenue to the ports of one State over those of another nor shall vessels bound to, or from, one State be obliged to enter, clear, or pay duties in another. No money shall be drawn from the treasury, but in consequence of appropriations made by law, and a regular statement and account of the receipts and expenditures of all public money shall be published from time to time.—No title of nobility shall be granted by the United States, and no person holding any office of profit or trust under them shall, without the consent of the Congress, accept of any present, emolument, office, or title, of any kind whatever, from any king, prince, or foreign State.

*Sect. 10.* No State shall enter into any treaty, alliance, or confederation; grant

letters of marque and reprisal; coin money, emit bills of credit, make any thing but gold and silver coin a tender in payment of debts; pass any bill of attainder, *ex post facto* law, or law impairing the obligation of contracts, or grant any title of nobility.—No State shall, without the consent of the Congress, lay any imposts or duties on imports or exports, except what may be absolutely necessary for executing its inspection laws; and the net produce of all duties and imposts, laid by any State on imports or exports, shall be for the use of the treasury of the United States, and all such laws shall be subject to the revision and controul of the Congress. No State shall, without the consent of Congress, lay any duty of tonnage, keep troops, or ships of war in time of peace, enter into any agreement or compact with another State, or with a foreign power, or engage in war, unless actually invaded, or in such imminent danger as will not admit of delay.

#### Article 11.

*Sect. 1.* The executive power shall be vested in a President of the United States of America. He shall hold his office during the term of four years, and, together with the Vice-President, chosen for the same term, be elected as follows.—Each State shall appoint, in such manner as the legislature thereof may direct, a number of electors, equal to the whole number of Senators and Representatives to which the State may be entitled in the Congress but no Senator or Representative, or person holding an office of trust or profit under the United States, shall be appointed an elector.—The electors shall meet in their respective States, and vote by ballot for two persons, of whom one at least shall not be an inhabitant of the same State with themselves and they shall make a list of all the persons voted for, and of the number of votes for each; which list they shall sign and certify, and transmit, sealed, to the seat of the Government of the United States, directed to the President of the Senate. The President of the Senate shall, in the presence of the Senate and House of Representatives, open all the certificates, and the votes shall then be counted. The person having the greatest number of votes shall be the President, if such number be a majority of the whole number of electors appointed; and if there be more than one who have such majority, and have an equal number of votes, then the House of Representatives shall immediately chuse by

ballot one of them for President; and if no person have a majority, then from the five highest on the list the House shall in like manner chuse the President. But in chusing the President, the votes shall be taken by States, the representation from each State having one vote, a quorum for this purpose shall consist of a number or members from two thirds of the States, and a majority of all the States shall be necessary to a choice. In every case, after the choice of the President, the person having the greatest number of votes of the electors shall be the Vice-President. But if there should remain two or more who have equal votes, the Senate shall chuse from them by ballot the Vice-President.—The Congress may determine the time of chusing the electors, and the day on which they shall give their votes, which day shall be the same throughout the United States.—No person except a natural born citizen, or a citizen of the United States, at the time of the adoption of this Constitution, shall be eligible to the office of President, nor shall any person be eligible to that office who shall not have attained to the age of thirty-five years, and been seven years a resident within the United States.—In case of the removal of the President from office, or of his death, resignation, or inability to discharge the powers and duties of the said office, the same shall devolve on the Vice-President, and the Congress may by law provide for the case of removal, death, resignation, or inability, both of the President and Vice-President, declaring what officer shall then act as President, and such officer shall act accordingly, until the disability be removed, or a President shall be elected.—The President shall, at stated times, receive for his services, a compensation, which shall neither be increased nor diminished during the period for which he shall have been elected, and he shall not receive within that period any other emolument from the United States, or any of them.—Before he enter on the execution of his office, he shall take the following oath or affirmation—"I do solemnly swear (or affirm) that I will faithfully execute the office of President of the United States; and will, to the best of my ability, preserve, protect, and defend the Constitution of the United States."

*Sect. 2.* The President shall be commander in chief of the army and navy of the United States, and of the militia of the

several States, when called into the actual service of the United States; he may require the opinion, in writing, of the principal officer in each of the executive departments, upon any subject relating to the duties of their respective offices, and he shall have power to grant reprieves and pardon for offences against the United States, except in cases of impeachment. He shall have power, by and with the advice and consent of the Senate, to make treaties, provided two thirds of the Senators present concur, and he shall nominate, and by and with the advice and consent of the Senate, shall appoint ambassadors, other public ministers and consuls, judges of the supreme court, and all other officers of the United States, whose appointments are not herein otherwise provided for, and which shall be established by law. But the Congress may by law vest the appointment of such inferior officers, as they think proper, in the President alone, in the courts of law, or in the heads of departments.—The President shall have power to fill up all vacancies that may happen during the recess of the Senate, by granting commissions, which shall expire at the end of their next session.

*Sect. 3.* He shall from time to time give to the Congress information of the state of the Union, and recommend to their consideration such measures as he shall judge necessary and expedient. He may on extraordinary occasions convene both Houses, or either of them; and in case of disagreement between them, with respect to the time of adjournment, he may adjourn them to such times as he shall think proper. He shall receive ambassadors and other public ministers. He shall take care that the laws be faithfully executed, and shall commission all the officers of the United States.

*Sect. 4.* The President, Vice-President, and all civil officers of the United States, shall be removed from office on impeachment for, and conviction of, treason, bribery, or other high crimes and misdemeanours.

### *Article III.*

*Sect. 1.* The judicial power of the United States shall be vested in one supreme court, and in such inferior courts as the Congress may from time to time ordain and establish. The judges, both of the supreme and inferior court, shall hold their offices during good behaviour; and shall, at stated times, receive for their services, a compensation, which shall not be diminished during their continuance in office.

**Sec. 2.** The judicial power shall extend to all cases, in law and equity, arising under this Constitution, the laws of the United States, and treaties made, or which shall be made, under their authority, to all cases affecting ambassadors, other public ministers and consuls; to all cases of admiralty and maritime jurisdiction; to controversies to which the United States shall be a party; to controversies between two or more States; between a State and citizens of another State; between citizens of different States; between citizens of the same State claiming lands and grants of different States; and between a State, or the citizens thereof, and foreign States, citizens or subjects.—In all cases affecting ambassadors, other public ministers and consuls, and those in which a State shall be a party, the supreme court shall have original jurisdiction. In all the other cases before mentioned, the supreme court shall have appellate jurisdiction, both as to law and fact, with such exceptions, and under such regulations as the Congress shall make.—The trial of all crimes, except cases of impeachment, shall be by jury, and such trial shall be held in the State where the said crimes shall have been committed; but when not committed within any State, the trial shall be at such place or places as the Congress may by law have directed.

**Sec. 3.** Treason against the United States, shall consist only in levying war against them, or in adhering to their enemies, giving them aid and comfort. No person shall be convicted of treason unless on the testimony of two witnesses to the same overt act, or on confession in open court.—The Congress shall have power to declare the punishment of treason, but no attainder of treason shall work corruption of blood, or forfeiture, except during the life of the person attainted.

#### Article IV.

**Sec. 1.** Full faith and credit shall be given in each State to the public acts, records, and judicial proceedings of every other State. And the Congress may by general laws prescribe the manner in which such acts, records, and proceedings shall be proved, and the effect thereof.

**Sec. 2.** The citizens of each State shall be entitled to all privileges and immunities of citizens in the several States.—A person charged in any State with treason, felony, or other crime, who shall flee from justice, and be found in another State, shall,

on demand of the executive authority of the State from which he fled, be delivered up, to be removed to the State having jurisdiction of the crime.—No person held to service or labour in one State, under the laws thereof, escaping into another, shall, in consequence of any law or regulation therein, be discharged from such service or labour, but shall be delivered up on claim of the party to whom such service or labour may be due.

**Sec. 3.** New States may be admitted by the Congress into this Union; but no new State shall be formed or erected within the jurisdiction of any other State; nor any State be formed by the junction of two or more States, or parts of States, without the consent of the legislatures of the States concerned as well as of the Congress.—The Congress shall have power to dispose of and make all needful rules and regulations respecting the territory or other property belonging to the United States, and nothing in this constitution shall be so construed as to prejudice any claims of the United States, or of any particular State.

**Sec. 4.** The United States shall guarantee to every State in this Union a republican form of Government, and shall protect each of them against invasion, and on application of the legislature, or of the executive (when the legislature cannot be convened) against domestic violence.

#### Article V.

The Congress, whenever two thirds of both Houses shall deem it necessary, shall propose amendments to this Constitution, or, on the application of the legislatures of two thirds of the several States, shall call a Convention for proposing amendments, which, in either case, shall be valid to all intents and purposes, as part of this Constitution, when ratified by the legislatures of three fourths of the several States, or by Conventions in three fourths thereof, as the one or the other mode of ratification may be proposed by the Congress. Provided, that no amendment which may be made prior to the year one thousand eight hundred and eight, shall in any manner affect the first and fourth clauses in the ninth section of the first article, and that no State, without its consent, shall be deprived of its equal suffrage in the Senate.

#### Article VI.

All debts contracted and engagements entered into, before the adoption of this Constitution, shall be as valid against the United States under this Constitution, as

under the Confederation.—This Constitution, and the laws of the United States which shall be made in pursuance thereof, and all treaties made, or which shall be made, under the authority of the United States, shall be the supreme law of the land; and the judges in every State shall be bound thereby; any thing in the Constitution or laws of any State to the contrary notwithstanding.—The Senators and Representatives before mentioned, and the members of the several State legislatures, and all executive and judicial officers, both of the United States and of the several States, shall be bound by oath or affirmation to support this Constitution; but no religious test shall ever be required as a qualification to any office or public trust under the United States.

#### Article VII.

The ratification of the Conventions of nine States, shall be sufficient for the establishment of this Constitution between the States so ratifying the same.

Done in Convention, by the unanimous consent of the States present, the seventeenth day of September, in the year of our Lord one thousand seven hundred and eighty-seven, and of the Independence of the United States of America the twelfth. In witness whereof we have hereunto subscribed our names.

GEORGE WASHINGTON, President and Deputy from Virginia.

<i>New Hampshire.</i>	Gunning Bedford, jun
John Langdon,	John Dickinson,
Nicholas Gilman	Richard Basset,
<i>Massachusetts</i>	Jacob Broom.
Nathaniel Gorham,	<i>Maryland</i>
Rufus King	James M. Henry,
<i>Connecticut</i>	Dan. of St. Thomas Je-
Wm. Sam. Johnson,	nies
Roger Sherman.	Daniel Carroll.
<i>New York</i>	<i>Virginia</i>
Alexander Hamilton	John Blair,
<i>New Jersey</i>	James Madison, jun.
William Livingston,	<i>North Carolina</i>
David Brearley,	William Blount,
William Patterson,	Richard Dobbs Spaight,
Jonathan Dayton	Hugh Williamson.
<i>Pennsylvania</i>	<i>South Carolina.</i>
Benjamin Franklin,	John Rutledge,
Thomas Mifflin,	Chn. Cotesworth Pinck-
Robert Morris,	ney.
George Clymer,	Charles Pinckney,
Thomas Fitzsimons,	Pierre Butler
Jared Ingersoll,	<i>Georgia.</i>
James Wilson,	William Few,
Gouverneur Morris.	Abraham Baldwin
<i>Delaware</i>	<i>Attent</i>
George Read,	W. Jackson, Secretary.

In Convention, Monday, September 17, 1787. Present, the States of New Hampshire, Massachusetts, Connecticut, Mr. Hamilton, from New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Delaware, Maryland, Vir-

ginia, North Carolina, South Carolina, and Georgia.

*Resolved*—That the preceding Constitution be laid before the United States in Congress assembled, and that it is the opinion of this Convention, that it should afterwards be submitted to a Convention of Delegates, chosen in each State by the people thereof, under the recommendation of its Legislature, for their assent and ratification, and that each Convention assenting to, and ratifying the same, should give notice thereof to the United States in Congress assembled.

*Resolved*, That it is the opinion of this Convention, that as soon as the Conventions of nine States shall have ratified this Constitution, the United States in Congress assembled should fix a day on which electors should be appointed by the States which shall have ratified the same, and a day on which the electors should assemble to vote for the President, and the time and place for commencing proceedings under this Constitution. That after such publication the electors should be appointed, and the Senators and Representatives elected. That the electors should meet on the day fixed for the election of the President, and should transmit their votes certified, signed, sealed, and directed, as the Constitution requires, to the Secretary of the United States in Congress assembled. That the Senators and Representative should convene at the time and place assigned. That the Senators should appoint a President of the Senate, for the sole purpose of receiving, opening, and counting the votes for President, and that after he shall be chosen, the Congress, together with the President, should, without delay, proceed to execute this Constitution.—By the Unanimous Order of the Convention, — GEORGE WASHINGTON, President — WILLIAM JACKSON, Secretary.

IN CONGRESS, March 4, 1790.

The Conventions of a number of the States having at the time of their adopting the Constitution expressed a desire, in order to prevent misconstruction or abuse of its powers, that further declaratory and restrictive clauses should be added. And as extending the ground of public confidence in the Government will best ensure the beneficent ends of its institution;

*Resolved* by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, two thirds

of both Houses concurring, That the following articles be proposed to the Legislatures of the several States, as amendments to the Constitution of the United States, all or any of which articles, when ratified by three fourths of the said Legislatures, to be valid to all intents and purposes, as part of the said Constitution, viz.

Articles in addition to, and amendment of, the Constitution of the United States of America, proposed by Congress, and ratified by the Legislatures of the several States, pursuant to the fifth Article of the original Constitution.

*Article 1.*—After the first enumeration required by the first article of the Constitution, there shall be one representative for every thirty thousand, until the number shall amount to one hundred, after which the proportion shall be so regulated by Congress, that there shall be not less than one hundred representatives, nor less than one representative for every forty thousand persons, until the number of representatives shall amount to two hundred; after which the proportion shall be so regulated by Congress, that there shall not be less than two hundred representatives, nor more than one representative for every fifty thousand persons.

*Article 2.*—No law varying the compensation for the services of the senators and representatives shall take effect, until an election of representatives shall have intervened.

*Article 3.*—Congress shall make no law respecting an establishment of religion, or prohibiting the free exercise thereof, or abridging the freedom of speech, or of the press; or the right of the people peaceably to assemble, and to petition the Government for a redress of grievances.

*Article 4.*—A well regulated militia being necessary to the security of a free State, the right of the people to keep and bear arms shall not be infringed.

*Article 5.*—No soldier shall in time of peace be quartered in any house without the consent of the owner, nor in time of war, but in a manner to be prescribed by law.

*Article 6.*—The right of the people to be secure in their persons, houses, papers, and effects, against unreasonable searches and seizures, shall not be violated; and no warrants shall issue, but upon probable cause, supported by oath or affirmation, and par-

ticularly describing the place to be searched, and the persons or things to be seized.

*Article 7.*—No person shall be held to answer for a capital or otherwise infamous crime, unless on a presentment or indictment of a grand jury, except in cases arising in the land or naval forces, or in the militia when in actual service in time of war or public danger; nor shall any person be subject for the same offence to be twice put in jeopardy of life or limb; nor shall be compelled in any criminal case to be a witness against himself, nor be deprived of life, liberty, or property, without due process of law; nor shall private property be taken for public use without just compensation.

*Article 8.*—In all criminal prosecutions the accused shall enjoy the right to a speedy and public trial, by an impartial jury of the State and district wherein the crime shall have been committed, which district shall have been previously ascertained by law, and to be informed of the nature and cause of the accusation; to be confronted with the witnesses against him; to have compulsory process for obtaining witnesses in his favour, and to have the assistance of counsel for his defence.

*Article 9.*—In suits at common law, where the value in controversy shall exceed twenty dollars, the right of trial by jury shall be preserved, and no fact, tried by a jury, shall be otherwise re-examined in any court of the United States, than according to the rules of the common law.

*Article 10.*—Excessive bail shall not be required, nor excessive fines imposed, nor cruel and unusual punishments inflicted.

*Article 11.*—The enumeration in the Constitution of certain rights shall not be construed to deny or disparage others retained by the people.

*Article 12.*—The powers not delegated to the United States by the Constitution, nor prohibited to the States, are reserved to the States respectively, or to the people.

FREDERICK AUGUSTUS MURPHY, *DEP.*  
*Speaker of the House of Representatives.*

JOHN ADAMS, *Vice-President of the United States, and President of the Senate.*

*Attest.*

JOHN BLACKFETTER, *Clerk of the House of Representatives.*

SAM. A. OTIS, *Secretary of the Senate.*

SUMMARY OF POLITICS.

CORN BILL.—No. 1.—I before notified my intention to oppose, with all my might, the projected Bill in all its stages, which intention nothing shall prevent me from carrying into effect, regarding, as I do, this project as one of the most outrageous attempts on the rights of mankind that ever was entertained.—I have read, with great attention, the Reports of the Lords' Committee, and the evidence subjoined to them. To enter into an examination of this mass of evidence; this jumble of crude matter, this mixty maxty of guess-work, facts, and speculations; this book of the philosophy of conceited farmers and land-surveyors; to point out the absurdities, the downright contradictions, the flagrant foolishness of men, who, while they complain that corn is *too cheap*, that is to say, too abundant, call for a Corn Bill in order to induce people to *make new inclosures*, which, as they say, would cause *more corn to be grown*, to go into any thing like detail in such a case would, I should think, be to insult the understandings of my readers.—I shall, therefore, content myself with stating, that the main point, to which the evidence and the reports tend, is this: that it is for the good of the nation, *that something should be done to prevent wheat from being sold under 10s. a bushel*.—But, first of all, I must notice the source of this evidence. Who are the witnesses? Persons who have come, upon being called upon to come by the Committee. The Committee state, that they endeavoured to get before them some of the persons who had petitioned against the Corn Bill last year; but then no such persons appeared; from which the Committee conclude, that the petitioners had no distinct notion on the subject; or, that they objected to a *hasty* passing of the Bill, without inquiry, and not to the passing of the Bill altogether. I cannot tell whether the invitations to these petitioners were very pressing. My objection to the Corn Bill was pretty well known to this Lord

ships. I dare say they had heard too that I was a farmer; and I have the presumption to suppose, that they must have thought me pretty nearly as capable of affording them information upon the subject as some, at least, of the moral philosophers, whom they examined. Then Lordships did not call me before them. If they had, they would have saved me the trouble of stating my objections through this channel, for they would have found me not so ready, as their other witnesses were, to support the pretensions of the project. Their Lordships might dislike my *politics*; but that could have no weight in a question like the present; and as to motives of self-interest, if the Bill be for the protection of the farmer, I must have been the best possible witness, seeing that my declared opinion was *against* the Bill.—What are the grounds upon which this Bill, if again brought forward, are to rest? Why these: that by prohibiting importation to a certain extent, wheat will be kept up to 10s. a bushel; that the farmer will then be able to grow it; that he will then take care to provide a supply for the nation; and that, by this means, inclosures will go on, and a security be obtained against scarcity.—In the first place, it is impossible, under some circumstances, to keep wheat up to 10s. a bushel; and it is arrant nonsense to talk of it. If the crop be a very large one, wheat cannot be so dear as when the crop is very small. Besides, if every acre of any farm produces five quarters this year, and only two quarters and a half the next year, would you have the price the same in both years? Cannot the farmer afford to sell his wheat at 5s. in the former year, as well as he can afford it at 10s. in the latter year? And in what case is this notion of 10s. to apply? In years of great crops or years of small crops? When is it that he can afford to grow wheat at 10s. a bushel? Is it when he has forty bushels to an acre, or when he has only sixteen or twenty bushels to an acre? It is that, if a law ought to be passed to keep wheat up to 10s. a bushel on the ground

that the farmer cannot grow it for less), the law ought to extend beyond the prohibition of imports. It ought to provide also against the effects of *great crops*. It ought to provide some means of compelling the people *always* to buy wheat at 10s. a bushel. I leave the reader to guess at the out-cry which such a proposition would occasion, and yet, monstrous as is the idea, what does it contain of a nature more monstrous than the proposition, that something ought to be done to *insure* the farmer 10s. a bushel for his wheat; seeing that, as is asserted, he cannot grow it for less?—It is asserted, that, by securing to him a high price, the farmer will be induced to grow so largely as to supply amply all the wants of the nation. But, if all these wants can be supplied at a *low* price, is not that as well? There stands France ready to supply all deficiencies; and why would you say to her, “You shall not supply us with cheap bread, because our farmers are ready to supply us with dear bread?” It is not this something monstrous upon the face of it? You want a supply. That is your object. And, when the supply is tendered you, you turn from it, and say, “No, our own farmers will supply us at double the price;” and, if we buy bread of you it expence a lord, our farmers will turn sulky upon our hands, and will not grow us any wheat.—What would be thought of a proposition to prevent the people of Kent from sending wheat into Surrey and Middlesex? Yet, where is the difference? It is easier to convey wheat from Norway to Kent, than from Canterbury to London, or to Guildford. France is, I grant it, a *new country*. Perhaps Revolution, by sweeping away the Corvées, the Cabelle, the Game Laws, the Feudal Laws and Rights, and the Tythes; by turning the convents into commodious farm-buildings, the gardens of the monks into woods, their cloisters into ox-stalls, their dormitories into pig-tyes, their cemeteries into dung-holes, and their chapels into barns. The Revolution, by these and other means, has made France a *new country*, has added to her capability of producing subsistence, has given her the full and free use of all the means that nature had allotted her. It must also be confessed, that, *as things now stand*, the English farmer meets the French farmer under circumstances of great disadvantage. About a fortnight ago, I met, between Alton and Petersfield, an Englishman driving a herd

of French cattle. He had brought them from Ensworth, and had been to France for them himself. From him I first learnt, that the importation of French cattle was put a stop to. I asked him how he liked France. He said very much, indeed, for that, in that country, there were neither *tythes* nor *turnpike-gates*. I endeavoured to convince him, that there was no hardship in the establishment of turnpike-gates, seeing, that, if the roads were not maintained in that way, they must be maintained by a tax of some sort, which would not be so fair, because it now fell upon persons like him and me, who *used* the road, and not upon those who never used it. And, as to *tythes*, I asked him if he was a married man, if his wife had been churched; if his children had been baptised. He answered in the affirmative, and, I then asked him how he could expect these comforts, together with those of the hearing of prayers and sermons, and of having his body interred in consecrated ground after he had, on his dying bed, received remission of all his sins. How he could expect these things, unless tythes were paid to support the priests and bishops. He said all the farmers grumbled at the tythes, and said, that if they were as free from burdens as the farmers of France, they should be able to sell cows and corn so cheap, that no one need go to France for them. “Aye,” my friend,” said I, rather nettled, perhaps, at this grudging towards the church, “but, do you not see those farmers and their wives and daughters tripping to church every Sunday, do they not make a terrible out-cry if any part of the clerical duties are neglected; any of the forms unobserved. Do they not want marrying, and churching, and baptising, and confirming, and the sacrament, and the absolution? Is there not a gentleman, dressed in long robes, to read prayers and to preach to them? Is he not constantly on guard to preserve them against the machinations of the Devil? and, if any one were, like a worthy friend of mine in Hertfordshire, to deny the existence of the Devil, would not the farmer and all his family fly at him, and, if possible, tear his eyes out of his head? Do they not applaud the sending of a man to rot in jail, or to be pelted on the pillory, who denies the truth of the religion taught by the Church? Do they not call such a man by all manner of vile names? Well, then, with what justice does the farmer complain of tythes? Does

"he suppose, that a gentleman, who has been at College, and learnt Greek and Latin, to enable him to cope with the Devil, does he suppose, that a gentleman of this rank in life is to work all the Sunday to wipe from the farmer's dirty conscience all the accumulated fraud and hypocrisy of the week, is to have nothing for his labour, though the book of our faith tells him, that the labourer is worthy of his hire? Does he suppose, that, though the same holy book tells him, that a man has no advantage if he gain the whole world and lose his own soul, that he saves his soul too dearly with *tenth part only of his crop*? What added I, in the ardour of my zeal, "would the Hunk carry it to Hell with him, and tender it as a bribe to the Devil, rather than cheerfully yield it here on earth to the minister of God's word?"

My auditor, though apparently a Butcher, seemed struck at this discourse, and a little boy, in a smock-frock, who was with him, was ready to fall down upon his knees. I had not time for further observation, and rode off with the satisfactory reflection, that I had given a new train of thought to two members of this "most thinking nation." No, no, I am not for none of these *stupid* attacks upon tythes, hid in the natural selfishness of man, and fostered and supported by the philosophers of the agricultural societies. If any man will tell me, that he is ready for getting rid of tythes in the *same way* that the French got rid of their tythes, that is to say, by seizing on the church property, and turning the churches into barns and stables, that is to say, by a sweeping Revolution, I shall understand him, but, when I hear him railing against tythes with the litany hardly clear on his lips, I must set him down as a fool, or a knave, if not both at the same time. In the mean while, however, to return to my subject, it must be allowed, that the great changes which have taken place in France, have given to French agriculture very considerable advantages; but as the French have purchased these advantages by a Revolution, and as our farmers entered into the yomanry cavalry to prevent a Revolution here, it is unreasonable in them to expect to participate in these advantages. From every thing I hear, and, indeed, I see quite enough, I am convinced, that, in ordinary years, France is able to supply us with food equal in amount to that of all

our counties on the border of the Channel. This ought to be regarded as a great advantage. This is the best possible security against scarcity, which will never be found in the high price of corn at home. We have now, thanks to the peace, a country to resort to for food, when our own crops fail. It is nonsense to talk of *holding up* corn out of our own produce. We eat nearly all we grow in years of the greatest plenty. What, then, are we to do in years of scarcity? Do as we did before. Pay 2s. for the quartern loaf! And this we shall do, if this Bill pass; because the French, not sure of a market here, will raise little more than what they want for home consumption. But, let this Bill be rejected; let this project be scouted by Parliament; let the French farmer be sure that he has a market amongst us, and he will sell freely, he will always be able to supply our wants.—I must confess, that I was, when I wrote upon this subject some time ago, deceived as to the capacity of France in this respect.—I placed little reliance on importation. But France, I now find, is, in this regard, a *new country*. She is a land of milk and honey compared to what she formerly was. She is pouring in upon us food of all kinds, till a stoppage was put to the entry of cattle, and till their articles of food were taxed at our custom-houses. In this country, you cannot go by a turn homewards, or over a heath, without seeing French cattle, sheep, or pigs. We were eating turkeys at 1s. each, and geese at 2s. before the stoppage took place. How many a wailing, wailing mouth has this stoppage disappointed! —One effort of this will be precisely the contrary of that which was expected from it. The stoppage will produce *emigration* with those who live upon their income, that is to say, those who live only to eat and drink and talk. They would prefer three turkeys to one; and as the turkeys cannot come to them, they will go to the turkeys; and then our farmers will lose them as customers altogether. It has been stated, in the public prints, that there are already 40,000 English families in France. Take them at an average of 7, servants and all, and you have a departed population of 280,000 people, who, it is to be observed, are none of them *provers*; these, the amount of a million and a half being left behind to be supported by the rich and the middle class who are not, and who have, of course, a heavier weight of taxes



than before, seeing that so many of the contributors are gone away—So that the prohibition of French food will, to a certain extent, only increase the evil, which it is intended to prevent. Would it not be better to suffer the cheap food to come, and thus retain the customs for cloths, houses, goods and fuel, and the payers of taxes?—Men must eat. They like to eat at home best, but they will rather go to a cook's shop than starve. Besides, the French can supply them with cheap drink as well as cheap food. There is some difference between a bottle of wine at 5s. and a better bottle at 1s. There is some difference between a house at 100*l.* and a better house at 20*l.* Let all be safely settled in France, and let the French Government (rejecting the advice of our malignant newspapers), adopt a wise system of *naturalization*, and allow of the possession of real property by aliens, and the corn-law people will soon see, that all their prohibitions are worse than useless.—There is something so monstrous in the idea of compelling people to purchase their food dear, when they can purchase it cheap, that human nature revolts at it. If a law were passed to compel a man to buy his loaf of one bakery who sold it at 2s. while the baker in the next street sold his bread at 1s. what would be said of such a law? What would the oppressed man do? Why, it would require another law, and a most severe one too, to keep him in the country, to retain him in existence under such an abominable law. Yet, in what respect would such a law differ in its nature from the law now talked of? He, the French farmer ready to sell us his wheat, landed in England, at about 7s. a bushel, and the proposed law is to make us give 10s. to the English farmer. Next year, perhaps, the French farmer may be able to supply us at 5s. a bushel, and are we not to purchase of him, till ours will not sell it us for *more than* 10s? I confess, that such a law would be no more unjust than many other prohibitory laws that I have heard of. I think, that there ought to be no prohibitions against importations of any sort. I think, that commerce should be quite free. But, because there are prohibitions, I am not bound to approve of additional prohibitions. Because I cannot remove the imposts upon French wine, I am not bound to approve of imposts upon French coin and cattle.

#### NATIONAL DEFENCE.

SIR—When all Europe is covered with standing armies, and the liveries of men, *bed for the slaughter*, present themselves on every hand, it is not to be wondered at that the raw, uncouth, unsledged, soldiers of America, should excite the *derision* and *contempt* of the present unthinking race of Europeans. During the greater part of the lives of this generation, they have been accustomed to the pomp and parade of *field-days* and *revues*, by which they have acquired an idea, that there can be no knowledge of *military tactics* where there is not a *red coat*, and that the man who has not a *feather* in his hat, his legs covered, even in the heat of summer, with *uniform garters*, and his neck bound round with a *leather collar*, as if he were in the *stocks*, neither possess the requisites of a *soldier*, nor the courage of a *patriot*. Even the noble stand made against the enemy, in *Bantry Bay*, at the beginning of the war, by a *motley* crew of *tattered* Irish, armed with *sticks*, *pitch-forks*, and other miscel weapons, is incapable of doing away the established prejudice, that the *dress* is the only thing that constitutes the *warrior*. Absurd as this opinion may appear, it is nevertheless prevailing, and it is nothing uncommon to hear people, who on other subjects talk very rationally, telling their neighbours, with the greatest *gravity*, that it is "all nonsense in the Yankees to attempt resistance, as they have never been *drilled*, nor do they *look like soldiers*." Some are even so foolish as to say, that the American officers are also *ignorant*, and that, unless some *traitors* from the mother country, or some of *Boney's* cast-off Generals, get in among them, they never will be able to fight a battle. Thus, before poor Jonathan has had time to learn his *alphabet* in the school of military science, he must, according to these wise noodles, strike his flag to the superior skill and courage of the demi-gods of the ocean! I confess I am sometimes at a loss whether to attribute this disposition to run down the soldiers of all other nations, as prevailing among my countrymen, to wretched *misapprehension* of the truth, or to the spirit of unjustifiable *detraction*. To one or other of these it must be owing; for no man, after reading the late accounts, in our own *Gazettes*, of the well fought battles in Canada, can acquit himself of *partiality*, or of *envy*, if he does not allow, that the Americans showed as much cor-

*rage*, and as much *skill* in these affairs as the best *dressed*, and the best discipline regiment that was opposed to them. An why should they not? Why should not people, who have given us so many *convincing* proofs of their *bravery* at sea, be equally *brave* on land, without the appendage of a bit of *scarlet* affixed to their backs, or any other *budge* or *insignia* of *slavery*. When I look into the history of my own country I find that our forefathers had no stress on these vain trappings. In those days, indeed, there was no such thing as *standing armies*. Every man, as the Americans do now, learned to use the weapon of war from his infancy; and when he took the field against the foe, he neither wore a coat of scarlet, nor a coat of green, he fought with that in which he had been accustomed to fell the tree; he repelled the invader, and his grateful country were not prevented rendering him the homage due to his fame, because he had not gained her battles in the gaudy attire of modern heroes. It was in these days that Britain rested secure in an *armed people*, equally terrible to domestic as to foreign despots. It was then, it might be said with truth, that the only safeguard of the Constitution consisted, as it now does in America, in every citizen being possessed of a *sword*, and in the enactment and administration of the laws being confided to citizens only. The subject of standing armies has employed many able pens; and their *pernicious* influence has been often decanted upon, but I do not think any one has done more justice to the subject than Charles Lord Hawkesbury, in his *Discourse on the Establishment of a National and Constitutional Force*; a work originally published in the year 1757, but now little known in this country. His reasoning, indeed, is so very conclusive, that I cannot resist the temptation of closing this letter with the following extract, for which I hope you will contrive to find a corner in your REGISTER.

"The miseries and oppressions (says Lord Hawkesbury), which some States have suffered from the common sorts of armies, have made many absurdly apprehensive, that a firelock or a red coat must necessarily alter the *disposition* of the persons who have them. They do not observe that these evils have arisen from such only who have made war their *profession*. It is the *idle* and *dissolute* manner of living that

alone debauches the soldier's inclination; when, without home, without industry, and without occupation, he must subsist either by pay or by plunder. Armies composed of such as these have sometimes *enslaved* a nation, under pretence of doing them *justice*. Our history furnishes a remarkable instance of this kind, which shews clearly what it is that converts a soldier into a rebel, and makes him dangerous to his country. As gallant an army as this nation ever saw, and which, at the same time, was particularly stiled the *modest* and *self-denying*, consisted of the youths of London, who, though unused to arms, and drawn in haste out of town, gave signal proof of courage through the whole civil wars, and at last defeated the royal army by one decisive blow at Naseby. If this army of the Parliament, after they had done the business for which they were called out, had been sent back to their trades, and had only been made use of as there was occasion for them, they would have been in the nature of a militia, and there would have been no danger to apprehend from them: But, by keeping them for several years constantly in the field, after the war was over; by training them to idleness, and making them forget their trades, and depriving them of the common methods of subsistence, they were made not at all the better soldiers, but became the worse citizens. Their dispositions were totally perverted; their modesty changed to presumption, they grew imperious and seditious; they refused to go to Ireland though they were commanded; neither would they be disbanded though the Parliament had no other occasion for their service. They petitioned—they remonstrated—they rebelled—and at length destroyed the authority of that Parliament which at first called them forth, and had performed such wonders by their assistance.

"Most of the nations of Europe were, till within these three centuries, defended by Militias;—and did not Holland, when her own citizens were obliged to be trained, defend herself against the power of Spain? Would the arms of Phillip, conducted by the genius of the Prince of Parma, ever penetrate far into *her* country? And did not the sieges of Haarlem, Alcamai, and Leyden, when they were garrisoned only by their own burghers, break the spirit of the Spanish veterans? And yet this very country was overrun, and most of her

towns taken, in the space of a month, in the year 1672, when the defence thereof was entrusted to 25,000 *mercenaries*.—It is useless to cite any more examples. 'The very origin of standing forces shews, that they were not thought indispensably necessary for the defence of a country. They were first raised to suppress rebellious subjects, to command the unwilling subjection of distant and oppressed provinces, or to extend the conquests of some aspiring prince into distant countries, for which he could not legally command the service of the Militia.'

Yours, &amp;c.

A NORTH BRITON.

**MARITIME RIGHTS.**—The *Courier* writes in a dreadful rage, from an apprehension that our claims to the sovereignty of the seas will be called in question at the ensuing Congress. But is there any thing more natural than that the Continental Powers, having, as they believe, put down the tyrant of the land, should also wish to put down the tyrant of the ocean? Our corruptionists are not surely so vain as to suppose, that the Allies, in combating Napoleon, were willing, when he was put down, that a maritime despotism, which had so long annoyed them, should continue in all its vigour. We seem to have secured, for some time at least, the neutrality, if not the support, of Holland. But has not Russia, Denmark, Sweden, Spain, and even Austria, to say nothing of France, had a thousand times occasion to complain of the haughty treatment they have received from us on the seas?—The moment, too, when our race of naval glory is somewhat checked by the Americans, seems favourable to the apprehended design, that the other maritime powers have in contemplation to restrain our arrogance. It is true, they have all hitherto tried this and *failed* in the attempt. But the result of the struggle with France shews them what may be effected by *perseverance*, and the fatal blow which has been recently given to our naval superiority, may encourage them to the attempt. Formerly these Powers resisted our pretensions almost single-handed.—Now, they appear convinced of 'the necessity of union', and if such a coalition, as that which is spoken of, is formed, is it certain, considering the state of our relations with America, that we shall be able to oppose to it a successful resistance?—Desirous, how

ever, as the Sovereigns of Europe may be to participate in the freedom of the seas, and indignant as they feel on account of our intolerant sway, it is possible, though by no means *probable*, notwithstanding the claims and the vapouring of the *Courier*, that they may consider it prudent to postpone the consideration of the question, until after the Congress, when they will feel themselves at liberty to enter fully into our pretensions, without those restraints which must necessarily arise from the presence of a British Minister. I say this is *possible*, though somewhat improbable, and my reason for thinking the interference of the Allies probable, at present, is its likelihood, and the frequent recurrence of the French journals to the subject. The following article appeared in a late number of the *Gazette de France*, said to be taken from 'the journal of one of the departments contiguous to the Rhine,' and dated Vienna, September 29th.—'Question of "more general interest, and about to occupy "the Lavoisier of the great Power. The first, without doubt, will be to fix solemnly the principles of the law of nations, of which all speak, but only the weak observe. France and Russia are "to stipulate, in the name of humanity, "that hereafter neutral commerce shall "not be pillaged in time of war, nor be "commenced without a previous declaration, nor even without a certain delay in order to negotiate. The Emperor Alexander has laid down the only plan capable of insuring these great principles. It "is a common compact between the European Powers, to diminish their permanent "armies one-half.—Respect for the independence of nations, the sacredness of "the impregnable rights of the legitimate dynasties, the mutual guarantee of "established constitutions, the obligation of "uniting hereafter against all usurpation "and insurrection, will form the articles of "the new secret compact, in which the gradual abolition of the Slave Trade will "figure also, but only as accessory."—Although nothing is *directly* said in this article respecting our maritime rights, there can be little doubt that the writer means these, when he speaks of *neutral commerce*, and reproaches our practice of *commencing* war without a previous declaration of hostilities. In a subsequent article from Paris, under the head *Vienna*, Oct. 5th, it is stated, "We remark that the Prince de

“Talleyrand Perigord has been received with distinction by the two Emperors and the King of Prussia. The Prince, it is said, is to deliver at the opening of the Congress a *Note of the highest importance*.”—In remarking upon this last article, the *Courier* has published a private letter from Paris, dated the 15th instant, in which the writer says,—“Our Minister, Prince Talleyrand, as I have heard, is to remit a Memorial to the Congress, in which it is to be urged that the *present* is the period which more than any other that ever preceded it, is the most proper for the adoption and establishment of those principles of public and national law, which must tend to cement and consolidate the peace of the world—that the fixing the limits and demarcations of the different States is subordinate in importance to those principles—that the application of them *merely by land* will be an incomplete adjustment, liable, nay certain, to be disturbed by the clashing of principles between the *maritime* powers—that these opposite principles and must tend to hostilities between them, in which, as experience has shewn, other powers, though not naval, are sure to be involved. Hence no permanent or long peace can be expected, unless the Congress extends its attention and its labours to this subject, which France earnestly and solemnly invokes it to do.—Whether these different statements ought to be regarded as indicating a clear intimation on the part of the Allies to take up the subject at the ensuing Congress, I shall not be positive in asserting, though, as already said, every thing seems to me to point at this. The *Courier* has intimated, “that on the first serious mention of such a stipulation by M. Nees, M. de Talleyrand, Lord Castlereagh, of whose firmness they are well convinced, would declare that his country rejected it with the utmost positiveness and indignation, and would sooner nail the flag to the mast and go down with the ship than accede to it.”—And it speaks of the insertion of the above articles in the Paris Papers, being a proof of the *animus* of the French Government, and that Talleyrand may endeavour to *force* maritime questions upon the Congress.”—From the character of the Emperor Alexander, and the commanding station which the other Powers now hold, it does not seem to me that the

threat of the *Courier* will have the effect of diverting them from their purpose, if an inquiry into our maritime claims has been resolved on. But how the copying an article from a foreign journal can be held a proof of the *animus* of any Government towards another, is altogether inconceivable. If this were to be held a just inference, the whole Powers of Europe would be in a state of constant hostility against our Government, for the articles which appear every day in our own Journals. As to Talleyrand being *disposed* to introduce maritime questions at the Congress, I entertain no manner of doubt. But to suppose, as the *Courier* does, that the French Minister will be able to *force* these discussions upon the attention of the Allies, is to admit that France possesses more influence on the Continent than we, in this country, have hitherto been willing to admit. The fact, in reality, seems to be—the maritime powers require no *stimulus* to induce them to enter upon a topic, which so many causes combine to render highly inviting. Let the proposal come from what quarter it may, I am persuaded it will meet with a cordial reception, and, if once fairly introduced, will not be abandoned, even although we should carry our threat into execution of “nailing the flag to the mast, and going down with the ship.”

#### NATIONAL DEBT.—No. III.

SIR,—Hume says, that “the source of degeneracy, which may be remarked in free Governments, consists in the practice of contracting debt, and mortgaging the public revenues, by which taxes may, in time, become altogether intolerable, and all the property of the State be brought into the hands of the public\*.” This practice is of modern date. The Dutch first introduced the practice of borrowing great sums at low interest, and have well nigh ruined themselves by it. Absolute Princes have also contracted debt; but as an absolute Prince can play the bankrupt when he pleases, his people can never be oppressed by his debts. Popular Governments, the people, and chiefly those who have the highest offices, being commonly the public creditors, it is difficult for the State to make use of this remedy, which, however it may be sometimes necessary, is always cruel and barbarous. *This, therefore, seems to be an inconvenience, which*

\* He must here mean a monied Aristocracy

"*nearly threatens all free Governments, ESPECIALLY OUR OWN, AT THE PRESENT JUNCTURE OF AFFAIRS.*" A period of nearly sixty years since elapsed, has no way diminished the truth of this assertion. If at that time a National Debt was in itself an evil, what must it be at present, when it has been so wantonly and extravagantly increased? Wantonly, in stirring up unnecessary wars; and extravagantly, in the mode of conducting them; while, as to the advantages arising from these wars, it would be very difficult for any Minister, or Minister's apologist, to point them out satisfactorily. To be sure, war abroad, in its commencement, gave an opportunity for persecution at home. In its continuance it afforded pretences for taxes, for a standing army, and for an enormous increase of navy. It gave permanency to a then periclitating system; it furnished an opportunity of abridging the liberties of the country; it eventually enslaved the minds as well as the persons, by spreading corruption through the whole mass. Even the cap of liberty disappeared from our coin, as all true idea of it vanished from our minds. Our slackheaded Cappadocian slaves drowned, with their clamour, every voice raised in behalf of freedom. The Constitution was their cry, and the open violation of that Constitution was their practice. A debt almost beyond the power of conception ensued, that debt was guaranteed by the rich; but the poor and their posterity were *mortgaged* by the representatives of wealth, to pay both interest and capital; and, at the end of twenty-two years, the nation is left in a much worse situation than it was at the commencement of this war: payment of the debt is now *impossible*. To pledge our posterity for its redemption in future, is the height of stupidity; and to saddle unborn generations with the payment of the interest, is a worse than highwayman act of injustice. If the debt be payable, let it be paid at present. If it be *unpayable* by us, LET A NATIONAL BANKRUPTCY ENSUE! Let a dividend be made of all the real securities given. If a loss must be encountered, let us meet that loss as men. But let us not hand over ruin to our posterity. Our behaviour, in the first instance, will be that of honourable men; but, in the second, it would be that of swindlers. Be just before you are generous! Court extravagancies, sinecures, and all needless expenses, ought to be foregone by the

servants of an indebted nation; else an indebted nation would be justified in dismissing all the causes of produsion that may stand in the way of its liquidating its just debts. To an individual, the first acknowledged law is self-defence. A nation, being an accumulation of individuals, has that same right and duty in a much more extended sense. If it chuses to exert it, who is there that shall dare say nay! *Solus populi prima Lex.* To suppose the now sitting Congress will subscribe to our assumed sovereignty of the seas, cannot enter the mind of the most dull among our Courtiers. To imagine we are to enjoy exclusively all the markets of Europe, would be equally silly. Every nation views the first object with jealousy; and as to the second, experience, woful experience, has already demonstrated to our complete conviction, that, during these twenty-two years of sanguinary and destructive warfare, we have, in nearly an equal proportion, been destroying our customers, and teaching them our manufactures. They now imitate us in all, equal us in most, and excel us in many; while our taxes are such that we cannot bring our goods into the market to compete with them. As a mercantile nation, we have run our race! Adhering to the system of late years, we are a ruined nation! and our sapient Ministry have left us but one remedy—economy, and an honest composition with the national creditors. These, we affirm, are both within the reach of a THOROUGH PARLIAMENTARY REFORM, and that THOROUGH PARLIAMENTARY REFORM is completely in the power of the people to bring about, as will be shewn hereafter.

ARISTIDUS.

SABBATTI SEVI.

MR. COBBETT.—A few days ago I picked up the leaf of an old book, which contained the following account of Sabbatti Sevi. Perhaps, were it circulated in your valuable REGISTER, the catastrophe of the story might serve as a lesson to some who are fond of the marvellous—your Mossiah-hunters and others.

*A Subscriber to your Register.*

Sabbatti Sevi, a Jewish impostor, who appeared at Serrina in 1666, and pretended to be the Messiah, which opinion the Jews in these countries were so possessed of, that they left off their trades and business, as assuring themselves that the restoration of their kingdom was now come,

and the streets were covered with carpets for him to tread upon. The Jews expected that this Messiah should lead them to Jerusalem, or the Holy Land, and made provision accordingly to attend Sabbatti, who nominated those Princes who were to govern them in their march; and to such a height of folly and delusion were they arrived, that Nathan, the associate of Sevi, took the courage and boldness to prophecy, that in the month of June, the Messiah should appear before the Grand Signior, take from him his crown, and lead him in chains like a captive. Such discourses, with the general infatuation of the Jews in all places where they resided, made them, instead of transacting their usual affairs of traffic, stuff their letters with nothing but wonders and miracles wrought by their Messiah—as, that when the Grand Signior sent to take him, he caused the messengers to die instantly, upon which other Janissaries being again sent, they all fell dead, but with a word of his mouth he restored them to life, with many other lying wonders.—The Grand Signior having information of the madness of the Jews, sent a messenger to bring Sabbatti to Adrianople. Being brought into the presence, he appeared much dejected, and the Sultan told him in short, that if he could not shew him a miracle of his own proposing, he should be punished as a deceiver and impostor; which was, that Sabbatti should be stripped stark naked, and set as a mark for his most dexterous archers, and if the arrows pierced not his body, but that his flesh and skin were proof like armour, he then would believe him to be the Messiah, and that God had designed him that greatness he pretended to.—Sabbatti, not having faith enough to stand so sharp a trial, renounced all his titles to kingdoms and governments, and humbly acknowledged that he was but a poor Jewish Priest, and had nothing of privilege or virtue above the rest of his brethren. The Grand Signior replied, that having committed treason, he had no other means to expiate his guilt but by turning Mahometan, or else the stake to be driven through him was ready at the gate. Sabbatti in this extremity declared, that he cheerfully embraced the Turkish faith, and esteemed himself much honoured to do it in his presence, and so he continued in the house of the Grand Signior ten years, and then died, exposing the

Jews to the utmost scorn of the Turks and Christians in those parts of the world.

[Another account of Sabbatti Sevi states, that “after he declared himself a Mahometan, he thenceforward laboured to convert the Jews to Mahometanism—a change, he alledged, necessary previous to their final restoration. As a proof of the strange force of delusion, his followers still believed in him, even after such open, such avowed apostacy. They said Sabbatti was carried up into Heaven, and a Demon had assumed the shape and white hair of the old man, on purpose to disgrace him.”]

#### PEACE AND THE CONGRESS.

SIR,—The facility with which mankind fly from one source of consolation to another, is only to be equalled by their credulity, and their constant reliance upon *future* events, although every thing that is *past* ought to convince them, that the objects they are pursuing will always elude their grasp. On the approach of the Allies to Paris, in every step they took, our newspaper Press discovered the certain signs of a speedy and *lasting* peace, and the nearer the din and clangor of war approached the Parisian capital, the nearer to our fire-sides was the joyful harbinger, the nearer the welcome sound which was to bring us plenty and abundance. Well, then, peace was signed at — peace was proclaimed at Paris, at Vienna, at St. Petersburg, at Berlin, and in London, peace, in short, was announced to all Europe, and nothing remained to complete the universal joy but the presence of those *blessings* which are generally considered the attendants or companions of peace. But what has this much longed-for, this every-where-sighed-for, peace brought us? What *blessings*, what advantages has it produced? None—nothing but chagrin and disappointment has been the reward of that perseverance and forbearance, which has so long characterized this credulous nation. One might have thought that disappointment, so great after such unwearied patience, would have opened the eyes of the people to the deceptive tricks by which they are misled by our hurling newspapers, and determined them to emancipate themselves from the leading-strings of their interested guides. Would you believe, however, Mr. Cobbett, that those very men, who were the loudest in their complaints, against the peace, are

now the most forward in expressing their confidence, that the Congress now opened at Vienna will produce all those great and glorious results which we expected from the Peace.—The Congress is in every man's mouth, the Congress is to cure every thing: the Congress is the universal *panacea* by which trade is to flourish, coin to grow, the national debt to be paid, and the taxes to be taken off. In short, to *talk* of any thing else, to *think* of any thing else, but the Congress, or to doubt of its omnipotence, would involve a man, now-a-days, in as many difficulties as Jacobinism involved its professors, in this country, at the beginning of the French Revolution. This is a great grievance; and having given you the hint respecting it, I hope you will take an early opportunity of exposing it in your Political Journal.

#### A CONSTANT READER.

AMERICA.—I have given below the official documents as to the recent operations of the contending armies in Canada, and in the United States, a Proclamation of President Madison, respecting the destruction of Washington, and another Proclamation of Sir John Shebikoer, declaring the country lately occupied by our troops, *now to belong, in rightful sovereignty, to the Crown of England*. On these interesting and important documents, I intend offering some remarks in my next. Meanwhile, it might have been expected that so many disasters, occurring, in so short a period, to our army and navy, would have taught the corruptionists to be a little more moderate than of late when they discussed American politics. Instead of adversary producing this effect, the *Times* and the *Chronicle* are more *vehement*, *extravagant*, and *outrageous* than ever. In both, the American Government is loaded with the most opprobrious epithets, and the conductors of the French newspapers are denominated by the *Times* "*insolent and ignorant declaimers*," because they express a wish "that the country of Washington, and of Franklin, may preserve its independence, and not fall under the yoke of England." From this it is clear, that if the hypocritical writer of this Journal and the Americans in his power, he would place them as much under the yoke of the most cruel and unrelenting negro driver places his unhappy slaves. The views of the *Chronicle* are pretty clearly

expressed in the following article, which I have extracted from last night's paper:—  
 "The Americans give out, on the authority of letters from Ghent, that 'we have given way in the subject of the new Boundary Line for the Lakes—contenting ourselves with exacting that all armed vessels shall be destroyed, and none but ships of a certain tonnage be allowed to navigate the Lakes—that the principal object now relates to the Indians, we insisting to include them in the negotiation and arrangement for Peace, the Americans desiring to treat with them separately.'"  
 "This is the American account—the British must, of course, be a very different one. *We must have a new boundary line—any arrangement short of that will be unsatisfactory*. Should the contest be prolonged by that demand, the accomplishment of it will well compensate the evil. Canada must no longer be left in such a state, as that the invasion shall be held up by the Americans in terror, to influence our political measures. The exclusion of the Americans by the war from the fisheries was last year the means of employing many thousand additional tons of shipping, and consequently of seamen. To give up therefore a branch of commerce which is of so much importance to us as a naval power, as well as with reference to its profit, would indeed be impolitic. We shall not, we hope, suffer a moment in enforcing our own exclusive right in the fishery, as well as in demanding the whole of the Lakes; but the war may on this account be somewhat prolonged. This is at least a probable opinion; but wisely conducted, the contest must terminate in our favour. There may be another effort, but that will be the last. But it is the opinion of some, that the conquest of Canada having become hopeless, and the defence of the American sea frontier still more so, the American Government will be inclined to make peace on any terms they can procure. It is, however, to be recollected, that our terms have risen, and properly risen, with our successes, and that they are such as go very deeply to wound the pride, as well as to affect the interests of the Americans. Whether they will make a struggle to avoid those consequences of their own folly which are so imminent, or whether their spirit is so completely evaporated that

"they will readily acquiesce, it is for time to determine. Much will depend on the spirit manifested by the Congress. It is pretty evident that the Federalists will enter Congress with more influence and confidence than formerly; and it is not less certain that even some of the democratic members will inculpate the Government for the disasters of the country, and thus, whilst they defend the principle of the war, they will condemn the conduct of it. No slight expectations are entertained by the Americans of getting France to aid their cause. Let France beware. Her support of the Americans in the war against this country was one of the causes that produced the French Revolution."

## WASHINGTON LETTER

BY THE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES  
ADDRESS TO THE SENATE

When is the country by a sudden incursion have succeeded in invading the soil of the nation, defended it the moment troops for annihilation than their own, and almost entirely on the field, during their possession of which, though for a single day only, they destroyed the public edifices, ravaged the national structure, and operations of the war, at the time for military annoyance, the soldiers were at a costly and unprofitable cost of the war, and other repositories of the public archive, not only presents to the nation as the monuments of its glory and its early history, but interesting to all persons, as constituting to the general stock of historical information and political science. And whereas advantage has been taken of the loss of a fort, more immediately guarding the neighbouring town of Alexandria to place the town within the range of an artillery, too long and too much in the habit of being a superiority wherever it can be applied, to require, as the alternative of a general conflagration, an undisturbed plunder of private property, which has been executed in a manner peculiarly distressing to the inhabitants, who had not considerately cast their eyes upon the justice and generosity of the victor—And whereas it now appears, by a direct communication from the British Commander on the American station, to be his avowed purpose to employ the force under his direction, "in destroying and laying waste such towns and districts upon the coast as may be found assailable; adding to this declaration the insulting pretext that it is in retaliation for a wanton destruction committed by the army of the United States in Upper Canada, when it is notorious, that no destruction has been committed, which, notwithstanding the multiplied outrages previously committed by the enemy, was not unauthorised and promptly shewn to be so; and that the United States have been as constant in their endeavours to reclaim the enemy from such outrages, by the contrast of their own example, as they have been ready to terminate, on reasonable conditions, the war itself.—And whereas these proceedings and declared purposes, which exhibit deliberate disregard of the principles of humanity, and the rules of civilised warfare, and which must give to the existing war a character of extended devastation and barbarism, at the very moment of negotiations for peace, invited

by the enemy himself, leave no prospect of safety to any thing within the reach of his predatory and incendiary operations, but in manifold and universal determination to chastise and expel the invaders—Now, therefore, I, James Madison, President of the United States, do issue this my Proclamation, exhorting all the good people thereof to unite their hearts and hands in giving effect to the ample means possessed for that purpose. I enjoin it on all Officers civil and military, to exert themselves in executing the duties with which they are respectively charged. And more especially, I require the Officers commanding the respective military districts, to be vigilant and alert in providing for the defence thereof, for the more effectual accomplishment of which, they are authorised to all to the defence of exposed and threatened places, portions of the Militia most convenient thereto, wherever they be or be not, any of the quotas detached for the service of the United States, under requisitions of the Federal government. On an occasion which speaks so forcibly to the proud feelings and patriotic devotion of the American people, in a call for what they owe to themselves, what they owe to their country, and the high duty which await it; what is the glory deemed of by their fathers, in establishing the independence which is now to be maintained by their sons, with the augmented strength and resources with which time and Heaven had blest them. In testimony, whereof I have been personally hard, and caused the seal of the United States to be fixed to these presents—Done at the City of Washington, the first day of September, in the year of our Lord 1814, and of the Independence of the United States the 38th. By the President,

JAS. MADISON.

JAS. MONROE, Sec. of State.

## GAZETTE EXTRA—GLORIOUS NEWS

NEW YORK, Sept. 16.

[By the Steam Boat Paragon.]

Copy of a Letter from General Macdonell, to his father in this city dated Sept. 12 —

## "FORT MORRIS"

"MY DEAR FATHER—The British army under Sir G. Prevost, consisting of four brigades, each commanded by a Major General of experience, a light corps, and squadron of dragoons, and an immense train of artillery, invaded us for six days, during which period the troops in small parties skirmished with them, and took prisoners and killed many. Yesterday they opened their batteries on us with bombs, twenty-four-pounders, howitzers, and rockets, but we silenced the whole at six in the evening. Then fleet attacked ours at the same time, and after an engagement of two hours their large vessels all struck to our gallant Commodore. The galleys ran off. The British Commodore was slain, and the killed and wounded is enormous. Our loss is 115 killed, and 150 wounded. The British army raised the siege last night, or rather this morning, at two o'clock, and are now in full retreat, leaving in the field their wounded and sick. Sir George has requested me to treat them with humanity and kindness. The whole force does not exceed 1,500 effectives."

"I have sent the militia and light troops



in pursuit. They are constantly taking prisoners and sending in deserters. I am in hopes of destroying at least one-third of the English army. I am in perfect health. My troops are the remnant of General Izard's army, invalids and convalescents, except about 600 men. I am in haste, &c.

"ALEX. MACOMB."

EXTRACT OF A LETTER FROM ALBANY, SEPT. 15.

"DEAR SIR—To give some idea of our expectations and belief, I inclose you the Extract issued since yesterday morning. The account brought by Major Tatton, who left the fort on Monday afternoon, and arrived here last evening, is this:—That after Saturday there was no fighting by land, saving throwing of bombs and cannonading; that the fleets were engaged two hours and 15 minutes; that the British Admiral's ship sunk directly after being brought into shallow water, that Governor Prevost sent a flag to the fort to hear the state of the wounded, and the amount of the killed and wounded; that on the return of the flag (being Sunday evening) he commenced a precipitate retreat, leaving his ammunition, provisions, &c. and wounded on the field, the whole amount is estimated at about 60,000l.; that the militia pursued him, and had not returned; that the killed and wounded left by him had amounted to about 400. You have all the particulars as far as I have been able to learn them. It is certain now we have no cause to apprehend a northern excursion from the enemy, and I trust it will have an effect upon his attempts on our city in the south. You have no doubt received ere this my letter of Tuesday evening. If any thing official transpires I will give you the first intelligence thereof."

(From the Northern Centinel, Extra.)

BURLINGTON, SUNDAY EVENING,  
SEPT. 11, TEN O'CLOCK.

GLORIOUS NAVAL VICTORY.

"We have met the enemy and they are ours."

"By several persons who witnessed the naval engagement on Lake Champlain this day, it is undoubtedly true that four of the largest British vessels have been captured by the fleet. It is stated by many who were in full view, that every British vessel had been captured except three galleys. The British Commodore was killed the first shot. Commodore McDonough escaped unhurt altogether. Every officer on board his ship was either killed or wounded. The engagement commenced at half-past *p. m.* and continued for two hours and fifteen minutes.

"An attack was made at the same time by land on Plattsburg. We have only heard that the enemy was repulsed, and that the militia distinguished themselves gallantly.

"On board the British ship 100 men were killed. The Growler had but five men alive when taken. Our loss on board the Commodore's ship is 60 killed; wounded not known. Lieut. Perry was not in the engagement, being severely indisposed in the town."

(From the Troy Register.)

COPY OF A LETTER FROM JOSEPH W. MOULTON,  
ESQ. OF MALONE, TO A GENTLEMAN IN THE  
VILLAGE, DATED PEREN, SEPT. 11.

"DEAR SIR—This is a memorable day. Rejoice! the British fleet is in our possession, after a battle of two hours and a half, in Cumberland Bay, opposite Plattsburg, which I had the pleasure to witness. The British force, consisting of a 36 gun frigate, one brig mounting 22 guns, two sloops of 10 guns, and three or four row galleys, surrendered to Commodore McDonough, and the force under his command.

"The conflict was sanguinary and decisive. It is said the enemy had 10 guns more than McDonough commanded. The action is just closed, and while I write there is a tremendous cannonading and discharge of musketry heard in the direction of Plattsburg.

"The British troops are engaged with ours, the issue dreadful. The attack of the British on land commenced at the same time as that on water.—Their force is much superior to ours, but our gallant little band will give them a warm reception.

"We momentarily expect news from the forts. The mail is waiting and I must conclude in haste.

"Yours, &c.

W. MOULTON."

Albany Gazette Extra, Sept. 16.

"A letter from a gentleman in this city, now at Burlington, dated Sunday evening, Sept. 11, states, that every officer on board Captain McDonough's ship, himself excepted, were killed at the commencement of the engagement; that the slaughter on board both ships was unnumbered; that the New York Militia was drove about three miles by the British, but at length drove the British and killed many.

DEFEAT OF THE BRITISH ARMY AT PLATTSBURG.

"Gentlemen who arrived in the last evening's Northern Stage, and who left Burlington on Monday morning state, that by a Mr. Tebe and a Mr. Ransom (both respectable and intelligent gentlemen), who left Plattsburg on Sunday evening, information was received of the defeat of the British army, under Sir G. Prevost, and the attack on Plattsburg, after a severe and long contested action, with the loss of between two and three thousand men in killed, wounded and prisoners. The action commenced on land at the same time with that on the Lake. The British, at the commencement of it, forced the Saranac, and drove our troops about three miles, when they were met by the Vermont militia, who came to the aid of their brethren in arms, and fought with the heroic courage and resolution of the ancient Green Mountain Boys. Every man did his duty, every one fought for his country, his family, and his fire-side. Victory was ours, the enemy were defeated, and forced to a precipitate retreat across the Saranac."

NEW YORK, SEPT. 10.

From our Correspondent, Philadelphia, Sept. 15, 1814 — Noon.

"An express has just arrived from Elkton, stating, that the British re-embarked yesterday morning, and dropped down ten miles below Baltimore. Gen. Ross killed while reconnoitring. They had 3000 landed."

Extract of another letter received from Philadelphia per Mail, dated Thursday, 10 minutes past 12 o'clock:—"An express has just come in from the out-post, which brings accounts from Baltimore. It left there yesterday afternoon at three o'clock, and conveys the glorious account that the British were compelled to retreat, and had all re-embarked on board of their shipping. The deserters and prisoners taken, give the account that Gen. Ross was killed reconnoitring, that the fleet had dropped down nine miles. The Baltimoreans lost but few men, and were in high spirits."

## ADMIRALTY BULLETIN.

"Capt Crofton, of the Navy, arrived early this morning with dispatches from Sir A. Cochrane, giving an account of a most brilliant victory over the American Army before Baltimore, in which twelve thousand Americans were completely put to the rout by about four thousand of our troops, including a brigade of seamen; the Americans fled with the utmost precipitation, leaving two pieces of cannon behind, and all their wounded. We grieve to say, that General Ross, while in reconnoitring, received a musket ball in his breast, and almost immediately expired; and the command devolved on Colonel Brook. As the town of Baltimore, defended by strong works and vessels in the entrance of the harbour, and twenty thousand men, could not be carried without a greater loss than the object was considered to be worth, our gallant little army retreated to their ships without molestation. An account has also been received of Captain Gordon's expedition to Alexandria, which was most complete and most brilliant."

"Downing-Street, October 17, 1814,

"Dispatches addressed to Earl Bathurst, one of his Majesty's principal Secretaries of State, were received early this morning from Colonel Brook, dated the 17th of September, on board his Majesty's ship *Tonnant*, in the Chesapeake.

"The division of troops under the command of Major-General Ross, effected a disembarkation on the 12th of September, near North Point, on the left bank of the Patuxent River, distant from Baltimore about thirteen miles. Three miles from North Point the enemy had entrenched himself across a neck of land, from which position he precipitately retreated upon the advance of the British troops.

"About two miles beyond this post, the British advance became engaged, when General Ross received a wound in his breast, which proved mortal.

"The advance continued to press forward, the enemy's light troops were pushed to within five miles of Baltimore, where a corps of about six thousand men, six pieces of artillery, and some hundred cavalry, were strongly posted under cover of a wood. Dispositions were immediately made for a general attack, and upon the signal being given, the whole of the troops advanced rapidly to the charge. In less than fifteen minutes the enemy's force, being utterly broken and dispersed, fled in every direction, leaving on the field two pieces of cannon, with a considerable number of killed, wounded, and prisoners.

"The day being far advanced, and the troops much fatigued, they halted for the night on the ground from which the enemy had been driven. At day-break on the 13th, the army again advanced, and at ten o'clock occupied a position eastward of Baltimore, about a mile and a half distant. Arrangements were made for a night attack; but during the evening, Colonel Brook received a communication from the Commander-in-Chief of the Naval Forces, from which it appeared, that, from the sinking of vessels in the harbour, naval co-operation against the town and camp was impracticable.

"Under these circumstances, it was determined not to persist in an attack upon the town, and the troops were withdrawn on the 14th, three miles from their last position, where the army halted, in expectation that the enemy might be induced to quit his entrenchments. The enemy, however, shewing no disposition to follow, towards the evening the troops retired, and took up ground for the night, about three miles and a half farther.

"At a late hour on the 15th, the army was re-embarked at North Point."

*List of Officers killed and wounded in action near Baltimore on the 12th Sept.*

## KILLED.

General Staff—Major-General Robert Ross.

21st Fusiliers—Lieut. Grace.

## WOUNDED.

21st Fusiliers—Brevet-Major Renny, slightly; Lieutenant Leavock, severely.

44th regiment—Brevet-Major Cruice, slightly; Captain Hamilton Green-shields, dangerously (since dead); Captain George Hill, Lieutenant Richard Cruice, Ensign James White, severely.

85th Light Infantry—Captains W. P. de Bathe, and J. D. Hicks, and Lieut. G. Wellings, slightly.

**Royal Marines**—Captain John Robyns severely  
Total British loss 1 General Staff, 1 Subaltern,  
2 Sergeants, 33 rank and file, killed; 7 Cap-  
tains, 4 Subalterns, 11 Sergeants, and 229  
rank and file wound led.

**BRITISH OFFICIAL ACCOUNT OF THE LATE  
OPERATIONS ON LAKE CHAMPLAIN, AND  
AT PLATTSBURG.**

*Head-quarters, Odell Town, Sept. 12.*

**GENERAL ORDER.**

"The Commander of the Forces has to thank the left division for the steady discipline, unwearying exertions, and gallantry which have conspicuously marked its short service in the territory of the enemy, so unfortunately arrested in its course by the disastrous fate of the flotilla, that had advanced to co-operate in the ulterior object of the campaign. The intrepid valour with which Captain Downie led his flotilla into action, encouraged the most sanguine hope of complete success, which was early blasted by the fall of that gallant Officer, combined with accidents, to which naval warfare are peculiarly exposed, in consequence of the sudden fall of his Majesty's ship *Confiance* being disabled, and the brig *Linnet* grounding early in the action; thus leaving those ill-fated vessels almost without resource, exposed to the whole force of the enemy. All that undaunted devotion to the service could effect, was evinced on this unfortunate occasion. The Officer in command of the division of gun-boats, acted with judgment, in securing those vessels to the service, when his further efforts in action had become unavailing. The high spirit and conduct displayed by his Majesty's troops in surmounting every obstacle to the occupation of Plattsburg, and in afterwards forcing the passage of the Saranac, leaves no doubt in the mind of the Commander of the Forces, that the most complete and brilliant success would have crowned their ulterior operations, had not the existing circumstance imperiously imposed upon him the necessity of restraining their ardour, as, without naval co-operation, the further prosecution of the service would have been highly inexpedient. The Commander of the Forces avails himself of the opportunity to acknowledge the high sense he entertains of the cordial support he received from Major-General De Rottenburg, and the Major-Generals commanding brigades. The orderly march, made by the left division in re-occupying the position it had advanced from on the 4th inst notwithstanding the inclemency

of the weather, and the very wretched state of the roads, evinces, in the strongest manner, the judicious arrangements of the Quarter-Master-General and Commissary-General, as well as the unwearied attention of the commanding officers of corps to their duty.—The Commander of the Forces has to express his entire approbation of the arrangements and zealous exertions of Major Sinclair, and the Officers of the Royal Artillery; nor is he disposed to overlook the alacrity and intelligence of the junior Officers of the Royal Engineers, who are thereby entitled to his acknowledgments. His Excellency feels it a just tribute due to the Canadian Voltigeurs and Chasseurs, publicly to notice the report of Major-General Bisschop, that the conduct of those Corps, in their peculiar duties of light troops, has on every occasion been conspicuously judicious and gallant.

(Signed) L. BAYNEs, Adj.-Gen. N. A.

**PRIVATE LETTERS.**

"**MONTRÉAL, SEPT. 6**—Our Fleet sailed yesterday down Lake Champlain, with the view of co-operating with Sir George Prevost's army, which was on its march to take possession of the country proposed to be permanently included in the new line.

"**QUÉBEC, SEPT. 10**—I am sorry to inform you that the Americans have either taken or destroyed our flotilla on Lake Champlain with great loss on our side, the whole crew of one of our largest ships having been killed or wounded, but live; she had got aground under the enemy's batteries, and would not strike. Only two gun-boats are said to have escaped. Sir George, who was supposed to be marching for Sacket's Harbour, has retreated from Plattsburg to the lines, and I suppose will be obliged to return to Montréal."

**ROYAL GAZETTE OFFICE, HALIFAX,  
SEPT. 23.**

**A PROCLAMATION**

"By Lieutenant-General Sir John Coape Sherbrooke, Knight of the Most Honourable Order of the Bath, Lieutenant-Governor and Commander-in-Chief in and over his Majesty's Province of Nova Scotia, commanding a Division of his Britannic Majesty's Forces; and by Edward Griffith, Esq. Rear Admiral of the White, commanding a Squadron of his Majesty's Ships of War employed in taking possession of the Eastern Side of Penobscot River, and all the Country lying between the same River, and the Boundary Line of the Province of New Brunswick, &c. &c. &c."

"Whereas we have taken formal possession, for his Majesty, of all the eastern side of the Penobscot River, and all the country lying between the same river and the bound-

divers line of the Province of New Brunswick, including Long Island, and all the other Islands near and contiguous to the shores thereof.—And whereas it is expedient and necessary, that a Provisional Government be established in that country until his Majesty's pleasure shall be known, *We do therefore Order and Command*, for the present, and until further orders to the contrary, all Judges, Justices of the Peace, and other Officers duly commissioned and appointed to keep the peace, and administer justice, and who were acting under the authority of the former Government within that country, shall continue in authority until his Majesty's pleasure shall be further known, and to administer justice, and to preserve peace and good order within the same country, and every part thereof, agreeably to the laws, usages, and customs, in force at the time we took possession of that country: subject, however, to such future orders and alterations as may be expedient.

And we have appointed Gerard Gosselin, Esq. Major-General in his Majesty's service, or whoever may succeed to the military command in case of his death, or departure, to command and govern that country, until his Majesty's pleasure shall be further known, or until the Commander-in-Chief of his Majesty's forces in North America shall make other order to the contrary. And we strictly enjoin and command all persons of every description, dwelling and residing within the limits of the before described country, to pay obedience to this Proclamation, and to the said Gerard Gosselin, or to the Senior Officer commanding that country for the time being, and to conduct themselves peaceably and quietly.

And if any person or persons, residing or inhabiting within the country before described, shall hereafter be found in arms against his Majesty, or aiding or assisting his Majesty's enemies in any other shape, either by conveying intelligence, or otherwise, such person or persons shall be immediately brought before a Court Martial, and on conviction, shall be punished agreeably to Military Law. And all collectors and receivers of the public revenue of that country are enjoin'd and commanded immediately to render to the proper officer of his Majesty's customs, appointed for that purpose at Castine, a true and exact account of all and every sum or sums of public money in their hands at the time possession was taken of that country for his Majesty, and to pay over the same to the said officer of the customs: and all such collectors and receivers are to account for and pay over in the same manner, all monies by them collected or received since possession of that country was taken by us as aforesaid.

And all persons inhabiting within the said country and islands, are required to appear before the proper officers, appointed for that purpose, as speedily as possible after the

publication here of, and to take an oath to behave peaceably and quietly, and, while inhabiting and residing within that country, not to carry arms, or in any respect act hostilely towards his Majesty, or any of his subjects. And such inhabitants, after taking such oath, shall be protected in their persons and properties until his Majesty's pleasure shall be known: nothing, however, herein contained is to extend to any property seized and taken as prize previous to the publication hereof, or to the security of the persons or property of those who refuse to take the oath before mentioned.

And all and every person or persons not being an inhabitant or inhabitants of that country, at the time it was taken possession of by his Majesty's forces, whether such person be a British subject or otherwise, who shall be found sojourning in that country, within the said limits, or passing or repassing within the same, without a proper pass, and licence granted, either by the Governor in Chief of British North America, or by the Admiral Commanding in Chief his Majesty's ships on the coast of North America, or by the Lieutenant-Governors, or Commanders in Chief for the time being, of the Provinces of Nova Scotia, or New Brunswick, or by the Admiral Commanding for the time being at Halifax, or from the said Gerard Gosselin, or whoever may succeed him as Senior Officer Commanding within the said country, shall be immediately apprehended and brought to trial before a Court Martial, and punished as for a breach of orders, according to military law, and full power and authority is hereby granted to the said Gerard Gosselin, or whoever may hereafter be Commander in that country, until his Majesty's pleasure be known, to compel any person or persons who may hereafter be guilty of any hostile, disorderly or disobedient conduct, or who refuse to take the oath before directed, to be removed from that country, and, to punish such person or persons, who may return to the same, after such removal, according to military law, as for a breach of orders.—And all persons inhabiting or residing within that country, being owner or owners of any ship or ships, vessel or vessels, and who shall have taken the oath of allegiance to his Majesty shall be entitled to receive from the Officer of the Customs, appointed at Castine, a certificate, and coasting license, countersigned by the military Officer commanding in that country for the time being, which shall protect such ships or vessels respectively, in fishing or coasting from one harbour or river to the other, within the limits of the country aforesaid: and it shall be lawful for such vessels when furnished with coasting clearances, and permits from the proper officer of the Customs at Castine aforesaid, to carry, without molestation, from one harbour to another, within said district, the produce of that

country, or any goods, wares, or merchandise, lawfully imported into Castine. Provided always that if any ship or vessel so licensed for fishing or coasting, shall be found at the distance of ten leagues from the shore of said country, or to the southward, or westward, of the eastern side of Monhegan Island, or shall be found to the northward or eastward of the line of the Province of New Brunswick, the licence of such vessel or vessels shall be null and void, and it shall be lawful to seize and make prize of such vessel or vessels, the same as if owned by the enemy.—And it shall and may be lawful, until his Majesty's pleasure shall be known, for any British subject, or person inhabiting within the said country, who shall be admitted to the privilege of a British subject, to import, and bring from the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, or any of the colonies or plantations thereunto belonging, into the port of Castine, and no other port or place within the said district, in British ships owned and navigated according to law, all goods, wares, and merchandise, which can be lawfully exported from Great Britain or Ireland, to the British colonies; and all goods, wares, and merchandise, which can be lawfully imported from one British colony to another, and to export in like manner, in British ships only, from the said port of Castine, any goods, wares, or merchandise, the produce of the said country, or goods condemned as prize, and to carry the same to Great Britain or Ireland, or any of the British colonies. Provided always, that any British ship, entering, or attempting to enter, any other port, harbour, or place, within the limits of the said country, save the said port of Castine, shall be liable to be seized as prize, and condemned as a British ship trading with the enemy; and, provided also, that nothing herein contained shall authorise British subjects, or persons trading to that country under the authority of this Proclamation, to take up a residence in said country, unless specially licensed for that purpose as aforesaid.

“And all goods imported and exported into or from the said port of Castine, or carried coastwise within the limits of the said country, and all vessels trading to or from the same, whether coastwise or otherwise, shall be subject to all the duties, rules, orders and regulations, which the laws of trade and navigation, and the British Acts of Parliament regulating the trade and fisheries of the British colonies appoint, and which duties shall be collected, and laws of trade, rules, and regulations, exerted after the same manner as at the Custom-house, in Halifax in the province of Nova Scotia.—And we do assure and promise the

inhabitants of the country taken possession of as aforesaid, that so long as they shall conform to this proclamation, and behave themselves peaceably and quietly and shall take and subscribe either the oath of allegiance to his Majesty, or the oath by this Proclamation appointed, they shall be protected both in person and property, until his Majesty's pleasure shall be known: and as far as possible, shall have the laws which were in force at the time we took possession of that country, carried into execution by the Judges, Magistrates, and Peace Officers, who were in authority at the time we took possession of the said country, subject however, to such alterations, and ordinances, as the Officer commanding for the time being may deem necessary and expedient, to enable him to support and maintain the power and authority of his Majesty in and over that country, and subject to the authority of that summary and military course of proceeding which the defence of the country may render necessary; and which the Laws of War, amongst civilized nations, authorise.—And we hope that the peaceable demeanour and behaviour of the inhabitants under present circumstances, will be such as will enable the Officer commanding for the time being, to carry into effect, every measure necessary to promote their present security and happiness, but nothing contained in this proclamation is to extend, or be construed to extend, to the establishment of any form of Government, that shall exist longer than until his Majesty's pleasure shall be known, and subject to all such orders and regulations as the Prince Regent of the United Kingdom, acting in the name, and on the behalf of his Majesty, may think expedient to appoint and establish for the permanent Government of that country; until which period we promise to carry into effect this proclamation in every way that will best conduce to the safety and prosperity of the inhabitants of the country, provided they contribute by their peaceable demeanour to the measures necessary and expedient to be taken, to hold possession of the country against his Majesty's enemies, to which object the Officer commanding in that country for the time being, is to employ his whole force, and any opposition from the inhabitants of that country to the measures necessary to accomplish that object, will render this Proclamation null and void.

“Given under our Hand and Seal at Arms at Halifax, this 21st day of September, in the 54th year of his Majesty's Reign, Anno que Domini, 1814.

(Signed) “JOHN COATS SHEPHERDSON,  
Lieut.-Gen. Commanding.

“EDWARD GRIFFITH, Rear-Admiral”

SUMMARY OF POLITICS.

AMERICAN WAR.—I have, from the first, expressed my apprehensions as to the end of this war. I used the utmost of my endeavours to *prevent* it. While shut up in a prison, out of which, at the end of two long years, I went with the paying of a Thousand Pounds TO THE KING, for having the indiscretion to write about the Flogging of English Local Militiamen, at the town of Ely, in England, and about the presence of *Hanoverian troops* upon that occasion while so shut up, the greatest object of my efforts was to prevent this ill-fated war, the seeds of which I saw sown, and the maturity of which I saw pushed on by the malignant and foul wretches, the writers of the *Times* and *Courier* newspapers. This was the way in which I employed my days and years of imprisonment.—My efforts were all in vain. In vain did I shew the falsehood of the statements and the doctrines, on which the war whoop is proceeded, in vain did I appeal to the reason and justice, and even to the *interest* of a people, deluded into a sort of terror against America. At last, the war took place, and the disgrace, which we suffered *at sea* completed the madness of the nation, who seemed to have no other feeling than that of mortification and revenge. What should the people be suffered to live, should they be suffered to exist in the world, who had defeated and captured a *British frigate*? Should those, who had caused the British flag to be *hauled down*, not be exterminated? Disappointment, astonishment, fury! The nation was mad. "*Rule Britannia*," the constant call of the boasting rabble at places of public resort, was no longer called for with such eagerness, and was heard with less rapture. The heroes in blue and buff carried their heads less loftily. Their voices seemed to become more faint, and their port less majestic. They seemed to feel, as men of honour would, upon such an occasion. In short, all felt, that a new era had taken place in the naval annals of the world. Still,

however, the dread of the power of Napoleon restrained many from a wish to see us embarked in a war for the conquest of America. But, he was scarcely subdued by the combined efforts of all Europe, than this whole nation called aloud for war, a war of *punishment*, against the American States.—And, it was openly declared in the most popular of our newspapers, that we ought never to sheath the sword, till we had subjugated the States, or, at least, *subverted their form of Government*. The pernicious example of the existence of a *Republic*, founded on a *revolution*, was openly declared to be inconsistent with the *safety* of our Government. It was, besides, distinctly alleged, that *now, now, now, or never*, was the time to prevent America from ever having a navy. The necessity of destroying her means of having a navy has since been repeatedly urged. It has been stated, and re-stated, that our naval power must soon come to an end, unless we now destroy this Republic root and branch.—The defeat and capture of our fleet, and the defeat of our army, and near *Lake Champlain*, (of which I shall speak more particularly hereafter) have not at all softened the language of the public prints. The *Times* newspaper, of the 19th inst. calls it "a lamentable evil to the CIVILIZED WORLD" by which appellation these writers always mean KINGLY GOVERNMENTS. The writer then adds "Next to the annihilation of the late military despotism in Europe, the subversion of that system of fraud and malignity, which constitutes the whole policy of the *Monarchian school*, was an event to be devoutly wished by every man in either hemisphere, who regards rational liberty or the honourable intercourse of nations. It was an event, to which we should have bent, and yet must bend all our energies. The *American Government must be displaced, or it will, sooner or later, plant its poisonous tent in the heart of the parent empire* or *later, you see!*" The gentleman who uttered this does not mention

should be contented with making the Americans *give up the point of dispute*. He does not even hint at any *terms of peace*. He plainly says, that we must *displace the Government of America*, that is to say, *change its form and nature*, subjugate the country, re-colonize it, re-possess it.—— Now mind, the *Opposition* prints do not find fault with this. They do not depreciate such an object of the war. They surpass even their adversaries in exulting at the burnings and plunderings. They only find fault, that *more mischief* has not been done.—— Thus, then, we see what the nation regards as the *object* of the war. I say the *nation*, because the *Morning Chronicle*, which is the organ of the *Opposition*, is just as bitter against America as are the *Times* and the *Courier*. The truth is, that the only *opposition*, as to the war, will arise out of our *failures*. The *Opposition* will only *blame* the Ministers for not having burnt *more ships*, plundered *more towns*, and done *more mischief*.—— There is, indeed, a sort of dread of the *length* of the war. People are a little *disappointed*, that Mr. Madison is not *yet* deposed; that the States have not *yet* separated; that our sons of noble families are not *yet* wanted to go out as Governors and Captains General to Pennsylvania, New York, Massachusetts, Virginia, &c. &c.; that it will require *another campaign* to bring the deluded Americans to *their senses*; that (and here is the pinch) the *Income Tax* will be wanted *another year*, and that *another* Loan must be made.—— But, “what is *one more* year of expense at the end of 22 years of war? And, if then, it will give us such *lasting peace*,” and so on. Thus is our *haste*, and when, in addition, the thought of our defeated and captured frigates comes athwart the mind, the *Income Tax* is forgotten, and we cry, “and blood is the cry.”—— I now proceed to notice more particularly the *events*, which have reached our knowledge since the date of my last notice upon the subject.—— The *plundering* of *Portsmouth* appears to have been the most successful of our enterprises. The *American* papers give our people great credit for their talent at the emptying of ships, and the embarkation of their contents, of which, to do our army and (perhaps our navy) but bare justice, we seem to have been uncommonly adroit.—— It seems, however, that the *squad* which had the *plunder* aboard, had but a

narrow escape in descending the *Chesapeake*.—— but, *hinder* there was, and a good deal of it, and there can be little doubt, that the success and profit of the enterprise will not act as great incentives to future undertakings of a similar description; the only danger being, that the zeal of our Commander may push them on faster, than a due regard to their safety might otherwise dictate.—— In an attempt against *Baltimore*, we failed. That is to say, we met with a *defeat*. Not in the *field*; but that is nothing to the purpose. We marched and sailed against the town with all our forces, by sea and land, and we were *compelled* to retreat without doing any thing against that town. The town is safe, and, if the war end as this expedition has ended, all the world will say, that America has *defeated* us. We may be sure of this; and, therefore, we must be sure to win the war, till we subdue America, or, we must make up our minds to the reputation of having been defeated by that Republic. A pretty serious alternative, but it is one which must and will exist, and of this we shall become more and more sensible every day, and particularly if we attend to what is now upon the subject.—— The capture of our troops and fleet against *Amagooddy* and the *Priscottis* of a nation so trifling is hardly to be worthy of notice. That territory is more important in America than the *Isle of Elys* is in Great Britain. It is a conquest, and so would the *Isle of Sable* be in American privateers. What a gain, does this conquest make in the *Geography*? What a credit, when it is placed in the *Table*, did it not whip out of the people of England, a *Bill of Exchange*, or *Proclamation*, before? It is *Baltimore*, *Charleston*, *Wilmington*, *Norfolk*, *Philadelphia*, *New York*, *Boston*, that they have heard of. They have been led to believe, that the City of *Washington* is to America what *London* is to England, or what *Paris* is to France. Nothing can be more fallacious. There are, perhaps, 200 towns in America, each of which is more populous and rich than *Washington* was, or than it was likely ever to be.—— Besides, we did not *keep possession* of *Washington*, as the Germans and Russians did of *Petersburg*. We did not remain there to erect a *new Government*. We only set fire to a few buildings, and then *retreated*. If an American privateer were to set fire to a few fishing huts on the

coast of Wales, should look upon it as a very brilliant affair.—Yet, this Washington enterprise was by the *Morning Chronicle*, deemed the most gallant *act* of the war!—In the “*demonstration*” as Admiral Cochrane calls it, again! Blunroe, General Ross was killed and some of our papers call this *fight* *poor*!—“The fellow,” says one of them, “took aim at the gallant Ross from behind some brushwood.”—

Well, and what then? Do not troops shoot from behind parapets, and walls, and works of all sorts? And do we suppose, that the Americans will not make use of a bush when it comes in their way? It this cry is to be indulged in, we shall, I fear, cry our eyes out before the war be over. We have sent our bombs, and rockets, and rifles, and all sorts of means of destruction, our writers blame the Ministers for not sending the means of knocking down towns fast enough—and shall we abuse poor Jonathan if he avail himself of a bush and of his skill at hitting a mark? General Re buried Gen. President's horse, and a Yankee shot General Ross. These are things which naturally occur, and how can we lament the death of any officer, or trust reflect, that an invaded people will shoot at their invaders, unless the former are ready to receive the latter as friends.—Before I proceed to notice the late attack on and near *Lake Champlain*, there are some few remarks to be bestowed on certain *characteristic facts*, which have *lurked out*, and on certain paragraphs in our newspapers.—The Americans are accused of *cowardice*, for having retreated before inferior numbers and taken shelter in Baltimore. Why was this cowardice? The main object was to defend that great and rich city. The second was to annihilate our army and naval force. To make a long stand in the open country, with raw troops against disciplined soldiers, was not the way to effect either of these purposes. The main object was effected, and our retreat only, probably, prevented the effecting of the latter.—The *Times* newspaper, a few days ago, remarking on the *cowardice* of the Americans, contrasted with the *bravery* of our army and navy, observed, that the cause was, that they had no feelings of *patriotism*, that they *cared nothing about the fate of their country*.—Now, what is the ground of this war? Why, complained that the Americans *harboured deserters from our navy*, and

*the* complained, that we *forced native Americans into our service*.—This fact is notorious to all the world. This fact is recorded in our own official documents. This fact makes part of unquestionable history.—Another fact has just been recorded by this same *Times* newspaper, namely, that two of our seamen were *hanged*, on board the fleet in the Chesapeake, *for attempting to desert to the enemy*.—It is also stated, in the same paper, (24th of Oct.) that *about 150 of our soldiers deserted* on the retreat from Plattsburg.—Now, let this empty boaster produce us instances like these, *on the side of the Americans*, if he can; and if he cannot, let him acknowledge himself to be either a deluded fool, or a deluding knave.—But has Jonathan shown no *zeal* for his country? What was that act of self-devotion which induced a man to expose his property to certain, and himself to probable, destruction, by shooting at General Ross and killing his horse under him, in the City of Washington, after the town was in possession of our troops? By what feeling was the man actuated, who exposed his life for the sake of killing General Ross, and who must have been almost alone, since he was hidden behind some brushwood? To what are we to impute the capture of 200 young men of the “*best families* in Baltimore,” found in the fore-ground defence of their city? Was greater courage, more desperate devotion to country ever witnessed than at the battle of Chippawa, and at Fort Erie? How comes it, that, during the last campaign, we have lost more officers and men, out of twenty thousand engaged, than we ever lost in the European war out of one hundred thousand? From what feeling was it, that Mr. Madison called, as we are told he has, Mr. RUFUS KING to his counsels; and from what feeling is it that Mr. KING has accepted of the call?—The *Morning Chronicle*, that camelion of this war, now boasts, that it foretold *unwillingly* against us. It never foretold it. It always *urged* on the war. It called, and was the first to call, the *honour* of Washington *most gallant death*. If ever, it is now clear, that we have *only united* the whole country. The *betraying* of Stonington in *treachery*, the *plundering* of Akwa. *Some* have done what all the *land* sense and public spirit *can* effect. Mr. RUFUS guarded as the *most*



enemy of Mr. Madison, has taken a post under him for the defence of his country, and we shall now see, that, amongst those whom we thought our friends, we shall find the most resolute enemies. Stonington and Alexandria will be constantly before every American's eyes.—I always was opposed to the war, and to this mode of warfare especially. I knew it would produce that which it has produced. I knew it would render the breach too wide ever to be healed again. I knew that it would produce, either the total subjugation of America, which I thought impossible, or, our final defeat in the eyes of the world, with the ulterior consequence of seeing America a most formidable Naval Power, which the recent events on the borders of Canada seem but manifestly to portend.—It is quite surprising to what an extent this nation has been, and still is, deluded, with regard to America, and to the nature and effect of this war. It is only fifteen days ago, that the *Courier* newspaper contained the following paragraph:—"There were reports last night of our having attacked and taken New London, and destroyed the City of Baltimore. Both these events are probable, but there are no arrivals from America later than the last dispatches from Admiral Cochrane, dated on the 3d of last month. But as the wind has been fair for some days, we hourly expect a fresh arrival. It must bring news of great importance—intelligence from Canada—another attack upon Fort Erie—another conflict with General Brown—perhaps a battle with the American General Izard—the further operations of Admiral Cochrane and General Ross—the result of the expedition under General Sherbrooke—the operations of the Creek Indians, who had already made their appearance upon the frontiers of South Carolina—and "last, not least," the effect of our late attack on the minds of the American people—steps taken by Mr. Madison, if he yet remains President, and the measures adopted by those States that were in a ferment against the Government even before this late disaster, and were not inclined to a separation from the other States. No arrival from America was ever expected with more impatience. Well, the arrival has taken place. The impatiently expected arrival has taken place. New London has not been destroyed. The attack on Balti-

more has failed. General Ross is killed. Admiral Cochrane has arrived at Halifax for the winter, with the plunder of Alexandria. The effect upon the minds of the American people has been such as to unite even Mr. KING with Mr. Madison, who "yet remains President." No new attack has been made on Fort Erie, but the army of General Izard at Plattsburg, been attacked by our Commander in Chief, with the "Wellington heroes" under him, with the "conquerors of France" under him, while the American fleet was attacked by ours, and not only have both attacks failed, but we have experienced a more complete defeat, than, as far as I recollect, we ever before experienced, the notable affair of the *Helder* only excepted.—Thinking Johnny Bull! You, who were so eager to give the Yankees a drubbing. You, who were so full of fight, that nothing but another war would appease you. Pray, can you tell me how it is that our Ministers, who have given us such exact accounts about the "gallant dashes" at Washington and Alexandria, and who have published such loads of dispatches and proclamations about the conquest of the Perobscot territory, not equal in population to the parish of St. Martins in the Fields, can you tell me how it has happened, that this Ministry have not returned, or, at least, have not published, the account of the land and water battle at Plattsburg and on Lake Champlain, though we have Sir George Prevost's General Order issued after the battle, and though we have numerous extracts from Canada papers, dated many days later than the date of the order?—Cannot you tell me this, thinking Johnny Bull! You, who, when you heard of the capture of Washington City, were for sending out a *Vue-Roy* to the American States? You, who called the Americans cowardly dogs, and hailed the prospect of a speedy release from the Income Tax, and the payment of the national debt by the sale of lands, and by taxes raised in America?—Well, then, in writing patiently for this official account, we must content ourselves with what the newspapers tell us they have extracted from the papers of Canada.—Let us extract from the American papers what our loss dreadful indeed. General Maccomb, the American Commander, is represented to have written to his father, at New-York, telling him, that he had killed, or taken, 3,000 of our army, and that he

expected to destroy *one-half* of it.—Our newspapers said that this was *false*. They also said that it was *false* that we had any thing like a *frigate* on Lake Champlain, though it now appears, that we had a ship actually mounting 32 guns, and that the largest of the American vessels was rated at 28 guns, and carried, as we say, 30 guns.—But, let us take, for the *present*, the amount of the Canada papers, and look with impatience, but with becoming *humility*, to his Majesty's Ministers for further information.—Thus, then, speak the Canadian printers, thus speak the bitterest enemies of America.

*Montreal, Sept. 15.*

"You have here with a copy of the General Order of the 13th inst to understand which, requires more than the being able to read it. There never was, perhaps, such a compassion for, without knowing the result, one might be led to think we had gained a victory. Report says that our loss, on passing some of the troops on the road, was *hissed* by them, and farther, and which I believe to be true, that when the order was given for retreating, General Power rode up to the Commander in Chief, and begged the order for retreat might be recalled, as General Brisbane was about storming the fort, and would have possession of it in a few minutes—the reply, it is said, was 'My orders must be obeyed,' and then a general retreat took place. I do not know with any certainty, having heard no one speak on the subject, but it will not surprise me if we have lost, one way and another, in this disgraceful affair, not less than 800 men.—It was a fair battle between the fleets, the fort did not play on the Confiance and Linnet, as has been stated. Captain Pring, in the Linnet, though aground, is said to have fought his vessel for a considerable time after the Confiance had struck.

*Quebec, Sept. 16.*

"Stories become blacker and blacker, respecting our disgrace and misfortunes at Plattsburg. Lieutenant Drew, of the Linnet, is come in here, being paroled for 14 days, states the loss of the fleet to have been in a great measure owing to the land forces not storming the American fort; there were only 1,400 men in it, under General McComb, who informed Captain Pring, of the Linnet, that every thing was prepared to surrender on the advance of the British army. Report says, that General Robinson is under arrest; that Generals Brisbane and Power had tendered their swords to Sir G. Prevost; and that Col. Williams, of the 19th, had declared that he would never draw his sword again, while under the command of Sir George. It is said Sir George is gone to Kingston.

*Montreal, Sept. 17.*

"My last letter to you was of date the 14th instant, when I had the mortification to inform you of our fleet on Lake Champlain being entirely defeated and taken by the enemy at Plattsburg, about 70 miles from this place, and when we had an army of 14,000 or 15,000 regular and brave troops, who only wished to be allowed to storm the enemy's fort, and which every body says would easily have been accomplished had any other person had the command than Sir G. Prevost; we have suffered more disgrace from the incapacity of this man than we will retrieve for months to come, let our exertions be ever so great. There were six of our officers killed on board of our vessels, and 20 are made prisoners; and besides we must have lost near 1000 brave men in killed, wounded and prisoners. It will not surprise me if the expedition has cost about 500,000/. Report now says that Sir George Prevost is going up to Kingston to attack Sackett's harbour, but I am sure that he will not be a welcome visitor in the Upper Province. The army retreated most precipitately, and are in general at the posts they occupied before the expedition took place, with the loss of about 150 deserters on the retreat, besides a vast loss in provisions and munitions of war. The Wellingtonian soldiers say that the hunters and the hounds are capital, but that the huntsman and the whipper-in are two—fools—meaning, I consider, Sir G. Prevost, and his Adjutant-General, Major E. Baynes.—We have inserted the General Order relating to the proceedings of the army and flotilla at Plattsburg. Candour must compel every one to confess that the result of the late operations has fallen short of even "moderate expectations"—The battle lasted an hour and a half. The force of each squadron, we are informed, stands thus.—British, one ship, mounting in all 32 guns, one brig, in all 20 guns, two sloops of 70 tons, each 10 guns; and 10 gun-boats. American, one ship, rated 28 guns, carrying 30; one brig, 24; one strong schooner, 18; three sloops, each 10 guns, and 24 gun-boats. The crews, tonnage, and weight of metal, are estimated at one fourth superior on the side of the Americans, and we have no reason to doubt our information.—We have always considered offensive warfare as the best mode of securing peace, and recent humiliation has not changed our tone. We may be called to defend points which have hitherto not been thought of, and consequently the late retreat may not have been ill-advised; but the fort at Plattsburg should have been stormed. That part of the labour would have cost less blood and embarrassment than was sustained in the retreat; a retreat that will tend to rouse the energies of the enemy. We might have taken 3000 prisoners, a fine train of

"artillery, and immense stores. We are not military men, but we call on every experienced officer" to support or contradict us. If we are wrong, we shall take a pride in confessing our ignorance.—The scientific brave Generals, Officers, and soldiers of the Duke of Wellington's army, and the others who have before fought in our cause in the Canadas, did every thing which depended on them to support the noble efforts of their brothers on the water. That distinguished officer General Robinson, who has been twice wounded this year on the other Continent, with part of his gallant brigade, had braved all danger in an assault. Some of the picquets of the fort were torn away, and a few minutes more would have given up the fortification with an immense train of artillery into our hands, and every American must have fallen, or been made prisoner. It was thought necessary to check the ardour of the troops, and we must now instantly redouble our energies to obtain the command of the Lake, or with humility await our future destiny."

Thus, then, according to our own accounts, the Americans had but 1,500 regulars and 6,000 militia, wherewith to make face against 15,000 British troops, commanded by four Major Generals and Sir George Prevost, a General of long experience and of great reputation.—On the Lake, we say, that the Americans had a *fourth* more than we. Suppose they had? I do not admit the fact? but suppose they had? A *fourth*! And how long is it since we thought a *fourth* too much? Every one knows, that Sir Robert Calder was disgraced for not pursuing *double* his force. We are become very *nice calculators* of force. We shall soon hear, I suppose, that we ought always to keep aloof, unless we can count the guns, and know that we have a superiority.—Fifteen thousand men, seven of them from the army of "the conqueror of France!" And these draw off from the presence of 7,500 Yankees, to whom they were about to give a good *drubbing*! Whw, it will make such a noise in the world! It will make such a buzz, it will astound "*honest John Bull*," who was, only the last market day, charging his glass and bragging about sending out Vice-Roy.—The whole fleet!—Whw, all! Our little ones and all! All at one swoop!—It will make *Johnny Bull* scratch his noddle in search of brains. The chuckling of honest John at the burning of Washington, the plundering of Alexandria, and bombardment of St. Louis, will be changed into *grum-*

*bling*, I am afraid.—But come, Johnny, you must not *grumble*. You were for the war. It is your own war. The Ministers are not to blame. You insisted upon chastising and humbling the Americans. You would have Mr. Madison *disposed of*.—You said he had *said with Napoleon*. You said what was *false*, Johnny, but that's no matter. You called upon the Ministers to *dispose* him. This I will always say, and can, at any time, *prove* against you.—The *consequences* of this victory of the Americans must be very important. Sir George Prevost is *blinded*, and, indeed, *abused*, while the officers of the fleet, the *despatch* and *capt*

are complimented to the skies. Which will this folly cense? When shall we cease to be so basely unjust? What would have been said of Sir George, if he had had his army blown into the air, or cut to pieces? If he and *all* his army had been captured, what would have been said of *him* and of that army? Yet this has happened to the fleet, and the fleet are *complimented*! While he, who has saved a great part of his army, notwithstanding the defeat, the total defeat of the fleet, is *centred* and *abused*, is called a *fool*, and almost a *coward*!—Sir George Prevost is neither fool nor coward. He is a man of great merit, is of long standing in the service, has served with great success, and he has shewn great ability in being able, with so small a force as he has hitherto had, to preserve a country generally inhabited by a people by no means zealous in their own defence, or, rather, in that of their territory. Let any one look at the situation of Lake Champlain. It extends in length 150 miles, perhaps, running above the State of Vermont, and entering our Province of Lower Canada in-line pointing towards Quebec. It was very desirable to drive the Americans from the command of this Lake, which may be called their high road to Montreal and Quebec. It is the great channel for their army, their provisions, their guns, to pass along; and, complete and sole masters of this Lake, it is not easy to conceive how they are to be kept from Quebec without a *very large army* from England. If the Americans had been defeated upon the Lake, or had been compelled to retire to the Vermont end of it, then to have driven back their army also, would have been an object of vast importance; nor would great loss in the attack, on our part, have been an irre-

terrible loss, or been followed by any extremely great danger.—But when our fleet was not only defeated but actually captured, and gone off to double the force of the Americans, even the *certain* defeat of their army could have led to no sensible result. We must still have abandoned Plattsburg, the fleet of the enemy would have speedily brought another army to any point that they wished, and would have placed that army 50 or 60 miles nearer Quebec than our army would have been. But if, by any chance, we had been defeated by *land* after the defeat on the water, the loss of *all* Canada would, and must have been the consequence if the Americans had chosen to conquer it, which, I dare say, they would.—Therefore, it appears to me, that Sir George Prevost acted the only part which a sensible man, under such circumstances, could have, for one moment, thought of. He *needed* *everything* in the attack, and, if he succeeded, he *gained* *nothing* *at* *all*. The loss of *all* his army, which was the case of the storming of Fort Erie, would have exposed him, even in case of success, to great peril. The Americans could have immediately poured an army (by means of their fleet) more numerous than his into Lower Canada, and have poured in, all the militia and volunteers from the populous and brave republican State of Vermont, while our Governor had, and could have no hopes of receiving reinforcements, *till* the middle of next summer. For supposing us to have *spare* troops at Halifax, they could hardly sail thence before the middle of October, and before they might reach Quebec, the ice in the St. Lawrence might have scuttled or foundered their vessels.—The St. Lawrence, our only channel to Canada from England or from Halifax, is full of mountains of ice till the month of June. I have seen a large mountain of ice off the mouth of that immense river on the 15th of June. I believe, that no vessels of any considerable size ever attempt the navigation of that river much before June. In what a situation, then, would our Governor have been placed if he had met with any serious loss in the storming of the fort at Plattsburg? And yet he is censured and abused for retreating, after the total capture of our co-operating fleet, while the officers of that fleet are *praised* *to* *the* *skies*.—About three weeks ago, just after we heard of the burnings of Washington city, I met Sir George Pre-

vost's waggon, between Portsmouth and Havant. The carrier was whistling along by the side of some nice fat horses. I could not help observing to my son how much happier this fellow was than his master, who had to govern Canadians and fight Americans.—It is easy to talk about the *heroes* of *Thoulouse* forming part of his army. The “heroes of Thoulouse” are said to have remonstrated against the retreat. They are said to have expressed a desire to storm the fort. Sir George Prevost would, I dare say, have been of the same mind, if he had had reason to suppose, that one half of the people within were, as the people of Thoulouse were, ready to join him. But he well knew the contrary. He knew, that he had to get into the fort through a river of blood. He had just seen the fate of our fleet; and he knew, as “the heroes of Thoulouse” might have known, that the men in the fort were of the same stamp as those upon the water.

—We now find from a detailed statement in the American papers, coming from authority, and accompanied by an account of killed and wounded in the naval battle on the Lake, that our fleet had 93 guns and 1,050 men, while that of America had but 86 guns and 820 men. Our fleet was all taken but the gun-boats, carrying 16 guns amongst them all. And yet the naval people are *praised*, while Sir George Prevost is *censured*.—Whence arises this injustice? Whence this security of the navy from all censure, and even from all criticism? Do we feel that to censure any part of it is to discover to the world that it is not always infallible? Do we suppose that, in discovering our fears of its inferiority, in point of quality, to that of America, we shall make the world perceive the lamentable fact? Are we fools enough to hope that the history of this battle can be hidden from France and the rest of Europe?—Why, then, this injustice? Why not blame the naval part of the forces, if blame must fall somewhere? I see no necessity for its falling *any where*, for my part. We had 84 men killed and 110 wounded, which shews that there was some fighting. We had double the number killed and wounded that Jonathan had, which shews that Jonathan was the more able-bodied and active of the two. A letter was, a little while ago, published as from one of our officers in the Chesapeake Bay, saying, that Jonathan must now *look pretty sharply about him*. It appears from

the result of this battle, that Jonathan *does* look pretty sharply about him. Now, then, let us hear what effect this event has had upon the *Times* newspaper, which, only a week ago, insisted on it, that the American Government must be displaced, that the Americans were cowards, that they cared nothing about their country, and that the States would soon divide, and come over, one at a time, to the *parent* country.—Now, let us hear what torch-bearer of the war, this trumpet of fire and sword, provoker to every act of violence and cruelty. Let us hear what he *now* has to say; he, who has, for three years past, been urging the Government on to this disastrous contest —“ Halifax papers to the 6th instant, New-York to the 22d ultimo, and Boston to the 25th, have been received. There is no dissimbling that the popular outcry in Canada against Sir George Prevost's conduct, on occasion of the late operations against Plattsburg, is very general and very loud. We cannot pretend to determine on the talents of this officer, or on the wisdom of his plans; but we recur to the suggestion which we made at a very early period of the campaign, and regret exceedingly that one of our most experienced Generals from Spain was not sent at once, with an army strong in numbers, and flushed with victory from the fields of Thoulouze, to the heart of the United States. Was it beneath the dignity of Lord Hill, or even of the Duke of Wellington? Fatal prejudice! To despise, to irritate, and, after all, not to subdue our adversaries, is the worst and weakest of all policy. Now we have reduced ourselves to the dilemma of being obliged to carry our point by main force, or to retire from the contest *ten times worse than we began it*, with the mere postponement of an abstract question, which has no reference to our present state of peace, *with a fund of the bitterest animosity laid up against us in future, with our flag disgraced on the ocean, and on the lakes, and with the sun* is withered at Plattsburg, which we so hardly but so gloriously earned in Portugal, and Spain, and France. The spirit of the British nation cannot stoop to the latter alternative; and therefore, at whatever risk, at whatever expense, we must embrace the former. The invaluable year 1814, when

“ the treachery of America was fresh in the minds of the European Powers, is past. Already do they begin to relax in their deep and merited contempt of the servile hypocrite Madison. Already do they turn a compassionating look on the smoking rafters of the would-be Capitol. Presently, perhaps, the Russian Cabinet may forget that the Empress Catherine, to her dying day, treated the Americans as rebels to their legal Sovereign, or the Spanish Court, while it is endeavouring to rivet its yoke on Buenos Ayres, may join with the philosophers of Virginia, in contending for the liberty of the seas. Such, and still greater political inconsistencies we have before now witnessed. *Therefore let time be taken by the forelock; let not another campaign be wasted in diversions, and derive fruits, let not another autumn*

DISGRACE TO THE BRITISH ARMS. Commodore Mardonough's laconic note savours a little of *afflictation*; but we are sorry he has so favourable an opportunity for displaying the brevity of his style to advantage. General Macomb's orders, however, are sufficiently lengthly, and, unfortunately, he also has some unpleasant information to give us. He states, that 14,000 British veterans have been joined by 1500 American regulars and some few militia, the whole not exceeding 2000 men. If he is correct in these estimates, it is surely high time that we should either *give up teaching the Americans war*, or send them, some better instructors.”—The former is the best, be assured! Why should Commodore Mardonough be charged with *afflictation*, because he writes a short letter? He has no sons or cousins, or patron's sons or cousins, or bastards, to recommend for the receipts of presents or pensions.—But I have, at present, no room for further comment on this article. I will resume the subject in my next.

RETALIATION.—A great deal has lately been said in the French, in the American, and in our own newspapers, about the destructive mode of warfare now waging in Canada, and in the United States. The two former have employed the most violent invectives against our Government, on account of the burning of Washington, and other places, while we have set up, as a justification of these rigorous measures,

the plea of *retaliation*; that is to say, have alleged, that the burning and ransacking of defenceless towns, and the carrying away of private property from our Provinces in Canada, *began* with the Americans, and that what our troops have since done, what houses they have set fire to, what property they have taken away, and what numbers of innocent people they have ruined, instead of being either wanton, barbarous, or unjust, was a fair retaliation for the injuries they had done us, and perfectly consistent with the established laws of nations. If the practice of shedding human blood in battle is at all justifiable, I do not see why one nation has a right more than another, of deviation from the common and prescribed modes of carrying on this work of destruction. I cannot admit because one people, who call themselves *civilized*, should, in order to get the better of their neighbours, take into their head to copy the practices of *savages* and *barbarians*, that the others have not an equal right to adopt the same practices. You are having, at a moment of frenzy, employed a government, to cut his neighbour's throat, if *he* *does* from that which, in *civilized* life, he had agreed to use in the performance of this *human* act, it seems to be only too plain that his opponent should strike him in the same manner in a way, at least, as horrible and savage as his neighbour. Were the party who had been provoked to seek his revenge in a still more terrible manner, perhaps something might even then be offered in his vindication. At all events, if the Americans were really guilty, *in the first instance*, of the wanton and dreadful outrages of which we accuse them, if they set the example of devastation and barbarity, of which we so loudly complain, and under which we shelter ourselves for the commission of similar outrages, I am quite satisfied that they have suffered nothing more than they deserved, and that the French people, in place of assailing us to Attila and his Huns, or Robespierre and his bravadoes, ought, in justice, to draw the comparison between these inhuman monsters and the Americans themselves. But there is a circumstance which, it is necessary, should be attended to in determining this important question—namely, whether the acts and deeds of the Americans, which serve as a plea for the dreadful revenge we have taken, were authorised, or afterwards sanctioned, *by the American Government*. If it appeared

that these cruelties were committed, in consequence of an order from the Secretary at War, or any other person holding a responsible situation in the Government, then there would be no room for doubt. the question would be decided *against* the Americans, and Great Britain stand acquitted in the eyes of the universe. If, however, it should turn out, that neither Mr. Madison, nor any individual connected with his Government, directly or indirectly, issued such an order, and our will compel us to acknowledge, that we have been rather rash in the severe censures we have pronounced upon the American Government. But if, upon farther inquiry, we find, that every thing has been done by that Government which prudence could dictate, or which we ourselves could desire, to *soften* the rigours of war; if it should appear, that the American President, anticipating the dreadful evils consequent on a state of hostility, *adopted* *precautionary* measures, in order to *ameliorate* the condition of the invaders as well as the invaded, if we should discover, that where any thing *contrary* to the urges of war, any of those violences inseparable from a state of warfare, occurred, the individuals engaged in these, or who may have exercised any unnecessary severity, were brought to trial, or punished for the impropriety of their conduct. If, I say, such should appear to have been the way in which the American Government have acted in such cases, it will be impossible to condemn Mr. Madison upon just grounds, or to clear us of those charges of cruelty, barbarity, and wanton precipitancy, which our neighbours have so lavishly brought against us. The *Couriers*, and all our hincine tribe of journalists, following its example, have stated, that "from the first invasion of Upper Canada by the American forces, under Brigadier-General Hull, they manifested "a disposition of marking out, as objects "of peculiar resentment, all loyal subjects "of his Majesty, and dooming their property to plunder and conflagration."—That the Americans *invaded* Upper Canada, after war had broken out between the two countries, is a fact we cannot doubt; but that they should behave in the manner here pointed out, that they should shew *peculiar* *resentment* towards some of the inhabitants merely because they were *loyal* subjects, and doom their property to destruction, for no other reason than that

they were attached to their lawful Sovereign, is what no foreign person will believe, who knows any of the respect the American Ministers have always shewn to the Government of other States, and the extraordinary devotion the people to their own political institutions. The charge, indeed, has been held so absurd by the Americans, that they have never deigned to meet it, although they have uniformly met all general and unproved accusations with a dignified denial, and an explicit call upon their accusers to embody their charges in some tangible shape. Finding that this manly way of silencing calumny had its proper effect, our corrupt press then pretended to discover, in certain acts of the American army, a different ground not only on which to revivify former accusations, but to warrant the adoption of those defensive measures that have lately attended our naval and military operations. It was said, that the proceedings of the Americans at the village of Newark, in Upper Canada, were marked with acts of the greatest atrocity, such as burning and destroying the farm-houses and other buildings of the peaceable inhabitants. "It will hardly be credited," said the servile writer of the *Courier*, "that, in the inclemency of a Canadian winter, the 'troop of a nation calling itself civilized' and children, had wantonly, and *without the shadow of a pretext*, forced 100 helpless women and children to quit their dwellings, and to be the mournful spectators of the conflagration and total destruction of all that belonged to them." When this writer affected, in this hypocritical manner, to lament the scene he has so pictorially described, he took special care not to inform his readers, that the village of Newark was situated so close to Fort George, that it was scarcely possible to carry on military operations at that place, either of a defensive or offensive nature, without destroying many of the surrounding buildings. Accordingly, when it was said, that the American officer commanding at Fort George, had exceeded the bounds of propriety, he justified himself by the necessity of the measures he had taken were it not for the orders as to the military plans he had executed. It is plain, from any inquiry having been entered by the American Government into this officer's conduct, that it gave no authority to act so rudely towards the inhabitants of our States. But what establishes this beyond

all controversy is, that, on this very occasion, the American Minister openly and distinctly disavowed all intention of carrying on war contrary to the established practice of civilized nations. Supposing, therefore, what does not even appear to be the case, that the American officer had, in this instance, been guilty of some violence, or had even done all the mischief of which he is accused, this would not afford a ground on which to blame the Government, when it cannot be shewn that it sanctioned his acts either by previous orders or a subsequent approval. Aware of the conclusive nature of this fact, the *Courier* makes attempts to shelter itself under the fallacious pretence, that the destruction of the houses at Newark "could on no doctrine assist the American operations," and that, when Mr. Monroe made this statement, "he knew it to be totally false." I leave it to the reader to judge, whether the Editor of the *Courier* or the American Secretary of State is entitled to the greatest credit, on which of them is the most likely to be possessed of correct information on the subject. Could I suppose that the pretence would be given to the former, I would still maintain, that the bare knowledge of these outrages having been committed, would prove nothing. It must be distinctly shewn that they were *authorised* by the Government, before they can be held as warranting the steps we have taken. As this is not even pretended by the *Courier*, it must continue an established fact, that the American Government was not the first aggressor, and consequently, that we cannot plead then example in justification of our conduct. It has been said, that the burning of Long Point completely implicates the American Government. But it is only necessary, as in the last instance, to produce the evidence of their having *sanctioned* the deed, to admit the conclusion drawn from it. The American Government has repeatedly declared, that this act was totally *unauthorised*; and to shew our entire disapprobation of it, they delivered up the officer, under whose orders it was performed, to be tried by the laws of his country. "But (asks the *Courier*) 'what was the result?' This is *studiously* concealed."—Supposing the officer *acquitted* of the charge, what would the *Courier* say to this? Would he have the impudence to assert, that the Government ought to be held culpable, and the people visited with the most dreadful of all calamities,

because the tribunals, established by law, had not considered the evidence sufficient to convict the accused? Of what consequence is it to our Government, or how far is it held implicated in the issue of a Court Martial, whether the party tried be found innocent or guilty? Have not Ministers done their duty, when they deliver up the accused to be tried by his proper judges? Who ever thinks of connecting them, after this step, with the judgment that may be pronounced? Would the *Conrät* writer wish us to believe that Ministers do influence the decisions of the Judges? Does he mean to insinuate that even Juno is not free of the influence of corruption? If he does not, if, as he always pretends, he entertains a high opinion of the integrity of our Judges, and a reverence for the trial by Jury, if he considers it a direct violation of the Constitution to interfere with their verdict, upon what principle is it that the American Government should be blamed, and the people punished for showing the same respect for the decisions of their Judges, and the same deference for the verdicts of their Juries? How can we condemn or punish the Americans upon these grounds without censuring and punishing the Government and the people of this country? Let the *Conrät*, or his admirer, answer these questions, if they can.—Another ground of retaliation, urged by corruption against the American Government, was the burning of St. David's. This, it appears, was done by a *straggling* party of soldiers, who, finding themselves freed from all constraint, conceived they had a right to plunder and destroy every thing that came in their way belonging to the enemy. Have we not heard of thousands of such parties in the recent war on the Continent? And has not every newspaper in Europe dwelt with indignation on the atrocities committed by loose bands of soldiers belonging to all the armies of the belligerents? But who ever pretended that any of the Governments, or any of the nations to which those insolated parties of marauders belonged, should be so far held responsible for their acts, as to be placed beyond the protection of the law of nations, and to be made to suffer for crimes which they could neither foresee nor prevent? It was enough that the guilty were made to suffer. In ordering this, the nation to whom they belonged did all that was incumbent on them to do, and all that could reasonably be

required by the injured parties. The American Government acted precisely in the same way. The officer who had the charge of the party that burned St. David's was *dismissed* from the service "*without a trial*, for not preventing it." I think this was an arbitrary stretch of power. No man ought to be punished without a trial, however great and however palpable his crime. To admit a contrary practice is opening a door that may lead to great abuses, and I am sorry to find the fact admitted by an American Secretary of State. But aggravated is this officer's punishment was by this breach of law and justice, the *Conrät* writer would have it believed, that it was not half severe. "Was that an *adequate* punishment," he asks, "for such an unpardonable enormity?" Thanks to the enlightened minds of those who framed the American code of laws, that it was considered an adequate punishment. To judge from the singular disposition of this corruptionist, it appears that nothing would have satisfied him short of burning the wretch alive, and because some such punishment as this was not inflicted, he now pretends that Madison's government ought to be implicated in the affair of St. David's, and that a circumstance so manifestly uncontrollable, and so clearly unauthorized by any proper authority, is sufficient to counterbalance the plea we have set up in justification of the dreadful suffering we have inflicted on the American people!—If we were to form our opinions of the Americans, upon what this prostituted writer tells us, we could not fail to consider them the most barbarous, the most immoral, and the most uncultivated race of men existing on the face of the earth, yet with all their ignorance, and all their savage propensities we do not perceive that their rulers have been so stupidly precipitate as either to *proclaim* the inhabitants of the countries they invaded *beyond* the protection of the law, or to treat them as if they had been their own subjects, in open rebellion against the State. The cases already alluded to evidently do not warrant the conclusions drawn by the *Conrät* unfavourable to the humanity of the Americans; and if we are disposed to give a candid hearing to what they themselves have published in their own defence, we shall soon be convinced, that they are neither barbarous nor inhuman, that they are as well acquainted with the science of politics, and entertain as great a respect for the established laws of nations, and the



rights of particular States, as the most civilized and Christian people in Europe. It appears, indeed, that their superior acquirements, combined with an ardent attachment to liberty, is the cause of the great hatred and rancour constantly displayed, in our newspaper press, against all their institutions. We envy the Americans because they excel us, and from envy proceeds enmity. Nor do the recent triumphs which they have obtained over our fleets and armies, and the imposing attitude they have in consequence assumed, appear in any degree to lessen the deep rooted malice entertained against them by a great majority in this country. Disaster seems to have no other effect than to confirm popular prejudices, the public have no wish to be undeceived, and the man that dares attempt to tell them the truth is sure to be treated with contempt, and to be looked upon as a suspected person, who, like the nation whose rights he defends, ought to be punished for his laudable efforts. With such dispositions, it is no way surprising that the conductors of our vile press find admirers. They flatter their passions, they feed their appetite for lies, they nourish their hatred, and they re-ignite their fury, whenever circumstances occur to reconcile them to the former objects of their hate. From this dreadful, but no less faithful, picture of the present state of society, one would almost be compelled to conclude, that man was naturally a savage animal. It is not, however, from the corruption of his nature that these evils spring; they are occasioned by corrupt institutions, by perverted systems of education, by inexorable laws, that interested cheats have every where promulgated, and that never can be overcome until mankind return to reason, the only true guide to virtue, to peace, and to happiness.

#### FIRE ON MR. COBBETT'S PREMISES.

I had not the least idea, that, on a subject like this, and so wholly of a private nature, I should ever have been under the necessity of addressing my readers.—But the following paragraph, taken from the *Times* newspaper of the 26th instant, will, I am sure, be a sufficient apology for my so doing.—“A Hampshire paper adds some further particulars concerning a great fire on the farm of Mr. William Cobbett, near Botley, by which two stables, a stable, a hay-stack, and some cattle pens were burnt. The alarm

“brought together a number of neighbours ‘to assist in extinguishing the flames;’ they were ordered off in no very gentle accents by the worthy Lord of the Manor of Fairthorn (Cobbett), the *honest rustic* considering this as no grateful return for their wish to render assistance, were soon actively employed in pelting the worthy farmer with his own turnips, whilst his property was left to the devouring element. The flames ceased in about three hours.”—The real facts are these.—The farm, having to work upon wooden buildings covered with thatch, in dry weather and a windy night, were consumed in less than half an hour, leaving not a piece of timber standing when I arrived at the spot, about two miles from Botley.—The oxen, hogs, horses, asses, the waggon, carts, ploughs, and even the harness, had all been saved by the presence of mind, the courage, and the zeal of my servants. My neighbours ran from Botley with buckets; but it was quite too late to do any good.—Such a fire would naturally soon draw together, early in the evening, every creature for miles round. Soon after my arrival, a gentleman, my neighbour, came to inform me, that he had detected one of the “*honest rustics*” stealing the iron work of a pump. This was followed by my servants informing me, that others of the “*honest rustics*,” who came to “render assistance,” were amusing themselves by throwing a heap of Swedish turnips into the fire.—It was now time to stir, in order to save my iron and lead from the claws of, perhaps, 50 thieves, a moderate proportion out of 500 “*honest rustics*.”—In London and other great towns, soldiers, with loaded muskets and fixed bayonets, are always called in to prevent robbery.—I needed none. I explained to the assemblage the danger I was in from the thieves; I observed that no one could do me any good by remaining; and, as it was manifest, that no one could wish to remain against my will but for the purpose of thieving, I should, of course, look upon every man and woman as a thief, who did not, at my request, instantly retire. At the same time, I thanked every one for his having wished to render assistance. I had no trouble. Not a man remained at the end of ten minutes. Only one man was base enough to express his disappointment at not finding three or four hogheads of beer to drink. No man threw a turnip at me; and, I am persuaded, that there is not a man in the

whole country would have dared to think of such an act.—I, by my resolution, saved the remainder of my property.—If the fire had happened at some farm-houses, the thieving would have been nearly as destructive as the fire.—If facts like these are a disgrace to the nation, the nation has to thank the proprietor or editor of the *Times* newspaper for the publicity, which they will receive through my channel.—He would do better to employ his columns in clearing himself of the charge of having been so eminently instrumental in causing the war, which has led to the battles on and near Lake Champlain, where something much more dangerous than turnips have been hung at the heads of our unfortunate sailors.—As to the proprietor of the "*Hampshire paper*," whence the *Times* says it derived its information, I dare say that he is some wretch too contemptible for notice.

**KIRKCAIDY ADDRESS.**—The ructionists of this rotten Borough, alarmed lest the *loyalty* of their "good town" should be suspected, have been at great pains to make it appear, in their favourite journal the *Courier*, that the Address sent from that place to the Electors of Westminster, congratulating them on the independent manner in which they had acted in the case of Lord Cochrane, was a *fabrication*; that no such Meeting as that at which it is said to have been voted took place; and that William Davidson, whose name appears as *Chairman* of the Meeting, is not a resident in Kirkcaldy. In this very *praise-worthy*, and *loyal* attempt, the *Chief Magistrate*, the *Post-master*, and the keeper of the *Wellington Inn*, seem to have taken the most active part. After what has happened in this corner of the island, I am not surprised that Scotland, which is but *one close rotten burgh*, should readily stoop to the performance of any *dirty work* that may be well pleasing to their Southern friends, who have it so much in their power to reward them. But when I recollect that Lord Cochrane was a *native* of Scotland, I could not help thinking it strange, that his *own countrymen* should have lent themselves to a transaction which in no view appears creditable, and which, considering the clear proofs now before the public of Lord Cochrane's *ENTIRE INNOCENCE*, was ungracious in the extreme. Had these parties entertained a proper sense of

"Scotia's boasted fame," they would not have appeared in the business; for where is a man to look for protectors, when assailed by the rude hand of adversity, but to the land that gave him birth? It was in Scotland that thousands of tongues ought to have proclaimed his Lordship's innocence, and shielded him from the calumnies of his persecutors. It seems, however, to have been reserved to the native land of his Lordship, to strike the last blow of perfidy, and to give the finishing touch to a nation's ingratitude.—My limits will not admit of my saying all upon this subject that I could wish. But as the Gentlemen who have come forward in this *very honourable* business, appear to have been hurried too far by an inconsiderate zeal, I shall state to them the channel through which the Address reached me, in the hope that, after using a little more diligence, after being somewhat more active in their inquiries than they have hitherto been, they may see cause to retract the most essential parts of their statement. The Address in question was handed to me by Samuel Brooks, Esq. Chairman of the Westminster Committee. It was transmitted to that Gentleman by Sir Francis Burdett, who received it, in the regular course of post, along with the following letter:—"Kirkcaldy, 8th Sept., 1814.—Honourable Sir,—Permit me, in name, and by order of this Meeting, to request you to present the inclosed Address to the Electors of Westminster, as a small token of our respect, and the high sense we entertain of the laudable steps they have taken in the re-election of the Right Hon. Lord Cochrane, and of his Lordship's innocence of the late hoax, falsely laid to his charge. Should you, or the Electors of Westminster, think this in any way worthy your notice, we shall be happy to see it inserted in Mr. COBBETT'S REGISTER, of which we are constant readers. If otherwise, we hope that neither you nor they will take offence at this measure, as we have no sinister motive, but regard for virtue and innocence.—I am," &c.—(signed) "WILLIAM JOHNSON, SECRETARY OF THE MEETING."—The Chief Magistrate says, that the Address occasioned considerable surprise at Kirkcaldy, as no one had heard of any such Meeting, or knew any person of the name of "William Davidson." The Post-master says, that he and his letter carriers used

*all diligence* to discover this person, but that they could not find him. Here, then, I have furnished them with the name of another party concerned, *the Secretary to the Meeting*. Let them use the same "diligence" as to him, and I dare say they will soon be able to discover the parties who have given them so much uneasiness—those *miscreants* who had the presumption to hold a Meeting, either public or private, in behalf of "*virtue and innocence*," without first obtaining the permission of the *Chief Magistrate*!!—When the result of this inquiry is made as public as the former, I shall, perhaps, pay my respects again to this *worthy Magistrate*, and his particular friends the *Post-master* and the *Publican*.

**THE CONGRESS.**—Notwithstanding the *circumstantial*, and, as it was said, *highly interesting* details of the *proceedings* of Congress, with which our newspapers have, for some weeks back, been satiating the stomach of John Bull, it appears, from the following official document, that that Assembly is not to meet till the 1st of November. The observations, from the *Monitor*, on this Declaration, are important in many respects, but chiefly because they distinctly shew, that the interests and influence of France will be more *predominant* at the ensuing meeting, than our corrupt press is willing to allow.

#### DECLARATION.

The Plenipotentiaries of the Courts who signed the Treaty of Peace at Paris, of the 30th. of May, 1811, have taken into consideration, the 33d article of that treaty, which declares that all the Powers engaged on both sides in the late war, shall send Plenipotentiaries to Vienna, in order to regulate in a General Congress, the arrangements necessary for completing the engagements of the said treaty; and after having maturely reflected on the situation in which they are placed, and on the duties imposed upon them, they have agreed that they could not better fulfil them, than by establishing, in the first instance, free and confidential communications between the Plenipotentiaries of all the Powers. And they are, at the same time, convinced, that it is the interest of all parties concerned to postpone the general assembly of their Plenipotentiaries, till the period when the questions on which it will be their duty to pronounce, shall have attained such a degree of maturity, as that the results may correspond to the principles of public law, the stipulations of the Treaty of peace, and the just expectations of contemporaries. The

formal opening of the Congress will therefore be adjourned to the 1st of November, and the said Plenipotentiaries flatter themselves that the labours to which the intervening period shall be devoted, by fixing ideas and cancelling opinions, will essentially advance the great work which is the object of their common mission.

Vienna, Oct 8, 1814.

The above Declaration, by explaining the motives which have occasioned the postponement of the Congress of Vienna, is the first pledge of the spirit of wisdom which will guide the labours of the assembled Plenipotentiaries. It is indeed by the maturity of Councils—it is amidst the calm of the passions, that the tutelary authority of the principles of *public law*, invoked and recognised in the late Treaty of Paris, ought to be re-established.—Thus the just object of contemporaries will be fulfilled, and in the approaching negotiations, a result will be obtained conformable to what the *law of nations*, and *universal law of justice*, prescribe to nations in their concerns with each other. At the epoch when the great Powers are leagued to re-introduce into the mutual relations of States, the *respect of property* and the security of thrones, no political transactions, except such as are invested with that equitable character, are to be expected.—Europe already accepts this happy augury, and France, who is not jealous of any advantages for which the States may reasonably hope, aspires to nothing more than a *just equilibrium*. Possessing within herself all the elements of *strength and prosperity*, she seeks not for them beyond her limits; she will not listen to any insinuations tending to establish systems of more convenience than reason, resuming the character which the esteem and the gratitude of Nations heretofore, entitled her, she will desire no other glory than that of which the guarantees rest on the alliance of power with moderation and justice. It is her wish to re-become the prop of the weak and the defender of the oppressed.—France, in this disposition, will concur in the arrangements tending to consolidate a general peace, and those Sovereigns who have so nobly proclaimed the same principles, will cooperate with her this durable compact, which is to ensure the repose of the world. (Monitor.)

#### AMERICAN OFFICIAL ACCOUNT

OF THE BATTLE OF LAKE CHARLEAIN; AND THE  
DEPARTURE OF MR. GEORGE FREYOST.

**General Orders.**—*Head Quarters, Plattsburgh, Sept. 14, 1814.*—The Governor General of the Canada, and Commander in Chief of the British forces in North America, having invaded the territories of the United States, with the avowed purpose of conquering the country as far

as Crown Point and Ticonderoga, there to winter his forces with a view to further conquest, brought with him a powerful army and flotilla. An army amounting to 11,000 men, completely equipped, and accompanied by a numerous train of artillery, and all the engines of war—men who had conquered in France, Spain, Portugal, the Indies, and in other parts of the Globe, and led by the most distinguished General in the British army. A flotilla also superior to our's in vessels, men, and guns, had determined at once to crush us, both by land and water. The Governor-General after boasting of what he would do, and endeavouring to dissuade the loyal inhabitants of the United States from their allegiance, by threats and promises, as set forth in his proclamation and order, fixed his headquarters at the village of Champlain, to organise his army, and to settle the government of his intended conquest. On the second day of the month, he marched from Champlain; and on the 5th appeared before the village of Plattsburgh with his whole army; and on the 11th, the day fixed for the general attack, the flotilla arrived. The enemy's flotilla at eight in the morning passed Cumberland Head, and at nine engaged our flotilla at anchor in the bay of the town, fully confident of crushing in an instant the whole of our naval force, but the gallant Commodore Macdonough, in the short space of two hours, obliged the large vessels to strike their colours, whilst the galleys saved themselves by flight. This glorious achievement was in full view of the several forts, and the American forces had the satisfaction of witnessing the victory. The British army was also so posted on the surrounding heights, that it could not but behold the interesting struggle for dominion on the Lake. At the same hour the fleets engaged, the enemy opened his batteries on our forts, throwing hundreds of shells, balls, and rockets, and attempted at the same time to cross the Saranac at three different points to assault the works. At the upper fort he was met by the militia and volunteers, and after repeated attempts was driven back with considerable loss in killed, wounded, and prisoners. At the bridge, near the village, he was repulsed by the plucked and brave riders under Captain Grovernor, and Lieutenants Hamilton and Riley, and at the bridge in town he was foiled by the guards, black-horses, and the artillery of the forts. The enemy's fire was returned with effect from our batteries, and by sunset we had the satisfaction to silence seven batteries which he had erected, and to see his columns retiring to their camp beyond the reach of our guns. Thus beaten by land and water, the Governor-General withdrew his artillery and raised the siege. At nine at night, sent off his heavy baggage, and under cover of the darkness

retreated with his whole army towards Canada, leaving his wounded on the field, and a vast quantity of bread, flour, and beef, when he had not time to destroy, besides a quantity of bomb-shells, shot, flints and ammunition of all kinds, which remained at the batteries, and lay concealed in the ponds and rivers. As soon as his retreat was discovered, the light troops, volunteers, and militia, were ordered to pursue, and followed as far as Chazy, capturing several dragoons and soldiers, besides covering the escape of hundreds of deserters, who still continue to be coming in. A violent storm, and continued fall of rain, prevented the brave volunteers and militia from further pursuit. Thus have the attempts of the invader been frustrated by a regular force of only fifteen hundred men; a brave and active body of militia of the State of New York, under General Moore, and volunteers of the respectable and patriotic citizens of Vermont, led by General Strong, and other Gentlemen of distinction; the whole not exceeding 2,500 men. The British forces being now either expelled or captured, the services of the volunteers and militia may be dispensed with. General Macombe cannot, however, permit the militia of New York and the volunteers of Vermont to depart without carrying with them the high sense he entertains for their merits. The zeal with which they came forward in the defence of their country, when the signal of danger was given by the General, reflects the highest lustre on their patriotism and spirit; their conduct in the field has corresponded with the laudable motives which led them into it. They have deserved the esteem of their fellow-citizens, and the warm approbation of their commanders. They have exemplified how speedily American citizens can be prepared to meet the enemies of their country. In testifying his sense of the merits of the troops, the General cannot but express his sorrow and regret for the loss of some brave and virtuous citizens, and for those who have been wounded. The loss, no doubt, will be keenly felt by their friends and countrymen, but at the same time will be borne with that fortitude and resignation which become good citizens and good Christians. The affection of the General will accompany his brave associates in arms, wherever they go; nor will any thing give more pleasure than opportunities of testifying to them individually by actions as words, the high regard he cherishes for them. The General, in the name of the United States, thanks the volunteers and the militia for their distinguished services, and wishes them a happy return to their families and friends.

(Signed)

ALEX. MACOMBE.

COPY OF A LETTER FROM VICE-ADMIRAL COCKBURN TO MR. MONROE.

His Majesty's ship the *Tonnant*, in the Patuxent River, August 18, 1814.

Sir—Having been called upon by the Governor-General of the Canadas to aid him in carrying into effect measures of retaliation against the inhabitants of the United States, for the wanton destruction committed by their army in Upper Canada, it has become imperiously my duty, conformably with the nature of the Governor-General's application, to issue to the naval force under my command, an order to destroy and lay

waste such towns and districts upon the coast, as may be found available... I had hoped that this contest would have terminated, without my being obliged to resort to severities which are contrary to the usages of civilized warfare, and as it has been with extreme reluctance and concern that I have found myself compelled to adopt this system of devastation, I shall be equally gratified if the conduct of the Executive of the United States will authorize my staying such proceedings, by making reparation to the suffering inhabitants of Upper Canada; thereby manifesting, that if the destructive measures pursued by their army were ever sanctioned, they will no longer be permitted by the Government.—I have the honour to be, Sir, with much consideration, your most obedient humble servant,

(Signed)

ALEX. COCHRANE

Vice-Admiral and Commander in Chief of his Britannic Majesty's ships and vessels, upon the North American Station.

The Hon James Munroe, Secretary of State, &c &c. Washington

COPY OF A LETTER FROM MR. MONROE, TO MR. ALEXANDER COCHRANE, VICE-ADMIRAL, &c.

Department of State, Sept 5, 1814.

Sir, I have had the honour to receive your letter of the 18th of August, stating, that, having been ordered by the Governor-General of the said Province to carry into effect an expedition against the United States, and that your destruction committed by their army in Upper Canada, it had become your duty, conformably with the nature of the Governor-General's application, to issue to the naval force under your command, an order to destroy and lay waste such towns and districts upon the coast as may be found available.

It is a sad and cruel system of devastation, and one which is entirely contrary to the usages of civilized warfare, as it is placed by you on the ground of retaliation. No sooner were the United States compelled to resort to war against Great Britain, than they resolved to wage it in a manner most consonant to the principles of humanity, and to those friendly relations which it was desirable to preserve between the two nations, after the restoration of peace. They perceived, however, with the deepest regret, that a spirit alike just and humane war neither cherished nor acted on by your Government. Such an assertion would not be hazarded, if it was not supported by facts, the proof of which has already carried the same conviction to other nations that it has to the people of these States. Without dwelling on the deplorable cruelties committed by the savages in the British ranks, and in British pay, on American persons, at the River Raisin, which to this day have never been disavowed or atoned, I refer, as more immediately connected with the subject of your letter, to the wanton destruction that was committed at Detroit, at Green and at George Town, early in the Spring, 1813. These villages were burnt and razed by the naval forces of Great Britain, to the ruin of their armed inhabitants, who saw with astonishment that they derived no protection to their property from the laws of war. During the same season, scenes of invasion and pillage, carried on under the same authority, were witnessed all along the waters of the Chesapeake, to an extent sufficient to excite the most serious private distress, and under circumstances that justified the sequencer, that revenge was necessary, rather than in the manly notions that could dictate the hostility of a high-minded foe,

led to their perpetration. The late destruction of the houses of Government in this City is another act which comes necessarily into view. In the wars of modern Europe, no examples of the kind, even among nations the most hostile to each other, can be traced. In the course of ten years past, the capitals of the principal Powers of the Continent of Europe have been conquered, and occupied alternately by the victorious armies of each other, and no instance of such wanton and unjustifiable destruction has occurred. We must go back to distant and barbarous ages, to find a parallel for the acts at which I complain.

Although these acts of desolation invited, if they did not impose on the Government, the necessity of retaliation, yet in no instance has it been authorized. The burning of the village of Newark, in Upper Canada, posterior to the early outrage above mentioned, was not executed on that principle. The village of Newark, adjoining Fort George, and its destruction was justified by the object which it effected, on the ground that it became necessary in the military operations there. This act, however, was disavowed by the Government. The burning which took place at Long Point was unauthorized by the Government, and the conduct of the officer subjected to the investigation of a military tribunal. For the burning of St. David's, committed by the officer who commanded in this disavowed without a trial for not

It is commanded by the President distinctly to state, that it is a little compatible with any orders which have been issued to the military and naval commanders of the United States, as it does with the established and known humanity of the American nation, to pursue a system which it appears you have adopted. The Government owes it to itself, to the principles of humanity, and to the sacredness of the law, as in its character to it, any such wanton, cruel, and unjustifiable warfare.

Whatever unauthorized irregularity may have been committed by any of its troops, it would have been ready, acting on the principles of sacred and eternal obligation, to disavow, and as far as might be practicable, to repair. But in the plan of desolating warfare, which your letter so explicitly makes known, and which is attempted to be extended, on a plea so utterly groundless, the President perceives a spirit of deep-seated hostility, which, without the evidence of such facts he could not have believed existed, or would have been called to such an extremity.

For the reparation of injuries, of whatever nature they may be, not sanctioned by the law of nations, which the naval or military forces of either power may have committed against the other, the Government will always be ready to enter into reciprocal arrangements. It is presumed that your Government will neither expect or propose any which are not reciprocal. Should your Government adhere to a system of devastation, so contrary to the views and practice of the United States, so revolting to humanity, and so repugnant to the sentiments and usages of the civilized world, which it will be seen with the deepest regret must and will be met with a determination and consistency becoming a free people, contending in a just cause for their essential rights and their dearest interests.

I have the honour to be, with great consideration, Sir, your most obedient humble servant,

(Signed)

JAMES MONROE

Vice Admiral Sir Alexander Cochrane, Commander-in-Chief of his Britannic Majesty's ships and vessels, &c.

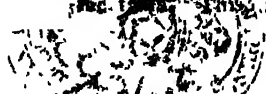
SUMMARY OF POLITICS.

AMERICAN WAR.—My office, as to this war, is now changed. Instead of endeavours to convince my countrymen, that the Americans are not that contemptible nation which they were said to be; instead of endeavours to convince them, that we have, in this new enemy, a more formidable one than in any that we have before combatted; instead of endeavours to guard them against disappointment from their sanguine expectations and almost insolent predictions, I now find it necessary to endeavour to convince them, that we may now make peace with America, without the loss of any thing necessary to the real honour and the happiness of the people of England.—It is wondrous strange, that those writers, who, only a few days back, would not hear of any thing but our valour and the cowardice of the Americans; who anticipated nothing short of the deposing of Mr. Madison in a few months; who were only in doubt about what sort of Government our Ministry might intend to establish in the United States; and who hectorered in a style far surpassing that of Bobadil. It is wondrous strange, that these same writers are now insisting on the necessity of continuing the war, not for the sake of our gaining by it; not for the sake of an extension of dominion; not for the purpose of chastising the Americans; not for the purpose of giving the "Yankees a drubbing;" not even for the purpose of obtaining an acknowledgment of our right to ransom American ships, and impress men from on board them on the high seas; but for the purpose of **WHAT, think you?—Why, for the purpose of SAVING OURSELVES, OUR NAVAL FAME, OUR WEIGHT AND INFLUENCE IN THE WORLD, FROM UTTER DESTRUCTION!**—This is, indeed, a change not less striking than the new language is humiliating to our country. The former objects of the war are now all long-sight of. It is now a war, not for gain or for fame; but, ac-

cording to these people, a war to prevent infamy sticking to us.—I shall endeavour to show, that a continuation of the war is not necessary for this purpose; as I have, for years, been shewing, that the war was not necessary for any other purpose. But I must first lay before the reader the proof of the truth of my statement as to the existence of these new grounds of the war, or, rather, of its continuance.—By looking back into the last REGISTER, the reader will see, what was, a few days ago, the language of the *Times* newspaper, which paper, as I observed, has, all along, been the trumpet of the war.—Now I have before me another article from that paper, pretending to be written from Paris, under the date of the 22d of October. I say, pretending; but it is no matter whence it came. The object in the publication of it is the same.—I beg the reader to go over it very attentively. It is of great importance, because the reader may be assured, that it is intended to convey the sentiments of the war-party in England, which, I am sorry to say, is composed of almost the whole nation.—"The news received of our disasters by sea and land on the side of Canada, has produced at Paris a very deep impression. It is not at Court, or amongst the King's friends, that there appears any rejoicing at the endless humiliations to which the British Navy has been fated in this extraordinary contest, with a people just entered the lists of maritime war, and having no other title but their victories over us, to be considered as a formidable naval power. But it is not in the nature of things that all the enemies of England, that is to say, nineteen-twentieths of the French nation, should not exult in those misfortunes by which they hold us to be not only injured, but disgraced. At the Palais Royal, accordingly, the intelligence was soon spread amongst the groups of politicians and other idlers, and in every group, and at each recital, met with repeated cheers. In every

"company you are told, that as America owed her political freedom to France; so France has now a certain prospect of owing to America the recovery of her maritime independence. It is roundly declared, that unless an army of the same amount as England had in Spain be instantly employed in the war against America, we shall either lose Canada, or make in some other way an inglorious peace; and there are those who assert, that even if such an army should be commanded with the same ability as it was in Spain, the issue is more than doubtful. The chief wonder, at the same time, seems to be, that single-handed as the United States have fought us for several months, we have not yet found means to cope with them on that element, which *we have hitherto boasted of as peculiarly our own*. That two successive squadrons have been utterly destroyed, and that without the shadow of blame to men or officers. Our fleet has been of no use to the army acting up Canada, although that army, being inferior in numbers, had no resource but in the fleet. This is talked of,—how justly is a different question,—as a sort of left-handed miracle in the management of our national concerns. To make peace at such a moment, and with the impressions arising out of such events, would be to convince both the Americans and the people of Europe, that Great Britain had fought an enemy with whom she could contend no longer; whereas to carry on the war without making far greater exertions than those which had terminated so unhappily, would be only to go in search of new discomfures to animate that enemy to still higher activity and exaltation, and to clear the way by progressive abasements of our arms, for still more humbling conditions of peace. It is almost impossible for any Englishman, since the arrival of this fatal intelligence, to enter a French society without enduring the most sensible mortifications, or without the certainty of a personal quarrel, if he repels in kind the sneers and sarcasms thrown out upon the speedy downfall of our naval and military character. French officers are eager to offer their services to America."—The impression certainly is just what is here described as forming this description of the description falls very far below the truth. This, indeed, is the

light in which mere military and naval men must view the matter. It is the light in which it must be viewed; too, by men who have merely the aggrandisement of courts and governments in view; and who always regard the mere power of a nation as the only scale of the goodness or badness of a government. But the friends of freedom, those whose minds are chiefly intent upon the means of promoting the cause of liberty, and of supporting the dignity and furthering the happiness of mankind, will carry their views of the matter much farther; or, rather, they will take a view of it in a quite different direction.—They will, indeed, see that America has gained "victories over us;" they will see that, "single-handed, the United States have fought us for several months;" they will see that "we have not yet found the means of coping with her on that element which we have hitherto boasted of as peculiarly our own;" they will see all this as well as the *Times* newspaper and its readers; but they will further see, that we have suffered all the disadvantages and mortification, and that the very basis of that power, which produced the counter-revolution in France, has been struck at, has been hit, has been, according to these writers' own confession, put in jeopardy, by a REPUBLIC! By a country without king, without lords, without knights or squires, and without any established church, without tithes, and without priests paid from compulsory levies of money.—They will see that this mighty change in the affairs of the world, has been effected by a country who has no standing army; no man who dares call himself a commander; no admiral; no expensive officer; a country which knows of no such thing as a sinecure office; whose chief magistrate receives little more than 5,000 pounds a year; a country who knows nought of military schools, camps, fortresses, barracks, or depôts; a country knowing nothing of poor-rates, income tax, window tax, or excise; a country where THE PRESS IS WHOLLY UNRESTRAINED; a country, in short, where war is carried on by the arms of free citizens, and where the Government is composed, from top to bottom, of men CHOSEN BY THE PEOPLE AT LARGE, without the possibility of bribery or corruption.—This is the light in which the friends of freedom will view the matter; and they will hope that, by inducing the rest of the world to view it in





the same light, the advocates of war may be checked by the fear, that, by *continuing the war*, the example, by becoming more conspicuous, may become more dangerous than it now is.—The war people say, that we have been *defeated*, that we have suffered *disgrace* both by *land and sea*, that the *downfall of our naval and military character is certain*, if we leave off as we now are. I, for my part, *dare* not say this. I solemnly declare, that I should be afraid of being *totally ruined*, *stripped of every thing* I have left, and compelled to end my days in a jail, if I *were* to say what is now said by these advocates of the war. But they say it, they publish it, they proclaim it to the world without any hesitation or apparent fear; and as they do this for the purport of urging the nation on to a continuation of the war, which I look upon as excessively mischievous, I quote their words, in order that I may combat their delinquent object.—I proceed, therefore, upon the hypothesis that what they say is true, that we have been defeated and disgraced by land and by sea; and, with that admission, I contend, that we ought, as soon as possible, and before there be time for the commencement of another campaign, to *make peace with America*; because I am of opinion, that the longer the war is continued, the more fatal to England will be its result.—On the side of Canada, it must be admitted by all who are not totally ignorant of the country all who are not as ignorant as the writer of the *Morning Post*, who looks upon the possession of *Detroit* as *an advance* into the United States from *Plattsburg*, and who calls it a *retreat* from the former to the latter place, though they lie upon the line of *latitude* when he is speaking, as he thinks, of a line of *longitude*; all who are not as ignorant of the matter as this foolish man, must admit that every thing in Canada depends on the *Lakes*; and that those who are the masters on them, are, in fact, the masters of the Canadas at the moment that a very superior force ceases to be kept up in those provinces.—Now, it is notorious, that America has the mastership on the Lakes. This is denied by nobody.—And how are we to regain that mastership which we before possessed, but which we have lost. Not lost by any *accident*; not by any surprise; not by any misconduct on the part of our navy, or of our Government, other than the entering into the war, if that was wrong; but by the *superiority* of the American navy on the Lakes. I am not now going into the inquiry, *whence* this superiority has arisen. The result of the battle on Lake Champlain, would lead us into dismal reflections as to the *qualities* of the two navies. I gladly avoid them by taking the bare fact, a fact universally known, that America has a decided superiority on the Lakes. How, then, I again ask, are we to regain *our* superiority, which, I again observe, is essential not only to success, but to *safety*, on the Canadian side? Whence are to come the ships, whence the seamen, to cope with an enemy, who rides triumphant on those fresh-water seas, who has his superiority by first defeating us there, who is at home with all his sailors and shipwrights at hand, and with all the means of locating the augmentation of a naval force?—If we are *now* unable to face him on the Lakes, let any man point out the grounds of hope, that we shall become able to face him by continuing the war. Not a shipwright have we, not a seaman, not a bar of iron, not a pound of hemp or pitch or tallow, nearer at hand than *four thousand miles by water*, and *several hundreds of miles by land*, while the enemy has, the other side of the Lakes, at the distance of a few hundred miles from his Atlantic sea ports, every material for ship-building, together with shipwrights and seamen in abundance.—In short, it appears to me to be downright madness to hope, by a continuation of the war, to regain what we have lost upon the Lakes.—The *Morning Chronicle*, in the true style of a political partizan, blames the Admiralty for our “disgrace,” as the *Times* calls it, but which I dare not call it, upon the Lakes. The *Morning Chronicle*, since its trade is to blame the persons in place, should blame them for going to war, should blame them for not making peace when events had set the subject of quiet at rest; should blame them for continuing the war; should blame them for not doing what they had the power to do; and not blame them for not doing that which was wholly beyond their power. It is said, that there are seas or lakes in the moon. The English Admiralty might as justly be blamed for not having fleets in those seas and lakes as for not having a superior force on the Lakes in Canada.—Then our Governor, Sir George Prevost, is blamed. He has been blazoned forth that he is *recalled*. All sorts of censures and sarcasms have been



passed upon his conduct. To me it has always appeared wonderful, that he has been able to preserve thus long the Provinces committed to his charge. But supposing him to have been the "fool," which he has been called, what had he to do with the foaming and managing and the fighting of *fleets*? It is curious enough, that, as far as depended upon Sir George Prevost himself, and the army immediately under him, we have been successful; and that, as far as depended upon the navy, or upon those in command, at a distance from Sir George Prevost, we have almost uniformly been unsuccessful; and yet Sir George Prevost is blamed, while every other commander, though keeping in harbour, while the enemy dares him to the fight; though defeated, though captured, though driven back in disgrace before inferior numbers, is praised.—Does the reader believe, that the recalling of Sir George Prevost will restore our reputation in Canada? Does he repose his hopes in General Drummond? Does he believe, that such a change, or any change, in our Governor, will enable our fleet to do what it does not now dare to attempt? On what, then, can any man in his senses build a hope of our regaining a superiority on the Lakes?—Yet, in the face of these facts, and in defiance of every view which reason takes of the subject, there are men so lost to all shame, or, to all sense, as still to recommend our insisting upon a new boundary line on the Canada side, including the whole of the Lakes, and also a part of the land-territory of the United States! men who, in the midst of "disgraces," to use their own words, talk of no place without conquests!—A specimen of this mad talk, which would better suit Bedlam than a public print, addressed to any but a hood-winked and deluded people, will be found in the following article from the *Times* newspaper, under the title of a letter from an "old Canadian".—

When we are speaking of publications of this sort, we must not estimate them according to the real character of the sources whence they apparently proceed. That source may be contemptible, notoriously corrupt, every thing that is wicked, and despicable and yet the production may be worthy of the most serious attention, as containing the sentiments, or developing the views of those who have the means of doing great mischief.—We have heard, that our magnates insisted upon a new

boundary line on the side of Canada, and this article is intended to support that notable scheme.—Therefore, it is worthy of attention.—"Incredible as it may appear, it is, however, asserted with confidence by Americans in London, that the British Government has abandoned every claim to a new boundary line, and that peace will be made upon the basis of the *status quo ante bellum*. Every one conversant with the matter, asks if this can be so! Surely not, must be the answer of all who do not mean to impeach the common sense as well as the loyalty of Ministers. For what must be the natural and inevitable consequences of such uncalled for concessions? Nothing short of the loss of both the Canadas, whenever the Americans shall think proper to take them. For if our brave and loyal Canadian subjects see that, after all their efforts and sacrifices, they are left by a peace in the same defenceless state, equally open to invasion, and exposed to rapine and desolation, as they were by the ignominious treaty of 1763, they will lose all confidence in the wisdom and power of Great Britain. The Canadas will remain no longer in our possession, than till the Americans set up a pretext for resuming hostilities; and they will present a field of faction and intrigue, wherein agents will be actively employed to prepare the minds of the Canadians for submission to their future masters. Our faithful Indian allies will imbibe similar feelings. When they see themselves a second time betrayed to their enemies, they will never again confide in our Government, but will cease from all communication with the British. Would not such a weak, pusillanimous policy amount to a confession to the world, that in the zenith of our power and glory we are unequal to a contest with the American States? The loss of the Canadas would be immediately followed by that of New Brunswick, Nova Scotia, Newfoundland, and finally, perhaps, of the West Indies. The pre-eminence of the British navy might then be transferred to our successors in the possession of those sources of maritime prosperity.—If Ministers have given way, and if the result of the campaign on the Canadian frontier has weighed with them in so doing, let me ask one question. To what will the blame of all these evils be imputed? I will give an answer.—To

"the continuance in the command of the "Canadas, (notwithstanding all the representations made to them) of one charged for the last two years in every account from Canada, verbal and written, military and civil, as unfit for his present important situation, and who has prevented, in 1812, 1813, and 1814, the taking of Sackett's Harbour, and the consequent destruction of the Americans on Lake Ontario.—In a view of our prosecution of the war, there is safety and fame—a treaty of peace would only stifle the present complaints; they would break out hereafter with double violence. Let us, then, choose the safe and honourable part; but in adopting it, we must begin with a *very* example, and put every man on his trial, either at home or abroad, to whom the late misadventures can be traced."—I consider the impudence of this slave (for none but slaves are impudent to such a degree) to be equalled by nothing of the kind ever heard of.—He regards our abandoning of the project of a new boundary line as a "concession," and calls it, too, an "un- called for concession," and that at a moment when the Americans are the invaders! If, indeed, we had maintained our superiority on the Lakes (to the middle of each of the most important of which our boundary extends), then we might have talked, with some shew of reason, of its being a *concession* to draw back to our old boundary, but what impudence must the man have, who calls it a concession, on our part, to consent to be bound within a line, which the Americans have crossed, and over which, in spite of all we can do, we are unable to drive them! I imagine I cannot picture any thing more impudent than this.—But, the truth is, we have been so stunned with vain boasts of our achievements; we have been so baffled with the notion of our being the *conquerors of France*, that we are become stupid. Flattery has taken away our senses; and it is the interest of those who make use of it, that it should take them away.—There is no doubt but many of those, who would profit from a new boundary line, are labouring hard to obtain it at any expense to the nation, either in money, men, or reputation. These persons would sink England for ever for the sake of the profits of one summer's or winter's furs. But, it is the duty of the Government to listen to no such advice: Canada has been safe and

quiet for thirty years, without any new boundary line, and why may it not always be safe and quiet, if we now make peace without a new boundary line?—At any rate, if we are not in a condition to insist upon such terms now, is it likely that we shall be in such a condition by a continuation of the war? If, at the end of three years, we have nothing but defeats and disgraces to tell of, why should we be in a better plight at the end of seven years? On the side of Canada there is much to fear, and nothing to hope for, in a continuation of the war; and, now let us see what we have to hope for in other quarters.—In the Penobscot we have made a conquest, and our writers seem quite charmed at the idea of our keeping it. In the first place, the conquest, if retained, is of no importance. It is a wilderness in the north corner of the Atlantic States; and we may consider it, if retained, a mere out-let for a few Government dependents. But, as to the military and naval character of this pretended conquest, it is not worthy of notice. Altogether the thing is contemptible; and, as to keeping it, we shall do that, when we can conquer and keep New Hampshire, Massachusetts, Connecticut, Rhode Island, and New York, but not until then.—In the Chesapeake, the grand scene of our martial exploits, what has been done? We have burnt the public buildings at Washington, and we have plundered the town of Alexandria; but, having effected these purposes, we have suddenly retreated to our ships, in order, of course, to save our army from the dungeons to which it would have been exposed.—I shall offer no opinion as to the true character of the burnings at Washington and the plunderings at Alexandria. Some people have asserted, in France, that they were not justified by the usages of modern warfare amongst civilized nations; and, it would appear, that things the impression on the Continent of — open.—But, of one thing I am very certain, and that is, that, even in a mere military point of view, we have lost more in reputation in our attempt upon Baltimore than we had gained in the other two exploits, if we add to our former stock, the reputation gained by the bombarding of the village of Stonington in Connecticut.—So that, upon the whole, we have gained not an inch on the shores, or in the off the Atlantic. We have, indeed, captured the *Essex* frigate; but how? Why

with two ships, one of which is superior in strength to the *Essex*.—The campaign is, it seems, over. The fleet, we are told, has safely gone back to Halifax with its plunder, and with the dead General Ross. I am not surprised that Admiral Cochrane should have returned to Halifax; but, I am, I must confess, very much surprised at the reason given for that so early a finish of the campaign. It is said in our newspapers, that the campaign was put an end to by the season, which had (on the 17th of September) set in with great severity.—Now the mouth of the Chesapeake lies in 37 degrees of North latitude, and I will venture to assert, that, on the 17th of September, the weather was warmer there, than it was in Hampshire or Devonshire during the average of the last summer; that is to say, unless a great change in the climate of those regions has taken place within these 14 years. I remember well seeing, in the middle of September, very fine melons, ripe and ripening, in the natural ground, hanging from the sides of the stalks of ripe Indian corn, six hundred miles to the north of the Bay of Chesapeake. So that there must have been, since I was in those countries, a wonderful change in the climate. Such, really, must have been the case; for that a false pretence has been set up for the giving over the campaign, at so early a period, is not to be supposed; no one will dare utter, or hint at, such a thing.—But, be the cause what it may, the campaign ceased, as we are told, in the middle of September. It will hardly begin again before next May; and, does the reader suppose that Jonathan will be idle meanwhile? If we have been able to do nothing with him this year, are we more likely to be successful next year? Mr. Madison was to be deposed long ago. He was never to open his lips in the City of Washington again. The States were to be divided. The Union was to be broken up. The enemies of freedom; the enemies of truth; the enemies of human happiness; the vile miscreants, who look upon bribery and corruption as their birthright and their blessing; the base slaves, who are a disgrace to the human form, exulted in the hope, and, as they thought, in the fair prospect, of seeing a great Republic; a free and happy people, plunged into confusion, and in bloodshed.—This has not been the case. The Union remains unbroken. This was to be expected. No

man in his senses could expect the States to divide at our instigation. In the course of time, they may divide, and then division would, perhaps, be the most likely means of preventing their overtopping England in maritime power. But, to divide them by a war against them, and especially such a war as we have been carrying on, no man, not fit for bedlam, could expect.—The *Times* newspaper, who promised us an end to the war in a few months, and who told the Dutch Sovereign, that he, if he had waited a little, might have been spared the degradation of sending an Ambassador to such men as Madison. This paper now tells us, that we must send out a large army to take up a commanding position in the heart of the country. Granted that we have the army to send out. Granted that we could take up such a position, how are we to maintain it? Does this infuriated enemy of all that is not corrupt suppose, does he still suppose, that the Americans are so anxious to "return to their allegiance," that they would flock round our standard? Does he think, that the people would come in and seek for protection from the King of England? Upon what ground does he build such an opinion? Have they shown any disposition to rally round our flag at Washington, at Alexandria, at Stonington, at Baltimore, at Fort Erie, Chippawa, at Plattsburg, or on Lake Ontario, or Lake Champlain? Does this wiseacre see any proof of this devotion to the Mother Country in the fact of their ships on the ocean; in that of their privateers, which have captured, sunk, or destroyed nearly one thousand of our merchant ships; and which have, for a long while, been scouring our own sea-coasts, pushing in some instances, their bowsprits into our very harbours? Does he see it in the shooting of General Ross, who, in two instances, became the mark of a single volunteer trigger, and who unfortunately fell by the second well-aimed shot; or does he see it in the order of owners to their privateers, not to capture ships, but to sink, burn, and destroy, saving only the crews? Does he think that orders of this description, given by owners to their private ships, savour of a hankering in Jonathan after "the purest State"?—Well, then, if there be no such hankering; if the people of America would rather perish than return to their former state, how should we maintain a position in the heart of the country,

even supposing us to get it?—What prospect is there then, in the continuation of our war, but additional expence, and, indeed, a great addition to all the dangers that it now holds out? I take for granted, that we have, as the *Times* says, suffered defeat and disgrace, and that, if we were to stop now, the censure of the whole world would be as the men say, that, single-handed, the Americans had beaten us both by land and by sea. I take this for granted. But the case may be worse, the opinion of the whole world may become more decided, and be founded upon more *unflinching evidence*. It is true, that by continuing the war it is within the scope of possibility, that we might win; in what we have lost in the way of reputation! but if we lose more than we have gained, or, if we remain, in that respect, as we are, how great will then be the difference? We shall, in the meanwhile, have a record more and greater efforts than we have yet made. We shall have given full time for the whole world to look on. We shall have made every man in the world acquainted with the origin and nature of the contest, and a pretty good judge of the merits of the two parties. If we now make peace, we shall, indeed, retire *defeated*; but acknowledge that; but our defeat will not be so *notorious*, it will not, produce an impression on the minds of future generations, the triumph of America, the wisdom and strength of her *cheap* Government, the virtue of *unbought* and *unsold* representatives, the fortitude of a people, against whom *bribery* and *corruption* are unknown, will not be so conspicuous, will not be so well understood, will not make such a lasting impression; and, of course, will not produce such dangerous consequences. Besides, do we not see the possibility of America raising a considerable *naval force* on the ocean, even during this war? Our object, according to these vile writers, ought to be to cripple her, that she shall be unable to raise a navy in fifty or a hundred years; but if she should do it in five or six years; if she should make peace with a navy of seven or eight ships of the line in her Atlantic harbours, what will then be our situation? Nor must we forget that a few more years of war will give France time to breathe, and to act from that desire of revenge, which the whole people of that country seem to feel towards us. It is impossible that Russia, that France, that Sweden, that Holland, that Denmark, should not ardently desire a free

intercourse with America, now become a manufacturing as well as an agricultural nation. There can be no doubt, that all these countries bear with great impatience the restraints now imposed on them by our asserted blockades of the American ports, and that, if they continue at peace, they will not long relish the being deprived of those advantages of peace, which an intercourse with America presents to every nation in Europe. They will, in all likelihood, first gently complain of these restraints; next remonstrate, discussing rights all the while. There is only a thin sheet of paper between this and an openly *armed neutrality*; and then we shall see, and most sensibly feel, the consequence of that continuation of the war, which our malignant and corrupt writers now recommend, and which, as I think, or, at least, hope, that I have now shewn, would be the most fatal measure that was ever resolved on, even during the last fifty years.——While I was writing the above, the MESSAGE OF THE PRESIDENT arrived, and it has, doubtless, excited great wonder and indignation in the *Times* and the *Courier*, that the head of the cheap Government of America is still MR. MADISON!——Indeed, the former of these two, at once stupid and malignant, vehicles of falsehood and baseness, does observe, that this person is “yet” in that situation, though, as we shall presently see, it afterwards insists on the absolute necessity of our driving him from his “USURPED seat of power.”——The reader, on whatever side of the Atlantic he may be, will, doubtless, pay marked attention to this description of Mr. Madison and the Congress, for all persons in power in America, are included in it.——They are called USURPERS, and this, in the present case, is a word of vast meaning. They have all been elected by the people of that country. In that country there is no *bribery* or *corruption*.——There are no base villains in that country, who are ready to perjure themselves for a pound note, and who calls a periodical bribe their “BLESSING.” Mr. Madison and the Congress have been elected by the voice of FREE men. They have been placed in power by the free votes of a majority of the people. How then can they be called USURPERS? How can they be said to, have USURPED their power? What, therefore, can this malignant mean, unless it be, that the Government of

America has "USURPED" the authority belonging to "the parent State," and that they and all the people of that country are now in a state of open rebellion.

—I take this to be the meaning the nefarious stipulator to war, plunder, and bloodshed, because I do not see how he can have any other meaning. — And, if this be his meaning, what are the miseries to us, which must ensue from our Government acting from such advice and on such principles? — Let us now take this commentary on the Message, and, disgusting as it is, go through it with patience. — "Yesterday the long expected Message of Mr. Madison came to hand. The situation in which this person, to the disgrace of the United States, YET stands, demands that we should take some notice of this document, which was addressed to Congress on the 20th of September, the day of its meeting. It is not to express either surprise or regret at the hostile tone which it assumes, that we proceed to examine its contents. If any individual can expect moderation or justice from the American President, his weakness of intellect must be incorrigible. If any British can wish to see his country reduced to the disgrace of treating with an enemy so faithless and so malignant, he must be destitute of all sense of national honour. The object of Mr. Madison's present address is like that of all which have preceded it, to stimulate the bad passions of the American people against this country, and in the prosecution of this infamous purpose he resorts to means equally infamous. We have, from long experience and observation, accused this man of resorting, on occasions like the present, to wilful falsehood. Of this disgraceful proceeding, we have a glaring proof before us. Referring distinctly to the two instances of our success at Washington and at Alexandria, he accuses our troops in both of the plunder and wanton destruction of private property. In this he is contradicted by the accounts of the capture of Washington, published immediately after the event, in his own official paper. Another falsehood, if possible still more gross and wilful, is, that war was not declared until after the imprisonment of thousands of American citizens. Mr. Madison knows to a man the number of real Americans imprisoned; and he knows, that in the course of a long

war they did not amount to a hundred. We shall not dwell on the similarity of language and other circumstances which render it impossible in the officers charged with the duty of impressment always to avoid mistake. This part of the subject has been exhausted in argument; but we point to an intentionally false statement in round numbers; and if he attempts to shelter himself behind the equivocating term *citizen*, we say this is only the artifice of

those juggling fiends,  
That palter with us in a double sense.

"Mr. Madison knows that whatever might be due for the deliverance of native Americans from unjust impressment, the war would not be tolerated for a moment in America, if it were understood to be waged for the emancipation of British traitors from the bonds of their allegiance. With what consistency could it be so, whilst Mr. Madison himself cries out aloud against American traitors fighting in the British ranks? Or how could such a being as a traitor exist, if a man might throw off his allegiance at pleasure? Mr. Madison feels the present to be a war of 'unwar-rantable passion' on his part; he labours to represent it as such on ours, but the desire of securing ourselves for the future from the consequences of a hatred so bitter and malignant as he and his faction have shown against us, is not unwarrantable. Retaliation for savage barbarities is not unwarrantable. Is the chastisement of a savage enemy unwarrantable? Mr. Madison at least must admit that it is not; since he takes credit to himself for the 'exemplary' manner in which Major-General Jackson has performed that operation on the Creek Indians. Now, what are the effects of passion which he charges on us? The destruction of public edifices, protected as monuments of the arts by the laws of civilized warfare. The most general rule in warfare is, that all the possessions of the conquered fall to the absolute disposal of the conqueror; and even Grotius accedes to the saying of the Roman lawyer, *cum loca capta sunt ab hostibus, omnia domant esse sacra*. In recent wars, indeed, between nations highly civilized, it has been usual to spare buildings of the nature described; but only where the abstinence was mutual. The writers most favourable to

"this modern and praiseworthy practice  
 "are all careful to state, that it may be  
 "justifiably departed from by way of re-  
 "taliation, as a means of forcing the  
 "enemy to make war with humanity, or of  
 "punishing him for some instance of out-  
 "rageous conduct. Such precisely were  
 "the grounds, on which the confiscation  
 "of the public buildings at Washington  
 "was justified by the British Commander.  
 "The American Government has even ad-  
 "mitted some of the facts of *openly* alleged  
 "against its officers, although it has at-  
 "tempted their palliation; but it is not on  
 "the question of fact that we are now ar-  
 "guing. We mean to show, that when  
 "Mr. Madison asserts that we avoid a pur-  
 "sue of trampling on the usages of ci-  
 "vilised warfare, he asserts what he know-  
 "s to be false, when he represents the des-  
 "truction of public edifices, and of the monu-  
 "ments of the arts, to be an habitual  
 "and unton exercise of British power, he  
 "acts in direct opposition to the most no-  
 "torious evidence of our military achieve-  
 "ments, in a long course of wars, in every  
 "quarter of the globe. It is this wilful,  
 "this perpetual, and systematic habit, of  
 "cruelty, which convinces us of the un-  
 "quenchable animosity that Mr. Madison  
 "and his faction entertain against Great  
 "Britain. They will not, they cannot,  
 "meet us on the ground of justice.  
 "They must be overwhelmed with dis-  
 "aster and disgrace, and driven from  
 "their usurped seat of power by their in-  
 "jured countrymen, before a peace can be  
 "made between Great Britain and the  
 "United States, honourable to the former,  
 "or truly beneficial to either. Happily  
 "the Message affords us one ground for  
 "reckoning with some confidence on this  
 "event. Of the financial receipts for the  
 "last year, two-thirds consist of loans,  
 "but the sinking credit of a Government  
 "which has betrayed so much incapacity,  
 "renders this resource daily less and less  
 "to be depended on. The late *stoppage*  
 "of the American banks shews how little  
 "is to be expected on that side of the At-  
 "lantic, and we know but of one country  
 "in Europe, where money is likely to be  
 "found, on any terms, to answer Mr.  
 "Madison's growing demands. English  
 "merchants alone have the power to afford  
 "him assistance; but few of them, we be-  
 "lieve, entertain the inclination; and  
 "should so traitorous an act be attempted,  
 "we should hope it would be exposed to

"the detestation of every loyal subject;  
 "and to the deserved penalties of the law.  
 "Into the detail of the late campaign by  
 "land and water, we have little inclination  
 "to enter. It required some degree of  
 "modest assurance to speak of *General*  
 "*Brown's* defeat at Niagara as a victory,  
 "and the praises lavished on such a  
 "scoundrel as Porter are truly in charac-  
 "ter—but, unhappily, on some other  
 "points, the President has had but too  
 "much reason for exultation. Would  
 "that it were true, that 'availing our-  
 "selves of fortunate circumstances,' (cit-  
 "ing circumstances, indeed, singularly fortunate,  
 "and an epoch peculiarly auspicious,) we  
 "had aimed our blow 'with undivided  
 "force.' This, we trust, will be done at  
 "the very opening of the approaching ses-  
 "sion; otherwise, perhaps, we may find  
 "but too much truth in Mr. Madison's  
 "prediction, that *the longer we protract*  
 "*our hostile efforts, the more certain and*  
 "*decisive will be our final discomfiture.*  
 "To the state of our force on the Lakes,  
 "we have not ceased calling the public at-  
 "tention almost from the commencement  
 "of the war. In reference to this subject,  
 "the reports brought by the vessel which  
 "conveyed the President's Message were  
 "various and contradictory. The same  
 "may be said of those derived from other  
 "quarters. Some of the Evening papers  
 "noticed a rumour that Commodore Chan-  
 "cey had been defeated on Lake Ontario  
 "by Sir James Yeo. On the other hand,  
 "we have seen a letter of the 10th ult.  
 "from Halifax, giving it as matter of re-  
 "port there, that Sir James had been de-  
 "feated and made prisoner. However,  
 "as another letter of a day later takes no  
 "notice of this story, and as it is not pro-  
 "bable that our squadron would meet the  
 "Americans until our large ship was  
 "ready for sailing, which could not be be-  
 "fore the beginning of October, we think  
 "it probable that the adverse statements  
 "are both untrue.——The chief point  
 "to comment on here, is, the statement re-  
 "lative to the IMPRESSED AMERICAN  
 "SEAMEN, because it brings us  
 "home to the great cause of the war. Mr.  
 "Madison, in his Message, which will be  
 "found in another part of this REGISTER,  
 "says, that America (for it is there done by  
 "the Congress and not by the President  
 "alone) forbore to declare war "until  
 "other aggressions had been added the  
 "capture of nearly a thousand American

"respects, and the imprisonment of thousands of sea-faring citizens." On this statement the *Times* says, that Mr. Mason knows, that the *real* Americans impressed did not amount to a hundred. And this is the vile wretch that comes out against *felony*! The impudent impostor knows well, I dare say, that many hundreds have been *actually released*, in consequence of the application of the American Consul in London. But supposing, for argument's sake, that only *one* had been so impressed, say, that *only one* had been so impressed, and that our Government insisted upon the *right* of doing this at their pleasure, and at the discretion of our naval officers, captains, lieutenants, or, perhaps, midshipmen. What more was wanted to throw all America into a flame?—Does this man think, that American parents have no feeling for their children? Does he, tell it as nothing to impress a *hundred* native, free Americans, from on board merchant ships, in pursuit of their lawful trade, and compel them to submit to the life of our sailors, to fight against *us*, perhaps, to whose cause they wish success, to carry them away out of the knowledge of their families and friends, to ruin their prospects in life, to expose them to diseases, wound and death? Does the impudent and corrupt varlet think that this is nothing? *Only a hundred!* A hundred! What, then, we inquire to be measured in this way?—Futh, such a way of talk may do on this side, but it will never do on the other side of the Atlantic.—This reptile commentator says, that "the war would not be tolerated in America, for a moment, if it were understood to be waged for the emancipation of **NEGROES**." **TREASURERS** from their *bondage of allegiance*.—The people of America are quite ignorant, then, I suppose, upon this head. Oh, yes! they are a very uncultivated people! Very ignorant! They know, it seems, enough of arithmetic to induce them to choose a *cheap* Government. But how is any *truth* to be hidden from a people, the whole of whom, with the exception of late emigrants from Europe, are well able to read, and not a man or woman of whom does not read one or more of the hundred of public prints in the country, flowing from a press which is **REALLY** free, where there is no *slight* freedom of the press; where there are no *hypocritical* pretences about such freedom; where any man, and especially since the time of Mr.

Jefferson's first election, may write and publish just what he pleases, upon any subject, so that he does not **PRIVATELY** attack **PRIVATE** CHARACTERS. The other day this vile *Times* newspaper itself tells us, that a newspaper in America expressed its sorrow that Mr. Madison was not taken at Washington. Thus, at once, it shows us how free, how really free the press is, and may and must convince every man, that no political truth of any moment can be denied from the people. The Americans well understand the ground of the war. I wish they were as well understood in England. But I am, I must confess, not sure that that would produce any good. It appears to me hopeless, to endeavour to put the people right on this subject. They are mad. To time and events we must leave the cure.—I have heard that, only a few weeks ago, the very humor, at the market meeting, spoke of our sending out a *Free Rite* to America as a thing of course! What must the Americans think of this? How they must despise, how they must laugh at such a people! The Government of America has not only no interest in deluding and cheating the people through the means of the press; but, if it had an interest in so doing, it has not the means. "All the salaries of all the officers of Government, and of all persons paid out of the public money, could not purchase the colotype of a sixteenth part of the public prints; while, on the other hand, the Government has not the power of harassing, of robbing, of murdering piece meal, and with apparently muffled paws, any printer or publisher.—Therefore, the grounds of the war are clearly understood by every person in America; and as the Congress are the *real* representatives of the people, as they do not obtain their seats by bribery and corruption; as their seats cannot be bought and sold; as they are no impudent and profligate pretenders to be representatives; as to call them the representatives of the nation does not argue, that he man who so calls them is either *fool* or *knave*; as they do not, and cannot, sell their votes for places, pensions, or grants; as they are, in short, the mere agents and mouth pieces of the people, we shall, in the accounts of their proceedings, shortly see, whether the people of America still approve of the war. If they do, it will be carried on; if they do not, it will cease. We have heard what the President thinks upon the subject—the next annual will tell us what the people think.—I must post-



pone, till my next, further remarks upon this ministry, but I have just room for a line to ask Johnny Bull (wise Johnny) again, how it has happened, that he has not been treated to an official account of the Battle of Plattsburg and of the Lake Champlain? Why, Johnny Bull not your Ministers treated you to a General account of those battles? They are a subject of talk and of writing, and of publication all over Europe, and yet Johnny Bull has not any official account of the matter, notwithstanding his zeal for giving his lies a circulation.

#### AMERICAN CONGRESS.

WASHINGTON CITY, SEP. 19, 1814.

THIS being the day assigned by the President for the Meeting of Congress, the friends of a sensible and judicious preparation for their accommodation at the usual hour, but that it not being a Quorum, both Houses adjourned.

A Quorum being present, the President transmitted by his Secretary the following Message—

*My friends of the Senate, and House of Representatives.*—Notwithstanding the early day when he has convened for your Session of the present year, I was induced to call you together still sooner—as well that any inadequacy in the existing provisions for the want of the Treasury might be supplied, as that no delay might happen in providing for the result of the Negotiation on foot with Great Britain, whether it should require arrangements adapted to a return of peace, or further and more effectual preparation for prosecuting the war. The results are now known. If, on one hand, the repeal of the Orders in Council, and the general pacification of Europe, which withdrew the occasion for which impressments from American vessels were practised, suggest expectations that peace and amity may be established, we are compelled, on the other hand, by the refusal of the British Government, to accept the offered mediation of the Emperor of Russia by the delay, in giving effect to its own proposal of a direct negotiation, and above all, by the principles and manner in which the war is now avowedly carried on, to infer that a strict hostility is indulged more violent than ever against the rights and prosperity of this country. This increased violence is best explained by two important circumstances: that the great contest in Europe for an equilibrium, guaranteeing all its States against the ambition of any, has been closed without any check on the overheating power of Great Britain on the Ocean; and that it has left in her hands disposable armory with which,

forgetting the difficulties of a remote war against a free people, and yielding to the intoxication of success with the example of a great victim to it before her eyes, she cherishes hopes of still further aggrandising a Power already formidable in its claims to the tranquillity of the civilized and commercial world. But whatever may have inspired the enemy with these more violent purposes, the public councils of a nation, more able to maintain that it was to acquire its independence and with a devotion to it rendered more ardent by the experience of its blessings, can never deliberate but on the means most effectual for defeating the exorbitant measures of unwarrantable passion, with which alone the war can now be put in danger. In the events of the present Campaign, the enemy, in all his magnificent enterprises, and in all his success, has little ground for exultation, unless he can feel it in the success of his present enterprise against this Metropolis and the neighbouring towns of Alexandria, from both of which his retreat was precipitated as his attempts were bold and fortunate. In his other incursions on our Atlantic frontier, his progress, though checked and chastised by the more vigorous of the neighbouring citizens, has had more exacting distressing individuals, and in dishonouring his arms, than in promoting any object of legitimate warfare; and in the two instances mentioned, however deeply to be regretted on our part in his transient success, when interrupted for a moment only the ordinary public business at the seat of Government, no compensation can atone for the loss of character which the world by this violation of public edicts, and his destruction of public edifices, protects his monuments of the arts by the law of civilized warfare—On our side we can appeal to a series of achievements, which have given new lustre to the American arms, besides the brilliant incidents in the more operations of the campaign, the splendid victories gained on the Canadian side of the Niagara, by the American forces under Major-General Brown, and Brigadiers Scott and Gaines, have gained for these heroes and their emulating companions the most unflinching laurels, and having triumphantly proved the progressive discipline of the American soldiery, have taught the enemy, that the longer he protracts his hostilities efforts, the more certain and decisive will be his final discomfiture. On the southern border, victory has continued also to follow the American standard. The bold and skillful operations of Major-General Jackson, conducting troops drawn from the Militia of the States, least distant, particularly of Tennessee, have subdued the principal tribes of hostile savages, and by establishing a peace with them, preceded by



recent and exemplary chastisement, we have guarded against the mischief of their co-operation with the British enterprises, which may be planned against this quarter of our country — Important tribes of Indians on our north-western frontier, have also acceded to the stipulations which binds them to the interest of our United States, and to consider our enemy as theirs also. In the recent attempts of the enemy on Baltimore, defended by militia and volunteers, aided by a small body of regulars and seamen, he was repulsed with a spirit which produced a rapid retreat to the ships, whilst a concurrent attack by a large fleet was successfully resisted by the steady and well-directed fire of the fort and batteries opposed to it. In another recent attack by a powerful force on our troops at Plattsburg, of which regulars made a part only, the enemy, after a perseverance for many hours, was finally compelled to seek safety in a hasty retreat, our gallant bands pursuing upon him. — On the Lakes, so much contested throughout the war, the great exertions for the command made on our part have been well repaid, on Lake Ontario. Our navy is now and has been for some time, in a condition to confine that of the enemy to his own port, and to favour the operations of our land forces on that frontier. On Lake Champlain, where our superiority had for some time been undisputed, the British squadron lately came into action with the American, commanded by Capt. McDonough. It ended in the capture of the whole of the enemy's ships. The best praise of this officer and his intrepid comrades, is in the likeness of his triumph to the illustrious victory which immortalized another officer, and established, at a critical moment, our command of another Lake. — On the Ocean, the pride of our naval arms has been amply supported. A second frigate has indeed fallen into the hands of the enemy, but the loss is hidden in the blaze of destruction with which she was defended. Captain Porter, who commanded her, and whose previous career had been distinguished by daring enterprise and by fertility of genius, maintained a sanguinary contest against two ships, one of them superior to his own, and other severe disadvantages, till humanity tore down the colours which valour had added to the mast; this officer and his comrades have added much to the glory of the American flag, and have merited all the effusions of gratitude which their country is very ready to bestow on the champions of its rights and of its safety. Two smaller vessels of war have also become prizes to the enemy; but by superiority of force, which sufficiently vindicates the reputation of their commanders; whilst two others, one commanded by Capt. Warrington, the other

by Capt. Blakely, have captured British ships of the same class, with a gallantry and good conduct which entitled them and their companions to a just share in the praise of their country. In spite of the naval forces of the enemy accumulated on our coasts, our private cruises, also, have not ceased to annoy his commerce, and to bring their rich prizes into our ports, contributing thus, with other proofs, to demonstrate the incompetency and the illegality of a blockade, the proclamation of which is made the pretext for vexing and discouraging the commerce of Neutral Powers with the United States. To meet the extended and diversified warfare adopted by the enemy great bodies of militia have been taken into the service of the public defence, and great expenses incurred. That the defence every where may be both more convenient, and more economical, Congress will see the necessity of immediate measures for filling the ranks of the regular army, and of enlarging the provisions for special corps, mounted and dismounted, to be engaged for a longer period of service than are due from the militia. I earnestly renew, at the same time, a recommendation of such changes in the system of the militia, as by classing and disciplining, on the most prompt and active service, the portions most capable of it, will give to that great resource for the public safety, all the requisite energy and efficiency. A part of the squadron on Lake Erie has been extended to Lake Huron, and has produced the advantage of displaying our command of that Lake also. One object of the expedition was the reduction of Mackinac, which failed with the loss of a few brave men, among whom was an officer justly distinguished for his gallant exploits, the expedition, ably conducted by both land and naval Commanders, was otherwise valuable in its effects. — The monies received into the Treasury, during the nine months ending on the 19th day of June last, amounted to 32 millions of dollars, of which 11 millions were the proceeds of the public revenue, and the remainder derived from loans. The disbursements for public expenditures during the same period exceed 34 millions of dollars; and left to the Treasury, on the 1st of July, but five millions of dollars. The demands during the remainder of the present year, already authorised by Congress, and the expenses incident to an extension of the operations of the war, will render necessary that large sums should be provided to meet them.

“From this view of the national affairs, Congress will be urged to take up without delay, as well the subject of pecuniary supplies, as that of military force, and on a scale commensurate with the extent and character, which the war has assumed. — It is not to be disguised that the situa-

tion of our country calls for its greatest efforts. Our enemy is powerful in land and money; on the land and on the water. Availing himself of fortunate circumstances, he is aiming, with an undivided force, a deadly blow at our growing prosperity, perhaps at our national existence. He has vowed his purpose of trampling on the usages of civilized warfare, and given earnest of it in the plunder and wanton destruction of private property—in the pride of maritime dominion, and in his thirst of commercial monopoly, he strikes with peculiar animosity at the progress of our navigation and manufactures. His barbarous policy had not even spared those monuments of taste with which our country had enriched and embellished our infant metropolis. From such an adversary hostility in its greatest force and worst forms may be looked for. The American people will face it with that undaunted spirit, which, in their revolutionary war, defeated his unrighteous projects.—His threats and his barbarities instead of dismay, will kindle in every bosom an indignation not to be extinguished but in the disaster and expulsion of such cruel invaders. In providing the means necessary, the National Legislature will not distrust the gallantured patriotism of his constituents. They will cheerfully and proudly bear every burthen of every kind which the safety and the honour of the nation demands. We have seen them ever where 'erise their taxes, direct and indirect, with the greatest promptness and alacrity. We have seen them rushing with enthusiasm to scenes where danger and duty call, and offering their blood—they give their sacred pledge that no other tribute will be withheld. Having borne to declare war until two other aggressions had been added to the capture of nearly one thousand American vessels, and the imprisonment of thousands of seafaring citizens, and until a final declaration has been made by the Government of Great Britain, that her hostile orders against our commerce would not be revoked but on conditions as impossible as unjust, whilst it was known that these orders would not otherwise cease but with a war which had lasted nearly 20 years, and which, according to appearances at that time, might last as many more, having manifested on every occasion, and in every proper mode, a sincere desire to meet the enemy on the ground of justice, our resolution to defend our beloved country, and to oppose to the enemy's persevering hostility all our energy with an undiminished disposition towards peace and friendship on honourable terms, must carry, with it the good wishes of the impartial world, and the best hopes of support from an omnipotent and kind Providence.

JAMES MADISON.

"Washington, Sept. 30."

### THE EMPEROR NAPOLEON.

SIR,—The Marshal Boursort being appointed by the present French Government to the command of Corsica, I deem it right to give publicity to the treacherous designs of that Court against Napoleon, by requesting you to insert in your valuable paper some account of this *new Governor*; that Europe may see the atrocity of the means to which the present rulers of France are willing to resort, to effect the destruction of that Hero and Legislator, whose reign over the 'HEAVENS of the French, CONTRAST renders, at this moment, more decided than ever. Several years ago, the Marquis de Toulouse, in a journey in La Vendée, was assassinated in a wood, by some unknown persons. His death plunged the (then) *Chevalier de Boursort* into the most frantic grief; and he took it into his head that Napoleon was the author of the calamity. In this persuasion the *Chevalier de Boursort* wandered about France for near six months, in a variety of disguises, vainly endeavouring to stir up insurrections against Napoleon, or to accomplish his assassination, either by his *own hand*, or that of another. Fear of detection, at length, brought the *Chevalier* to England. He resided at Wanstead, near London, in great seclusion, till late events took place, nourishing, during the whole period, in his bosom, the most deadly hatred against Napoleon. His sole occupation consisted in devising the most cruel torments by which he might put Napoleon to death, whenever he might get him into his power. This extraordinary hatred, and a certain sort of enterprising spirit, with which it inspired him, gave him the highest consideration with the French Princes, and the other Emigrés, during their residence in England; and he used to entertain them with recitals of the various means for the future tortures of Napoleon that he found occurring in his mind. These details were always concluded by the declaration, that he "had never YET been able to imagine any mode of death torturing and lingering enough to satisfy his vengeance." This, Sir, is the man selected by the Bourbons, for their restoration to power, for the Government of Corsica, from its immediate vicinity to the island of Elba, giving him the best possible opportunity of carrying some of his long and often admitted "*inventions*," into execution. Thus delivering up Napoleon to a spirit of detestable private vengeance, to which time and seclusion

have now united to the sagacity of reason all the energy of madness. If we attend to the evident sentiments of the French Government towards England, we shall perceive that the preservation of the life of Napoleon is of as much importance to us, as a nation, as to the French as a people, his existence being the best possible check, not only to the despotic disposition of the present French rulers towards their subjects, but to their already expressed hostile views respecting England.—F am, &c.  
*Clifton, Bristol,*      *MINUTUS.*  
 Oct. 27, 1814.

### TYTHES AND TAXES.

SIR,—It is the quantity of any thing that rules the price. If France is permitted to import her corn, the quantity is increased in England, and the price is proportionally kept down. But if the price of corn is very low, how is the English farmer to pay his tythes, taxes, &c. &c. with which the French farmer is not burdened?—The proper answer is, take off the tythes, taxes, &c. &c. from the English farmer; put him on a level with the French farmer; and let them fairly set off in the rice together. Oh! happy Revolution, that swept away, like a great broom, the Corée, the Gabelles, the Game Laws, the Fendal Laws and Rights, and the Tythes; “that turned the convents into commodious farm-buildings, the gardens of the monks into yards, their cloisters into ox stalls, and their chapels into barns, &c.” But it is said, that we cannot get rid of our taxes and tythes in England. Are we sure of this? Let our wise men, who govern so well, TRY what they can do. Much may be done, when the shouldei is put to the wheel. There are ways, and *practicable* ways, in which the tythes may be applied to the lessening of the taxes. But what then becomes of religion?—How are people to be married, baptized, and buried? How is the ground to be consecrated? How are prayers to be offered up, and sermons read, for the good of the people?—I ask, in return, how these things are brought about in France, and how they are managed in America without tythes?—But still, if these things must be; if the people are not so stupid as to be imposed on; if they must have their religion, churches, and the sacraments administered, and the ground consecrated; they must then pay the tythe, and they must be

content with being *behind* their more enlightened neighbours in *rational* prospects. But I wish to ask the people of England, whether they cannot now *begin* to do without this childishness? for if they can; if they are but thoroughly ashamed of their weakness and folly, they may then let rid of their tythes and taxes, &c. and that in a peaceable way, without the terrors and crimes of a Revolution.      A. B.

Oct. 25, 1814.

### COMPARATIVE FORCE ON LAKE ERIE.

MR. COBBETT.—Not having seen in the Public prints the comparative force of the two squadrons, as they existed on the 10th September, 1814, on Lake Erie, and not finding them particularly mentioned, in the account of ships captured by the enemy, I take the liberty of communicating it to you, that you may lay it before your most thinking people.

A Constant Reader.

BRIGS.	AMERICAN	GUNS	SWIVELS
Lawrence—Capt	P. Hest	20	
Niagara—Capt	Bl. Grabb	20	
Caledonia—Pvt	Bl. Grabb	3	
SCHOONERS			
Arcton—Lieut	Pocket	1	
Scorpion—Mid. Sup	Champl	2	
Somerset—Lieut	Almy	2	2
Tyler—Lieut	Conklin	1	
Porcupine—Mid. Sup	G. Senat	1	
SLOOP			
Trappe—Lieut	Smith		

All short 54      2  
 Total 56 Guns.

SHIPS	BRITISH.	LONG GUNS	PIVOTS	HOWITZ.
Detroit	B Barclay	19	1	
Queen Charlotte	—	17	1	
SCHOONERS				
Lady Prevost	—	13	1	
Chippewa	—	1	2	Swiss
Brig Hunter	—	10		
Sloop Little Belt	—	3		

63  
 Total 70 Guns

### PROTEST OF THE PARLIAMENT OF PARIS AGAINST THE SUPPRESSION.

We, Princes of the Blood, Dukes, and Peers of France, and we, Councillors of the Parliament of Paris, forming together the Court of Peers.—Considering, that it appears but too certain that his Majesty, penetrated with the ardent desire of securing the happiness of France, to the throne of which the love of his people has so gloriously recalled him, has been surprised by the miserable, but deceitful, illusions of a system, called liberal, that delivers into the hands of the people a considerable portion

of the Royal authority, which Legislators are always ready to obey;—Considering, that in consequence of this deceitful and melancholy system, his Majesty appointed determined himself to employ military service and that of his Crown, either the Parliament of Paris, or the Parliaments of the Provinces, the natural defenders of those Provinces.—Considering, however, that the first duty of a King of France, is to maintain and guard that magnificent and excellent edifice, the Royal Honours, the fruit of the wisdom of thirty-two reigns, and of eight ages of experience, and to maintain also the rights, franchises and liberties of the Provinces, for which purpose he takes a solemn oath at his Coronation.—That at the same Coronation, the Peers of France place the Crown on the head of the King, because it was those who freely called to the throne Hugh Capet, in 987, who have defended that Crown, and have maintained it in his ancient Family from that epoch for eight hundred years and upwards, a duration, of which the history of no Monarchy furnishes any example.—That they have punished the disturbers of public order by solemn judgments, supported by their swords, and those of their Vassals.—Considering, that the Peerage in France is essentially united to the Crown; that, in consequence, it cannot by that be abolished without the Throne experiencing the most melancholy effects, similar to those of which France and all Europe will still for a long time feel the deplorable results;—Considering, that if the right of voting imposts, and their assessment, belongs neither to it nor to other Parliaments, being alone the privilege of the States-General, and there belongs however to it as well as to other Parliaments, the right of freely registering, and in consequence of examining, whether the Ordinances issued according to the demands of the States-General, affect in any respect the rights of the Crown, or those of the provinces, of which the respective Parliaments are the defenders, the said Parliaments being no other than the immediate successors of the sovereign courts of the same provinces, before their union with the Crown, and whose preservation has always been strictly stipulated by the charters of their successive unions;—Considering, that in consequence of those principles, and because they could not be at once the makers and the revisers of the laws, it followed that neither Dukes or Peers, or Councillors

of the Parliaments, presented themselves to be elected to the former States-General—that is to say, to those which presided those of 1789, in assembly of which the convocation was illegal, null, and erroneous in its principle, one which overturned the monarchy, because it violated by its convocation the sacred and constitutional law of the equality of the representation of the three orders.—Considering, that his Majesty, in his Proclamation of the 1st of January of the present year, given in England, (not verified in any Court, and which may therefore be revoked, in doubt as to its existence or validity, not being countersigned either by the Chancellor of France, or by any Minister or Secretary of State recognized as such) has, in the excess of his paternal goodness, forgotten, that if clemency is one of the finest prerogatives of the throne, justice is its first and most inflexible duty, that it is crimes, above all, which the immutable laws of Divine justice, and those of man, who is its work-image, prohibit to go unpunished, because they sap the most material foundation of social order, for the preservation of which Kings have been appointed by the Divinity, and to whom they most tenderly are account equally severe and terrible;—That the irreparable crimes are treason against the Liberty, or the first human chief; That the latter eminently consists in raising a periodical head against the person of the Sovereign.—That in any kingdom, and above all in France, the law does not permit the Sovereign to grant a pardon to regicides, That it prohibits in France all tribunals from continuing them, or paying any regard to them; That, however, by the suppression of the Parliaments, and particularly by that of the Court of Peers, the special guardian of the rights of the Crown, the regicides seem to be protected from the undoubted inflexibility of the law, and enjoy also a nightful impunity, in contempt of the religion of his Majesty, and at which all France and Europe are justly indignant; That it is only, perhaps, to the just terror, inspired by the prompt, inflexible, and terrible justice against the factious with whom France still abounds, that they owe the false indignations by which their abolition has been obtained from his Majesty;—Considering that nothing can be more easy to his Majesty than to find in the preservation of the Court of Peers and Parliament great means of recompense for the persons whose

serviles he may wish to acknowledge, either by uniting to his truly noble and ancient Peerage the Marshals of France, and or person, ed worthy by him of high rank, or incorporating with the Parliament of Paris, and the other Parliaments, the best and most esteemed of the present Magistrate; Considering that the recal of the Parliaments will in no degree prevent his Majesty from assembling either the States General, according to the ancient forms, or the Legislative Body, whose new organization is become perfectly legal by the mode of registering in the said Courts; That in this case, as in that of the States General, the Parliaments would have no other duty to fulfil than to examine each in what concerned it, whether the laws agreed upon by his Majesty and the Legislative Body affected or not the rights of the Crown or the interests of the provinces which it would be their duty to defend and protect;—Considering besides, that the said Court, in the time of Charles VII. followed that Prince to Picquiers; that under the bayonets of Mayenne and the piquards of Seize, it declared the only legitimate King of France, Henry de Bourbon, King of Navarre, of the glorious stock of the august reigning House; that this declaration cost the lives of three of its Members—Larcher, Tardif, and Bisson; that this noble and grand devotion entitles the Court to hope, that his Majesty will never forget the service rendered to it by the glorious Henry VIII. ancestor of the reigning King, and of which that great Prince loved to recal the remembrance; saying often, on touching his pocket, in which he always carried a copy of that famous *Arret*,—“I owe my Crown to those square bonnets;—Considering that the imputations by which the ignorance of the Ministers, the jealousy of courtiers and the new philosophers have for many years sought to weaken the gratitude due to Parliaments, for the immortal and innumerable services that they have rendered the Crown and people, only bear on a small number of facts falsified or exaggerated by envy or fear, and above all by the philosophism of which the sovereign courts have always been the indefatigable enemies, that it would be easy to prove by their registers and by the precious collection of their remonstrances, that almost always their resistance has had for its motive the faults of the administration; and attempts made against the liberty of the subject, the ordinances, or against the property of individuals; That, with respect to this last subject, the Parliaments had been specially established their defenders as to taxes, and by the States of Blois in 1484, who had declared them, States on a small and limited footing, which in the absence of the said States might register, modify or refuse, the edicts of taxes; That in other circumstances, which unfortunately were too frequent, they have hindered the usurpations which persons in favour attempted with respect to the Crown or its domains, which in every age procured the Parliaments powerful and irreconcilable enemies; That this never-failing resistance of the Parliaments to Ministerial enterprises and the surprises of favourites, was precisely what should merit the most the gratitude of the sovereigns and people; That they were the moderate, sufficient and unarmed mediators between the Throne and the subject,—The said Court considering, in short, that by all these motives then Lord the King, and all Europe, may convince themselves of the necessity of preserving carefully in France the institution of Parliaments, protests solemnly at the foot of the throne, in the face of France and Europe, that the French Revolution has forced it to arm itself entirely with the innumerable evils which result anew in France, from the suppression of the said Court and the other Parliaments, born defenders of the Crown and the Princes over the rights and police of which they have for 800 years watched with a constancy, promptitude and inflexibility, which in all times have been the terror and despair of the factious;—The said Court also protests, as well in its own name as in the name of the other Parliament, that neither it nor they can be annihilated but by the consent *formally, expressly, and freely* given of all the provinces of the kingdom, and sanctioned by the King in a state of perfect and entire liberty; and after having gravely and deeply weighed the matter in his Council, with the Princes of his house, the great Officers of the Crown, the most learned, the most honest, and most notable personages of his kingdom. In faith of which we have signed as follows:—The Princes of the Blood; The Councillors of Paris; Those of the Provinces.—By H. Feirand, Councillor, Clerk of the Great Chamber of the Parliament of Paris.

TO THE PRINCE REGENT,  
ON THE AMERICAN WAR.

SIR,—During the years 1811 and 1812, while I was imprisoned in a felon's jail, for having written and caused to be printed and published an article on the subject of flogging of English Local Militiamen, at the town of Ely, in England, and about the attendance of German troops at the ceremony; while I was expiating this offence by two years imprisonment in a felon's jail, and by paying, at the close of the period, a *Thousand Pounds Fine* to you, acting in the name and behalf of your Father, who, during my imprisonment, became afflicted with his present malady; during this long period of seclusion from my home and from the wholesome air, I addressed to you several *Letters on the dispute with America*, in which Letters I endeavoured to convince you, that the dispute, if it terminated in war, might lead to very fatal consequences to this country. I, in these Letters, stated clearly the grounds of the dispute; I traced the causes of our ill blood with America to their origin; I pointed out how the dispute might be put an end to without a war; I endeavoured to shew you the probable fatal consequences of a war with that nation of free men, taking up arms *voluntarily*; and upon conviction of the goodness of their cause, I spent whole days and nights in endeavours to warn you against believing the reports of the venal wretches, who were labouring to persuade this nation, that we had only to go to war with Mr. MADISON in order to effect a *breaking up of the American Union*; and I was the more anxious on this point, as it was the general opinion, that, unless the States could be induced to *divide*, we never should long be able to cope with them in a war within their territory.

As the vanity, naturally belonging to an author, makes me conclude that you read these Letters with great attention, I will not here go into any detail on their contents. But if we now look at the state

of the war in the gross, without any particular feature being taken into view, does it not appear, that, we should have been fortunate, if my advice had been followed? We should never then have heard of the affairs of the Java, the Guinere, the Macedonia, the Avon, and many others; nor should we have ever heard of the battles of Lake Ontario and Lake Champlain.

For the present I will confine myself to this last-mentioned battle, which has excited great attention all over Europe, and has called forth, on the victors, the most unqualified expressions of praise and admiration from our neighbours, the French, where, be it observed, nothing is published but with the consent of the Government.

This is a *naval* affair. An affair *purely naval*. There appears to have been no accidental circumstance to affect it. The force on each side was as nearly equal as need be, in order to come at a *proof of the relative merits of the two fleets*. The battle, therefore, will be considered of ten thousand times more importance in this light than in the light of its effects upon the campaign in Canada. But before I proceed to the *consequences* of this battle, I think it best to say a word or two upon the subject of the *place* where the battle was fought. Lake Champlain is partly in your Father's Provinces of Canada, and partly in the territory of the Republic of America. It is, perhaps, 150 miles long, and from half a mile to 10 or 15 miles wide. I do not know that I can much better describe it than by comparing it to the SERPENTINE RIVER, in Hyde Park, which is fed out of the Lakes in Kensington Gardens. The boundary line across Lake Champlain is very neatly and *aptly* represented by the embankment and bridge, which separate the upper from the lower part of the Serpentine River, and the ponds and ditches, leading from that separation down through Chelsea to the Thames, very luckily come to represent the British part of Lake Champlain, which empties its overflowings into the St. Lawrence, between Montreal and Quebec, and which is the only highway from the Re-

publican territory to those two chief seats of the power of the house of Brunswick in that country.

Whether it was this strong resemblance, in the shape of Lake Champlain and that of the Serpentine River, which led, some few months ago, to the ingenious device of exhibiting hostile fleets in miniature on the latter, I have not been informed; but, there are few persons, in this country, I believe, who do not sorely grieve to think, that, in the battles upon these two waters, the representation should have differed so widely from that reality, the accounts of which have recently come to hand. The battle on the Serpentine River, though contested, for some time, pretty stoutly by the Yankees, was, at last, decided in our favour. Britannia, I am told, (for I saw it not) with the trident of Neptune in her hand, was seen crowning her sons with bay, while poor JONATHAN, with his lank hair hanging over his drooping head, stood a captive under his own flag, which was *hanging reversed* under that of your Royal House; thereby indicating, not only a naval superiority over the Yankees, but anticipating, that, whenever they should dare to meet us, they would be beaten and captured. There was not, I believe, an opportunity of exhibiting this scene to the Emperor of Russia and the King of Prussia, who were thus deprived of a sight of those signs of extatic delight, which the people expressed, and of a hearing of their heart-cheering shouts, when they saw poor JONATHAN haul down his colours, and when they heard the martial bands strike up "*Rule Britannia, Britannia rule the Waves!*" in the chorus of which they joined with their half a million of male and female voices, till the sound seemed to fill all the space between the earth and the sky. The Foreign Sovereigns were, for want of time, deprived of this sight. But, in the harbour of Portsmouth, on the day of your arrival there, in company with them, I myself saw, on board of some ships, the flag of poor JONATHAN again reversed, and hanging under that of your Royal House.

Alas, Sir! how different has been the reality from the anticipating representation! upon Lake Champlain, that Serpentine River on a grand scale, how different has been the event from that of the representation, which drew forth the air-rending shouts of half a million of the people of this country! Aye, of half a million of a people,

on whom it is no more than a just eulogium to say, that they are, in every respect, worthy of being the subjects of the King that reigns over them, and of the Regent, who acts in the name and behalf of that King! There are some few exceptions, to be sure, some few malcontents; some few, whom neither King nor God can please. But, speaking of them in a mass, your Father's people are worthy of such a Sovereign, and such a Sovereign is worthy of such a people.

To return to the battle of Lake Champlain, I have deeply to lament, that WE HAVE NOT HAD ANY OFFICIAL ACCOUNTS PUBLISHED RESPECTING IT, and yet it is now the 7th of November. It is not for me to presume to know, or even to guess, *why* no such account has been published. So far am I from attempting to *find fault*, upon this occasion, with the men in power, that I am not even disposed to inquire into their motives for not publishing the account in question. I am quite willing to allow, that they are the best possible judges of what they are about, that they know best when to publish and when to be silent. But I may, and I must lament their not publishing; because, in the meanwhile, the *Republican* account is gone forth to the world, and which account is calculated to make a most injurious impression upon the world, particularly with regard to the relative value of the naval characters of the Republic of America, and of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland. If the Republican account be true, the event was, in this view of it, the most fatal that can be imagined; for, not only were your Royal Father's ships *superior* in both *men and guns*, not only was his Majesty's fleet *beaten* by the Republicans under such circumstances, but it was *taken*, all taken, and that, too, *without any very great slaughter!* The Republican account is as follows; and, as you will perceive, it is published from that very city of Washington, the public edifices of which your Royal Father's fleet and army so recently burnt to the ground.

"WASHINGTON, SEPT. 10.

*Copy of a Letter from Commodore M'Donough to the Secretary of the Navy, dated United States ship Saratoga off Plattsburg, Sept. 11*

"SIR—The Almighty has been pleased to grant us a signal victory on Lake Champlain, in the capture of one frigate, one brig, and two sloops of war of the enemy. I have the honour to be, very respect-

"fully, Sir, your obedient servant,—  
 "(signed) T. MACDONOUGH, Com  
 "Hon. W. Jones, Secrelary of the Navy  
 "The whole of our force on the Lake,  
 "independent of the captured British  
 "ships, is

"Ship Saratoga, Commodore Macdonough 26  
 "Brig Surprise, Master and Commandant  
 "Hitley . . . . . 20  
 "Schooner Trcondroga, do Cassin . . . 20  
 "Sloop Piche, do . . . . . 7  
 "Do Montgomery, Sailing Master . . 7  
 "Do President, Master's Mate Fiechom 10  
 "Six new Row Gallies; the Santepead,  
 "Viper, Nettle, Borer, Burrows, and  
 "Allen, each mounting a 21 and a short  
 "18-pounder . . . . . 12  
 "Row Gallies, Nos 1, 2, 3, and 4, the two  
 "former mounting each a long 9, and the  
 "two latter each a long 12-pounder . . 4

Total . . . . . 103

	BRITISH.		Killed.	Wounded.
	Guns	Men.		
"Large Ship . . . . .	19	300	50	60
"Brig . . . . .	16	120	20	30
"Howler . . . . .	11	40	6	10
"Eagle . . . . .	11	40	8	10
"11 Gun-boats . . . . .	16	550	2 probably sunk	
Total . . . . .	93	1050	84	110

"Several of the gun-boats struck, but the  
 "sinking state of the large vessels required the  
 "assistance of the men in our gallees, so that  
 "not being able to take possession of them,  
 "they were able to save themselves by flight

	AMERICAN.		Killed.	Wounded.
	Guns	Men		
"Saratoga ship . . . . .	25	210	26	20
"Eagle brig . . . . .	50	120	17	27
"Trcondroga, sch . . . . .	17	110	6	6
"Piche, sloop . . . . .	7	90	1	1
"10 Gun-boats . . . . .	11	350	3	3
Total . . . . .	86	820	49	57

Thus, Sir, if this account be true, (for I do only speak hypothetically) the royal fleet had more guns and more men than the Republican fleet, and yet the royal fleet was not only beaten but all CAPTURED! This American Commodore is very laconic. He does not seem to have regarded such an event as worthy of any very particular detail. He does not seem to have observed any particular instance of courage or skill in his officers and men. In short, he seems to have thought, that what had happened was no more than what his country would expect, notwithstanding all that the people of England had seen on the Serpentine River. He talks of no difficulties, no dangers, no resistance; and, if the account be true, he took the whole fleet before he had killed and wounded a fifth part of its men, and before he had lost, in killed and wounded, only about an eighth part of his own men. Mr. Madison, in his account, if it may be so called, of the battle, is still more provoking-

ly laconic and reserved. He says: "The British squadron lately came into action with the American on Lake Champlain. It issued in the capture of the whole of the enemy's ships. The best praise of Captain Macdonough, and his intrepid comrades, is the *illness* of his triumph to the illustrious victory which immortalized another officer on another Lake." Thus hinting to the world, that such events as this are *nothing new*. Mr. Madison, it was anticipated by the sages, who write in the *Times* newspaper, would talk very big about this victory, and thereby blind the people with regard to their dangers. He seems to have been determined to make them false prophets. He does but just notice this victory in a transient sort of way, and dwells with great force and with studious care on the dangers which the people of the Republic have to meet.

Now, Sir, this Republican account is either true or false. I do not pretend to say that it is true, though it has not been officially contradicted in any one particular, and though my brother journalists seem, by implication, at least, to admit the truth of it. I have not, I do not, and I will not say, that it is true, even should every other man in the kingdom say it. But, I humbly presume, that I may venture to assert, that it is either true or false. If looked on as true, it certainly must produce, and must already have produced, a very great effect on the minds of thinking men in all those parts of the world, to which a knowledge of it has extended. It will produce this effect. It will cause it to be believed, that a ship of the royal navy of Great Britain is not equal to the task of combating a ship of equal force belonging to the Republic of America, commanded by officers and manned by men of that Republic. It is impossible for any man, not a fool, or not blinded by some sort of passion, to be ignorant, that such must be the effect of this battle, if the Republican account of it pass for true. It is equally impossible for any man to hope, that it will not pass for true, until it be explicitly and officially stated to be false, and until it be also proved to be false. The world will naturally ask how it has happened, that the British Government, who are so exact in publishing every account of our naval operations, who do not omit the capture of a merchant ship, whereof a history is sent to John Wilson Croker, Esq. should have been so backward upon this particular oc-



casian ; that the people, who witnessed the anticipating representations on the Serpentine River, and who are so eager for news from America, should not yet have been officially informed of the battle of Lake Champlain, though a mention of it has reached Europe, and even England, in the President's Speech. The world will naturally ask *how* this has happened. The world, Sir, looks very anxiously towards the Republic. They see in her a power rising fast to a rivalry with us. They look towards her with rather more than the eyes of impartiality. Our navy has excited great jealousy and envy in the world. That navy the world wishes to see matched, or, at least, held in check. This is not at all wonderful, but, for my part, I shall not state what I look upon as the true causes of it.—As a proof of the sentiments prevalent upon this subject in France, I here quote an article from a French paper of the 30th of September.—“ON THE SITUATION OF THE UNITED STATES.—The capture of Washington has made a great deal of noise in Europe. It was generally believed, on the credit of the London newspapers, that that event would have a decisive influence on the war which rages between Great Britain and the United States. Already people were expecting to see the American Government humbly soliciting peace, and submitting to all the conditions which it might please the Cabinet of St. James's to impose upon it. Some persons, who judge of the United States from the old nations of Europe, confidently announced the dissolution of the American Republic, and did not conceive what could exist after the every way reprehensible destruction of the Capitol and other public buildings of Washington. It seemed to them that that name city was the Palladium of America, and that its fall must draw along with it that of all the States which compose this great and fine Confederation. Profound alarm, it was said, had seized all the inhabitants of the United States, every province was hastening to deprecate British vengeance, by detaching itself from the Federal Union. Boston, Philadelphia, Baltimore, New York, Charleston, Savannah, were on the point of opening their gates to the conqueror, and restoring the colonial system of England. The better informed, however, were far from participating in this opinion. They knew

“that the great majority of the Americans were attached to their Government, and would deem no effort too painful to support their independence.—There is much talk of the parties which exist in the United States, but these parties are not factious. They never fail to unite when the country is in danger. In America, as in England, men dispute about the acquisition of power, but their patriotism is never shaken. Their very discussions nourish public spirit, and elevate national pride and the sacred love of liberty above every other sentiment.—The strength of the United States is not in the maritime towns; it lies in that numerous population who cultivate the ground, and seek subsistence in the midst of forests. These hardy cultivators, these indefatigable hunters, form excellent troops, easily disciplined, and who brave every fatigue and danger. They are the sons of the men who triumphed at Saratoga and Bunker's-hill. The recollection of these exploits still animates their courage. This inheritance of glory is a national property which they will transmit entire to their descendants.—These hunters, known by the name of Riflemen, are formidable enemies. They use muskets of a particular kind, and at the distance of 200 paces they seldom miss their aim. In the war of independence they did a great deal of mischief to the English armies, and deprived them of a prodigious number of officers.—It appears certain that the expedition to the Chesapeake, under Admiral Cochrane, had for its object to force the American Government to recall the troops which menace the frontiers of Upper and Lower Canada. This diversion would have been advantageous to the English, but it did not succeed. While the efforts of the British army expired before Baltimore, the Americans were destroying the English fleet on Lake Champlain, and beating the army of Canada, which retired with considerable loss in men and stores.—On this occasion we have heard mention, for the first time, of those famous militia of the State of Vermont, who so gloriously distinguished themselves in the last war, under the name of *Green Mountain Boys*. They have lost neither their courage nor their renown.—The defeat of the English on Lake Champlain exposes the frontiers of Lower Canada. If from Plattsburg the Americans pro-

"ced to St. John's, a little town badly for-  
 "tified at the head of the Lake, they can  
 "arrive in two marches on the banks of the  
 "river St. Lawrence, opposite Montreal,  
 "and make themselves masters of the  
 "beautiful plain of Chamblé, the most  
 "abundant of all Canada in pasturage and  
 "grain.—It is not on the coasts that the  
 "fate of the war will be decided, but in the  
 "interior of the country, and on the  
 "banks of Lakes Champlain and On-  
 "tario.—The English are good sol-  
 "diers, they possess both honour and cou-  
 "rage, but the war they have undertaken  
 "against the United States does not de-  
 "pend either on a maritime expedition, or  
 "on a battle gained. Obligated to fight at  
 "a great distance from their country,  
 "they repair with difficulty their losses,  
 "either in men or ammunition, whilst the  
 "Americans easily recruit themselves.—  
 "The expenses of England are enormous,  
 "as we may judge from the price of a  
 "single piece of cannon transported to  
 "Lake Ontario. It is estimated to have  
 "cost a thousand guineas. The British  
 "Ministry thought, no doubt, that, in  
 "taking advantage of their maritime su-  
 "periority to insult the shores of the Uni-  
 "ted States, and to menace the commer-  
 "cial towns with complete destruction,  
 "they would have produced in that coun-  
 "try a powerful opposition, which would  
 "compel the American Government to  
 "sue for peace. This expectation must  
 "be disappointed—it shows how little  
 "America is known in Europe. The  
 "actual Government does not want the  
 "support of what is called *the commercial*  
 "*interest*, it derives all its force from the  
 "frank and generous adhesion of the far-  
 "mers, who are the most enlightened men  
 "in the United States, and the most at-  
 "tached to their country.—Besides, the  
 "burning of Washington, instead of abate-  
 "ing their courage, has only tended to  
 "irritate them against an enemy who  
 "tramples on the principles adopted by ci-  
 "vilised nations. Mr. Madison, who en-  
 "joys the highest honour that can be de-  
 "sired—that of presiding over the destiny  
 "of a free people; Mr. Madison, I say,  
 "displays a noble character. All the Ame-  
 "ricans rally at his voice; and resolutions,  
 "full of energy and patriotism, have al-  
 "ready been adopted, in the greater part  
 "of the towns which are most exposed to  
 "bombardment and to *Congreve's rockets*.  
 "The war has become national; and the

"Americans, who have fought courageously,  
 "will henceforth fight with fury.—  
 "It is not very difficult to foresee the issue  
 "of this sanguinary contest, too long main-  
 "tained for the honour of humanity. After  
 "wasting herself in vain efforts, *England*  
 "*will be forced to grant peace on condi-*  
 "*tions advantageous to the United States,*  
 "and ought to think herself too happy in  
 "preserving her empire over Nova Scotia  
 "and the two Canadas. I expect that  
 "these reflections, intended to enlighten  
 "the numerous readers of the *Journal de*  
 "*Paris*, upon a war more important than  
 "is generally supposed, will excite the  
 "indignation of the English Journalists.  
 "Those gentlemen attribute to themselves  
 "the exclusive privilege of reasoning upon  
 "events, and they are indiscreet enough  
 "to consider the Americans as rebels, but  
 "this consideration will never prevent me  
 "from speaking the truth, and making  
 "known freely an opinion which I believe  
 "to be just. Nobody esteems the English  
 "nation more than I do, but I confess I  
 "should be much vexed, if she obtained  
 "decisive advantages over the United  
 "States. She needs neither an increase  
 "of influence, nor an accession of terri-  
 "tory. Her interest imperiously com-  
 "mands her to respect the rights and inde-  
 "pendence of other people, and no longer  
 "to weary fortune."—This, Sir, is the  
 "language of the French, these are *their*  
 "sentiments upon this war against the  
 "American Republic. She has a friend  
 "in every *people* in Europe, the people of  
 "this country excepted. The world wishes  
 "success to the American Republic, because  
 "the world envies England her power. The  
 "result of the battle of Lake Champlain  
 "has, perhaps, caused more real rejoicing  
 "than ever was caused by any battle in Eu-  
 "rope, during the last twenty years.

In your *Speech* of the 8th instant, an  
 account of which I have now before me,  
 the newspapers report you to have said,  
 that, "Notwithstanding the *reverse* which  
 "APPEARS to have OCCURRED on  
 "Lake Champlain, you entertain the *most*  
 "*confident expectations*, as well from the  
 "amount as from the description of the  
 "force now serving in Canada, that the  
 "ascendancy of his Majesty's arms through-  
 "out that part of North America, will be  
 "effectually secured." From this it would  
 "seem, that the "*reverse*" on Lake Cham-  
 "plain is not yet ascertained by your Cab-  
 "inet; that it only *appears* that there has

been a "reverse." A reverse I have always understood to mean, a check *after a series of victorics*. Whether this be the character of the "occurrence" in question I must leave for able judges to decide. But I am quite rejoiced to hear, that you entertain such "confident expectations" of seeing the "ascendancy" of his Majesty's arms "secured" in Canada, because I felt, with many others, some fear upon this score, when I found, that an army of fourteen or fifteen thousand men, under the Commander-in-Chief in person, had, retreated, in haste, and with great loss, from before a fortress, containing five or six thousand Americans. The Republican Commander asserts, that he captured a considerable part of our army, having, by his *militia* and *volunteers*, pursued it a considerable distance on its retreat. Unless this account be false, there appears to me still to be some little room for fear, that the ascendancy of his Majesty's arms, in that quarter, will not be maintained. You say, as the newspapers tell us, that you build your confident expectations on the amount as well as the description of the force now serving in Canada. But this force is exactly the same that appeared before the fort at Plattsburg. It is not changed since that time; nor has there been any change in the force of the enemy. So that, to me, it does not, I must confess, appear at all likely, that the prospect in Canada should brighten before another campaign has made some very material change in our favour. It is said, that Sir George Prevost is recalled. If that could give us an advantage over the Yankees; if that could defeat their triumphant fleets, the measure would be of great value.

The newspapers state, that you spoke of "the brilliant and successful operations" in the Chesapeake and at the City of "Washington." Having lately had the misfortune to see a couple of my barns on fire, I can the better conceive the brilliancy of the scene at Washington. But, Sir, while this scene was exhibited there, unfortunately the Republicans were rallying from Fort Erie on the army of General Drummond, and the fatal battle was preparing on Lake Champlain. What are the operations in the Chesapeake, when we look towards Canada? If, indeed, we had been able to REMAIN at Washington, the case would have been different. So far from that, our Commander stated, that he hastened away, leaving several of his

wounded officers behind him, because he feared that the militia might collect, and cut off his retreat to the ships. Incursions like this are not much thought of in the world, when men are talking of the probable result of a war. It is true, that the character of our movements in the Chesapeake "has produced on the minds of the inhabitants a deep and sensible impression." But if I am to judge from the Message of Mr. Madison, that impression is one of the most resolute hostility towards England; and, from every thing that I hear from that country, I am convinced, that a disposition to yield to us, in any one point, was never so far from the breasts of the Republicans as since our operations in the Chesapeake. However, we shall not now be many days before we KNOW for a certainty what the American people say, and what they think upon the subject of the war. For the Congress will go into Committees on the matters mentioned in the President's Message. Those Committees will make Reports, expressive of their opinions. These Reports will be discussed in the Senate and the House of Representatives. When agreed to they will be published. When published they will express the sentiments of the unbought, unsold Representatives of a whole people, those Representatives being chosen by the free voices of all the men in the country, who pay taxes to the amount of only a penny in a year.—There can be no room for doubt in such a case. No one can pretend to say, that the Congress does not speak the voice of the people. It must speak the people's voice. It is elected for a very short space of time. The people have the power to turn out any Member in a few months after he displeases them. All the people see. They all look narrowly to the conduct of those whom they have sent to the Congress. And, therefore, whatever the Congress says, we may be well assured the people themselves say. I dwell with more earnestness upon this point, because our venal prints have long been labouring to persuade us, that the American people are opposed to their Government, and because you are reported to have talked of the war begun against us by "the Government" of America. The Government, in that country, does not mean any man, or set of men, who rule over a people, who command a people, to whom the people owe allegiance. The people of America acknowledge the exist-

ence of no such a power, of no such a thing. They look upon the Government as consisting of *their agents*, persons appointed and paid by them for conducting their public affairs. They look upon these persons as no more than their fellow citizens. They are the learned and most wise of their fellow citizens, to be sure, but, still, their fellow citizens. The persons so employed have not the power to do that which the people disapprove of, nor can they have the inclination, seeing that they have *no interest* to do that which the people dislike. There is none of them who can have any private interest in war; none of them can gain by war. It is impossible to fatten their families by the means of a public expenditure, and, as to *patronage*, they know of no such thing, nor could they derive any advantage from it, if they had it. Therefore, whatever the Congress says, you may be sure the people say, in spite of all the malicious and silly assertions of our public printers, whose efforts are continually directed to mislead the people of this country whose want of information renders them the easy dupes of these designing knaves, having a corrupt press in their hands.

It is stated, in the newspapers, that you, in your Speech, said that this war originated in the "MOST UNPROVOKED AGGRESSION on the part of the Government of the United States." It is to be lamented, that you did not take this opportunity of contradicting, in a pointed manner, the assertion contained in Mr. Madison's late Message; because he, most explicitly asserts, that *we were the aggressors*. He says—"Having forbore to declare war until to other aggressions had been added the capture of nearly one thousand American vessels, and the imprisonment of thousands of sea-faring citizens, and until a final declaration had been made by the Government of Great Britain, that her hostile orders against our commerce would not be revoked, but on conditions as impossible as unjust, whilst it was known that these orders would not otherwise cease but with a war, which had lasted nearly twenty years, and which, according to appearance at that time, might last as many more—having manifested on every occasion and in every proper mode, a sincere desire to meet the enemy on the ground of justice, our resolution to defend our beloved country, and to oppose to the enemy's persevering hostility all

"our energy, with an undiminished disposition towards peace and friendship on honourable terms, must carry with it the good wishes of the impartial world, and the best hopes of support from an omnipotent and kind Providence."—Now, Sir, what I could have wished to see was a contradiction of this assertion with regard to these *thousand vessels* and these *thousands of impressed American citizens*. You may be well assured, that this Message will be read with deep and general interest on the Continent of Europe. This Message and your Speech are before the world. Not before this nation only, but before all the nations in the world. Every man will form his own judgment upon them. It is not reasonable to suppose that Mr. Madison's assertion will be disbelieved, unless it be proved to be false. It may do here for our public prints to call him, as they do, "*liar, fool, traitor, usurper, coward*," and the like. This may satisfy those who inhabit the country through which runs the Serpentine River; but it will have no weight, or, at least, no weight against Mr. Madison, in other countries. His assertion, therefore, relative to the *thousand vessels* and the *thousands of impressed sea-faring citizens* I could wish very much to see contradicted and disproved in some official and authentic way; for, until that be done, I am afraid, that we may lay our account with his being believed by a great majority of the world. And, if he be believed, if the world do believe, that we really did *capture a thousand Republican vessels*; that we really did *impress thousands of sea-faring citizens* before the Congress declared war, I am afraid that it must be doubted whether the declaration of war was wholly an *unprovoked* aggression on the part of America. I am aware, that there will be no doubt upon the subject in this country, which never was engaged in any war so popular as this. I relieve, that, if the whole nation, paupers and all, were put to the vote, that there would appear for the war nine hundred and ninety-nine out of every thousand. The press worked up the people to the war itch, where it keeps them. There are prevalent these notions:—1st, that the Republic joined Napoleon in the war against us; 2d, that we are now able to *punish* her for this; 3d, that she went to war for the purpose of robbing us of *maritime rights* essential to our *very existence*; 4th, that she may, *now, now, now!* be crippled for

ever; 5th, that we ought, at least, to continue the war, 'till we have *effaced*, by victories over the Republican ships, the recollection of the affairs of the Java, the Guerriere, the Macedonia, the Avon, and of those on the Lakes. Then the events in the Chesapeake, and the description of them, have caused the nation to look upon the Republicans as cowards. This is very inconsistent with the before-mentioned notion; but it prevails. So, that, here are all sorts of ingredients necessary to make a war popular, and popular it is beyond every thing that ever was popular. It is quite useless for any one to attempt to remove any of these notions, which have taken fast hold, and which it will require some years of war to shake. *Jonathan*, therefore, has no ground for reliance on any *opposition* in this country. The opposition in Parliament will only be as to the *mode* of prosecuting the war. If they censure, the burden of their censure will be, not against the war, but against those who have *not done enough* against the enemy. The war, therefore, has popularity to recommend it. This I allow, and, in so doing, I have the mortification to confess, that all my labours against the war have proved wholly useless. Still I think myself bound to endeavour, as occasion may offer, to give my reason against its further continuance.

I was happy to see, in the newspaper report of your Speech, that you have "*a sincere desire to bring this war to a conclusion on just and honourable terms*;" and as Mr. Madison expresses the same desire, let me hope, that the conclusion of the war may soon take place, without waiting till more sea battles have effaced the recollection of those which have already taken place. But, Sir, what a pity it is that the war did not end with the war in Europe. What a pity it is that Mr. Madison has to complain of *delay*, on our part to give effect to our own proposition for a direct negotiation, after we had refused the offer of the mediation of our own ally the Emperor of Russia! And what a pity it is, that the American people have, in our public prints, seen so much abuse of their Chief Magistrate, and so many threats to *reconquer* their country!

Since writing the above, the *debates* on your Speech have reached me. With the exception of Mr. Whitbread and Sir Gilbert Heathcote, all agreed, that America was the *aggressor* in the war; and, as was anticipated, the only fault imputed to the

Minister was, that they had been *remiss* in their measures against her; though, on the other hand, it is reported of one member who moved the Address, that he said, that "*our successes against her had been UNVARIED.*" The First Lord of the Admiralty stated, that he had not received the official account of the *capture of Lake Champlain*, which, besides, appeared, from the language of the two Houses, to be considered as but a *trifling* sort of a thing, unworthy of any very particular notice. The speech of Mr. Whitbread was long, and, therefore, cannot be inserted here; but that of Sir Gilbert Heathcote shall have a place in this letter. And, as you cannot suspect him of any disloyal motive, I hope you will give his words a patient attention.

SIR GILBERT HEATHCOTE rose and observed, that it would have been most satisfactory to have heard from Ministers that the negotiations at Ghent were going on favourably. That he could not approve of that part of the Address which promised further support in the American war, inasmuch as *the cause of the dispute had ceased since the general pacification on the Continent*. When we withdrew our Orders in Council the Americans had resumed their Retaliative Acts, so that the right of searching American ships for British seamen alone, remained as a subject of controversy.

When peace was established throughout Europe we could not think of exercising that right, so that this last point of contention *fell to the ground naturally*.

The war must, therefore, be carried on for *other reasons*, for the sake of what *might happen*, and not for any *present grievance*. He thought the situation of the country did not warrant Ministers in doing this. Were our finances so flourishing, the property tax a burthen so light, and easy, that it mattered not what might be the amount of the annual national expenditure. There might be some pretext for Ministers to keep on some of the late war taxes, after the country was placed on a peace establishment, provided there was an excess of expenditure, to make up any deficiency in balancing the accounts, but no pretext whatever for retaining such imposts for the prosecution of a war which appeared unnecessary. It appeared to him *that we feared the rising power of America, and wished to curtail it*. This

“was an important feature in this war, for  
 “if persevered in we must be prepared to  
 “*completely subjugate our enemy*, or we  
 “should be in a worse state than we now  
 “*were*. We had tried to subdue America  
 “thirty years ago, and had failed, when  
 “she was nothing like so powerful as at  
 “present. We should recollect how we  
 “left France situated, whilst we were en-  
 “gaged in this contest, she was at pro-  
 “found peace, recovering from her wounds,  
 “and if the war was protracted, or unpros-  
 “perous, *she might join America or attack*  
 “*us herself*. A strange policy seemed to  
 “be pursued, whilst we were waging war  
 “in America to prevent her becoming a  
 “powerful naval State, close at home, in  
 “Flanders, we were creating one. Let  
 “us recollect to mind the history of the reign  
 “of Charles the Second, or, in latter times,  
 “the politics of the Dutch Cabinet, pre-  
 “vious to the engagement off the Dogger  
 “Bank in 1781, and the march of the  
 “Prussian Army under the late Duke of  
 “Brunswick into Holland in 1787. Would  
 “any one, having a knowledge of these  
 “transactions, believe that our Ministers  
 “would, in all times to come, be able so to  
 “manage the Dutch Cabinet, so to erad-  
 “icate all French influence there, as that  
 “power we are now creating may not, at  
 “no very distant time, become highly dan-  
 “gerous to the naval supremacy of this  
 “country. With respect to the conduct  
 “of the war, he did not wish now to enter  
 “into it, he was *against the war alto-*  
 “*gether*.—In the contests we must ex-  
 “pect the alternate vicissitudes of fortune.  
 “He had always understood that Sir  
 “George Prevost was both a brave and  
 “intelligent man, and, no doubt, he had  
 “good reasons for what he had done.  
 “That in a country like America, after  
 “having lost the naval support, on which  
 “depended the provisioning the army, and  
 “conveyance of military stores, with the  
 “remembrance of Saratoga and York  
 “Town, he must have been a bold man  
 “indeed who would have placed himself,  
 “by advancing into the country, *in a si-*  
 “*tuation to be surrounded*. What has  
 “been said in the public prints of the *mor-*  
 “*tification felt by the troops which had*  
 “*been sent from Spain*, he believed, if more  
 “confidence was placed in *their exertions*  
 “than on those of the rest of the army, we  
 “should be disappointed. In the outset of  
 “the last American war, it was boasted  
 “here, that a battalion of British troops

“would march across that continent. The  
 “flower of our army was sent, and com-  
 “manded by Officers who had served with  
 “reputation in the German war under  
 “Prince Ferdinand. The result is well  
 “known;—those troops, as brave as any in  
 “the world, were compelled, at two differ-  
 “ent epochs, *to lay down their arms to the*  
 “*new raised levies of America*. He was  
 “*against the continuance of the war.*”

I agree with Sir Gilbert Heathcote in  
 every word that he uttered. But he was  
 almost alone. He had but *one* member  
 with him. Thus, then, we are to go on  
 with this war. A battle is to be fought  
 now between the whole of our navy and  
 army and those of the Republic of Ame-  
 rica. She will not shy the fight. She is  
 ready for us. The world is now going to  
 witness *the fall of the last Republic*, or the  
*decline of the naval power of England*.  
 There will be no medium after another  
 year of war. We must completely subju-  
 gate the Americans; or openly fall before  
 them. We must *beat them*; or they must  
*beat us*; and the beating must last during  
 the existence of the parties.

Mr Whitbread asked if there was now  
 any *new ground* of the war. Any *new*  
*object*. Nobody avowed that there was.  
 But I fear the Americans will bear in  
 mind, that the moment Napoleon was sub-  
 dued, and our alarms in Europe were at  
 an end, our public prints, the most patro-  
 nised, openly proclaimed to the nation, that  
 the object now ought to be to *subdue* the  
 American Republic, and to bring her back  
 to the *parent State*. And, which is never  
 to be forgotten, the whole of the London  
 prints, in giving what they call a Report of  
 the Debates in Parliament, published a re-  
 port of a speech, which they gave as Sir  
 Joseph Yorke's, who was one of the *Lords*  
*of the Admiralty*, and in which reported  
 speech it was stated, that, though Napo-  
 leon was *deposed*, we must not yet lay aside  
 our Navy, seeing that we had another per-  
 son to *depose*, namely Mr. Madison. Far  
 be it from me to assert, that Sir Joseph  
 Yorke really did utter this speech; but it  
 is very certain, that it was published as his  
 speech in all the London newspapers; that  
 it was so received all over the kingdom,  
 and that its sentiments met with universal  
 approbation. The language of the prin-  
 cipal London prints has been, from that day  
 to this, in perfect harmony with the tenor  
 of this speech; and when the news of the  
 burning of the buildings of the City of

Washington arrived, it was the common notion, that a *Face-Roy* was about to be sent thither to represent, and govern in the name of your Royal Father. Nay, I verily believe, that, if the war ceases without our reconquering the Americans, as the chances are that it may, the people of England will be utterly astonished and confounded! So that JONATHAN must stand clear, for we are now safely launched against him. It is, in my opinion, idle to expect peace with America in a less space than six or seven years; for, I am morally certain, that JONATHAN will not give in. He, as Lord Melville very justly observed, is at home; he has all his men and tools upon the spot; he has been bred to the rifle from his cradle; he has a cheap Government, or, rather, he loves to govern himself, and, though he may not always feel bold, he will, first and last, give us a good long tough battle. JONATHAN, still is not subject to fits and starts in his politics and notions of Government. We found no rabble at the City of Washington to cry "*vivent nos ennemis alliés*," as did the *cannaille* at Paris. Men must submit to a musket or a bayonet at their breasts; but we shall, I am of opinion, not find submission go much further before us in America.

Mr. WHITEHEAD is deceived in supposing, that it is the mere burning of the buildings of Washington, which has *united*, as he calls it, all parties in America.—There never was any party our friend in opposition to their own Government. All parties cried out against our conduct. All parties cried out against what Mr. Madison complains of now. And, as to a *separation of the States* for our sake, no one but a down right thought of such a thing. It was always a false notion. There never was any ground for it; and experience will shew us, that, in this respect, this nation has been listening to knaves, who were seeking their own interests in urging us on to the war.

I am well aware, that we shall do JONATHAN an infinite deal of *present mischief*. And he seems aware of it too. Mr. Madison takes great pains to give his constituents a strong sense of the violent hostility they have to encounter. They are *armed*, even at this moment, getting ready their powder and ball, their rifles and their swords, their bayonets and accoutrements. There will not be a man unarmed, or unprepared for battle, before the opening of

the next campaign. A million of free men in arms will be ready to receive whoever shall march against them. The debates in our Parliament, the language of our newspapers, which JONATHAN knows so well how to estimate, will urge him on to measures of preparation. He is expediting in these matters beyond all nations upon earth. The battle will be a battle fit to engage the attention of the world. I have often been rebuked for endeavouring to draw the public attention to American affairs. I have never been able to persuade any body, that America was of any consequence. She has now become of consequence, and, if the war go on, as I fear it will, she will soon be of most fearful importance in the view of every nation in Europe.

Perhaps you do not know, that the *present* injuries, which we are able to inflict on America, are the greatest of blessings in the eyes of some of her statesmen. They have always wished for something that would separate her as widely as possible from Great Britain. Whether wisely or not is another matter. They have always wished it; and, if they can see this accomplished by the destruction of twenty or thirty towns on the coast, they will think the acquisition wonderfully cheap.

"When to marry or to fight," is come are, "both parties are equally eager," they "soon get together." Both parties are in earnest and eager in this case; and they will soon reach one another, though the distance between them is so great. The battle will be a famous one. A great *Kingdom*, the mistress of the sea and dictator of Europe, on the one side; and the *List of Republics* on the other. Not only the question of maritime rights is now to be decided; but the question of the nature of Governments. The world is now going to see, whether a Republic, without a standing army, with half a dozen frigates, and with a Chief Magistrate with a salary of about *five thousand pounds a year*, be able to contend, single-handed, against a kingdom with a thousand ships of war, an army of two hundred men, and with a Royal Family, whose civil list amounts to more than a million pounds a year. Nothing was ever so interesting as this spectacle. May the end be favourable to the honour and happiness of this country and mankind in general!

I am, &c. &c.

WM. COBBETT

SPFCH OF THE PRINCE REGENT ON THE  
OPENING OF PARLIAMENT, ON TUES  
DAY, NOVEMBER 8, 1814.

*My Lords and Gentlemen,*

It is with deep regret that I am again obliged to announce the continuance of his Majesty's lamented indisposition.—It would have given me great satisfaction to have been enabled to communicate to you the termination of the war between this country and the United States of America.—Although this war originated in the most unprovoked aggression on the part of the Government of the United States, and was calculated to promote the designs of the common enemy of Europe against the rights and independence of all other nations, I never have ceased to entertain a sincere desire to bring it to a conclusion on just and honourable terms. I am still engaged in negotiations for this purpose.—The success of them must, however, depend on my disposition being met with corresponding sentiments on the part of the enemy.—The operations of his Majesty's forces by sea and land in the Chesapeake, in the course of the present year, have been attended with the most brilliant and successful results.—The flotilla of the enemy in the Patuxent has been destroyed.—The signal defeat of their land forces enabled a detachment of his Majesty's army to take possession of the city of Washington, and the spirit of enterprise which has characterised all the movements in that quarter, has produced on the inhabitants a deep and sensible impression of the calamities of a war in which they have been so wantonly involved.—The expedition directed from Halifax to the Northern coast of the United States has terminated in a manner not less satisfactory.—The successful course of this operation has been followed by the immediate submission of the extensive and important district east of the Penobscot river to his Majesty's arms.—In adverting to these events I am confident you will be disposed to render full justice to the valour and discipline which have distinguished his Majesty's land and sea forces; and you will regret with me the severe loss the country has sustained by the fall of the gallant Commander of his Majesty's troops in the advance upon Baltimore.—I availed myself of the earliest opportunity afforded by the state of affairs in Europe, to detach a considerable military force to the river St. Lawrence, but its arrival could not possibly take place till an advanced period of the campaign. Notwithstanding the reverse which appears to have occurred on Lake Champlain, I entertain the most confident expectation, as well from the amount as from the description of the British

force now serving in Canada, that the ascendancy of his Majesty's arms throughout that part of North America, will be effectually established. The opening of the Congress at Vienna has been retarded from unavoidable causes to a later period than had been expected. It will be my earnest endeavour in the negotiations, which are now in progress, to promote such arrangements as may tend to consolidate that peace, which, in conjunction with his Majesty's Allies, I have had the happiness of concluding; and to re-establish that just equilibrium amongst the different Powers, which will afford the best prospect of permanent tranquillity to Europe.

*Gentlemen of the House of Commons,*—I have directed the estimates for the ensuing year to be laid before you. I am happy to be able to inform you, that the revenue and commerce of the United Kingdom are in the most flourishing condition. I regret the necessity of the large expenditure which we must be prepared to meet in the course of the ensuing year; but the circumstances under which the long and arduous contest in Europe has been carried on and concluded, have unavoidably led to large arrears, for which you will see the necessity of providing; and the war still subsisting with America, renders the continuance of great exertions indispensable.

*My Lords and Gentlemen,* The peculiar character of the late war, as well as the extraordinary length of its duration, must have materially affected the internal situation of all the countries engaged in it, as well as the commercial relations which formerly subsisted between them.—Under these circumstances, I am confident you will see the expediency of proceeding with due caution in the adoption of such regulations as may be necessary for the purpose of extending our trade and securing our present advantages; and you may rely on my cordial co-operation and assistance in every measure which is calculated to contribute to the prosperity and welfare of his Majesty's dominions.

STATE OF THE NATION.—LIIIR IV.

MR. COBBETT,—So, Sir, there is sad news from America! We are not merely repulsed with loss and slaughter, by a set of ragamuffins without red coats; but we also lose our brave, our gallant, our humane and generous officers. As to the common men being killed, that is nothing; they are only numbered, not named; whereas our officers are always the very best of their species; so that the Americans, in shooting them, are guilty of great presumption, besides downright murder, and a most grievous loss it is to Britain. The shooting a few more of our officers



by those plaguy smock-frocked riflemen, may also prove a material protraction to our recolonizing the Continent of America. I should, therefore, be of opinion, that our officers ought to disguise themselves as they did during the last war; for these impudent riflemen are so accustomed to shoot fast wild turkeys, *flung*, that it will be impossible a single officer to escape, if they once recognise him. This consideration alone is sufficient to compel Ministry to leave America unconquered, and patch up a peace; unless, indeed, our interest in the now sitting Congress of the legitimate proprietors of the human race, be so great as to cause it to be enacted, that henceforward, in warfare, it shall be against the law of nations to fire at, wound or slay, any officer bearing his Britannic Majesty's commission.—But while we thus complain of the passing events abroad, let us endeavour to remedy some of the abuses at home. It is an undeniable fact, that we groan under an immense load of taxes, which scarcely leave to the many the means of procuring the necessaries of life. We exhibit to the astonished world the spectacle of a *free* nation, paying double the sum in TAXES of any country, under the most arbitrary and despotic Government, and our protecting Parliament loads free-born Britons with heavier burthens than all the Ukases of an Autocrat imposes on the servile Russian. Yet a very great proportion of these TAXES go towards the support of those who govern, and without entering at present into a disquisition as to the mode or profusion in which the members of, and adherents to, Government are paid, we must insist that a certain indispensable duty attaches to them in return for the large salaries they receive from the public, and that to the public they are amenable, who, at the same time, are competent to judge whether that indispensable duty be neglected or inadequately performed. With the public also a power to remove, or to punish, exists; and therefore all endeavours to recall such servants back to their duty, and all inflictions of punishment for a departure therefrom, are not only strictly justifiable and highly laudable, but, in fact, the bounden duty of each individual towards his country. Every such individual would himself depart from the line of justice, and become a traitor, were he, from self-interested motives, tamely to submit to flagrant abuses in the Government, and suffer them to be handed down

to posterity. This rule fairly laid down, it behoves us to make a strict inquiry into our present ruinous state, and to scrutinise the measures which have brought us into it. Next, let us examine whether the Constitutional axiom, that *the King can do no wrong*, extends to his Cabinet, or even to Parliament. Then, whether a nation is bound to sit down contented with its wrongs, because a White washing Bill, brought in by Members of such Cabinet, may have been passed by a Parliament, many of whose Members, if not principals, have been accessories to the abuses in favour of which the Indemnity Bill was required—a Parliament, who may already have passed Bills encroaching upon those liberties they had sworn to defend—a Parliament, where it is probable placemen and pensioners abounded, and where such may have had the traitorous insolence to advocate corruption. To begin then with our present situation—After a twenty years murderous, and every way ruinous, war, we are at peace, *for the moment*, with the Continent of Europe, but we are still plunged in a savage and destructive hostility with America. During our twenty years Continental war, much blood has been shed, while, excepting a few individuals, who, by contacts and commissions, have amassed fortunes, general ruin has ensued, an immense national debt has accumulated, all our gold has left the country. The concomitants of this are, a stagnation of trade, a rivalry of our manufactures, an impossibility of paying taxes, an enormous increase of paupers, and a RUINOUS PAPER CURRENCY. But peace, it was expected, would have restored our commerce and diminished our taxes. Instead of which more taxes will be wanted, in whatever shape they may be imposed, to pick up the arrears of the war expenditure; and, in order to engage the people to pay further demands without murmuring, the contest with America is kept up; while peace with France, instead of augmenting the peoples resources, has only furnished the superior classes, and indeed all those above daily labour, with an opportunity of emigrating, and retiring from this land of taxes, to various parts of the Continent, where they may live not only reasonably but peaceably, without the hourly dread of being murdered in their houses by disbanded soldiers and sailors. These marauders, however, having been taught the trade of murder and plunder, we

ought to bear no hatred against them, if, when we no longer want their gallant aid, they, as their only means of subsistence, set up for themselves, and practice individually such acts as they performed collectively, and upon which our highest praises have been bestowed. Peace, instead of augmenting the peoples resources, is now opening their eyes, is now bringing them to their senses—they find that all Europe has now rivaled us in our manufactures, or prohibits their introduction; and, while this takes place abroad, they experience at home, in the price of the necessaries of life, that forestalling and monopoly have seized on every article, while the waste lands, instead of being given to the poor, have been universally appropriated to the rich, and the quantity of land thereby thrown into cultivation, instead of having the effect of lowering its price, has only encouraged the land-holders to rack-rent their tenants. Thus then the industrious part of the community, owing to the heavy taxes, the decay of trade, and the existing monopoly, have no alternative at home but starvation as a reward of their labour, a workhouse is a refuge, if disabled by sickness or age—and the gallows, if they dare practice, in detail, what their superiors are guilty of in wholesale. They enjoy not even the privilege of the spaniel, who has the liberty of yelping when ill treated—if man complains, he is instantly deemed seditious, and punished for his temerity.—In my next, I shall endeavour to point out a radical cure for these evils.

ARISTIDES.

#### INSTALLATION OF THE AMERICAN PRESIDENT.

MR. COBBETT,——In some of the late numbers of your REGISTER, you have shewn that the Americans have a different taste on subjects of Political Economy than we have, and you very benevolently argue that they ought not to be despised on that account, particularly by us, who have, *as we think*, so many superior advantages.—It has been a practice with me, when we have been involved in political contests, to peruse the works of historians and other writers, and to endeavour, by these means, to become acquainted with the resources and dispositions of those we have to contend with. Since we have heard so much of the *difficulties* of the Americans, and their *anxious* inclination to bend the knee to us, I have read the “*Travels of the Duc de*

la Rochefoucault, Liancourt, through the United States,” which has induced me to take a lively interest in the fate of our brethren on the other side of the Atlantic. To be sure, it is odd in a work that enters so much into the whole internal economy of that extensive country, not to find mention made of gilt coaches, cream coloured horses, heralds, Garter King at Arms, Grooms of the Stole, Bands of Gentlemen Pensioners, Silver Stick, Gold Sticks, Masters of the Horse, Stag Hounds, &c. &c. &c. But I found the following account of the election of their President, which I shall transcribe in the author's own words—and which, I hope, will induce some of this *thinking* nation to pause before they come to a hasty decision; because, though this *titled* writer may have a vulgar *taste*, yet we should recollect the old adage—even one to their liking.—This was a great source of consolation to the old woman who kissed her cow.—“John Adams followed the example of his predecessor—he repaired to the House of Representatives preceded by the Sheriffs, Marshals and other officers, and placed himself in the chair occupied by the Speaker during the sittings of the House. Such members of the Senate who remained in the town, took their ordinary seats, the other seats were filled with spectators, among whom were many ladies. Thomas Jefferson, the new Vice-President, placed himself at the foot of the platform on the right, and the late Speaker of the House of Representatives on the left. In the front, and round a table, were four of the Judges of the Supreme Court of the United States, among whom was Mr. Ellsworth the Chief Justice. The galleries and tribune were crowded. The foreign ministers, although not formally invited, attended *without ceremony*, and, with many others, stood behind the platform. The President, the simplicity of whose dress was not distinguished by any thing but a black cockade and a sword, pronounced a discourse, in which he declared his political faith. After which, having descended from the platform, he repeated, in a loud voice, the usual oath after the Chief Justice, and kissed the book of the Evangelists, and then returned to the platform. In a short time after he returned, preceded by the officers who accompanied him on his entrance.—Nothing can be more simple than the ceremony of this installation; but this very simplicity has something in it so delightful, so no—and

so nearly resembling the grandeur of antiquity, that it commands our reverence, and strikes upon our worthiest affections. I speak, at least, of the effect it produced upon my feelings. This change of the persons exercising the most awful functions of the State with so little pomp, but with so great solemnity; and which places a man who, the evening before, was among the crowd of simple citizens, at the head of the Government, while he who held the first office of the State the preceding evening, is returned again to the class of simple citizens, is full of the qualities that constitute true greatness. The presence of the late President, who mingled with the other spectators of this scene, added to its interest, and completed the greatness of its effects.—Thomas Jefferson, having returned to the chamber of the Senate, took the oath in presence of the members and the secretary, having first pronounced a short discourse full of talent and wisdom, and which received the approbation of all who did not attend with a resolution to be dissatisfied with Thomas Jefferson's conduct."—*Vol. 4, page 463.* VARRO.

**COLONEL QUINTIN**—The result of the trial of this officer has excited a considerable degree of interest. I have given a copy of the charges preferred against him below, and also the sentence of the Court Martial, with the approval of that sentence by the Prince Regent. The *Pilot* of yesterday, from which I have extracted the sentence and subsequent proceedings, stated, that a motion was to be made last night, "in the House of Commons, or notice given by Col. Palmer, on the subject of the sentence of the Court Martial on Colonel Quintin."

The 10th Royal Hussars were on Thursday formed on their parade, in Ramford barracks, at eleven o'clock, in consequence of orders which they had previously received; when the Adjutant-General addressed the regiment in the following terms:—

"In obedience to the commands of the Commander in Chief, I have now to declare to the 10th Royal Hussars, the sentence of the General Court Martial, which has been held for the trial of Colonel Quintin, which has been conveyed to me in a letter from his Royal Highness, to which I request your most serious attention."

#### GENERAL ORDER.

**HORSE-GUARDS, Nov. 10**—His Royal Highness the Commander in Chief has been pleased to direct that the following copy of

letter containing the opinion and sentence of a General Court-Martial recently held for the trial of Col. George Quintin, of the 10th, or Prince of Wales's own royal regiment of light dragoons, and the Prince Regent's pleasure thereon, shall be entered in the General Order Books, and read at the head of every regiment in his Majesty's service.

By command of his Royal Highness the Commander in Chief

HARRY CANNERT, Adjutant-General

**COPY.—HORSE-GUARDS, NOV. 8.**

SIR—I have laid before the Prince Regent the proceedings of a General Court-Martial, held at Whitehall, on the 17th October, 1814, and continued by adjournments to the 1st November following, for the trial of Col. George Quintin, of the 10th Royal Hussars, who was arraigned upon the following charges, viz—

1. That on the 10th day of January, 1814, the regiment being that day on duty, foraging in the valley of Maros, in France, and the said Col. Quintin, having the command of the regiment, did not make proper and timely arrangements to ensure the success of the regiment in its operation of foraging, although directed to do so by the Brigade Orders, but neglected and abandoned his duty as Commanding Officer, leaving some of the divisions without support or orders when attacked by the enemy, whereby some men and horses of the regiment were taken prisoners, and the safety of each division hazarded, such conduct on the part of the said Col. Quintin evincing great professional incapacity, tending to lessen the confidence of the soldiers in the skill and courage of their Officers, being unbecoming and disgraceful to his character as an Officer, prejudicial to good order and military discipline, and contrary to the Articles of War.

2 That the said Colonel Quintin having the command of the regiment the day after the battle of Orthez, viz on the 28th of February, 1814, on the high road leading to St. Sever, in front of the village of Hagelman (department des Landes), in France, and the regiment being on that day engaged with the enemy, he, the said Colonel Quintin, did not previously to, or during the time the regiment was so engaged, make such effectual attempts as he ought to have done, by his presence and his own personal exertions and example, to co-operate with or support the different divisions of the 10th Hussars, under his command, but neglected and abandoned his duty as Commanding Officer, and thereby unnecessarily hazarded the safety of those divisions, and implicated the character and reputation of the regiment; such conduct on the part of Colonel Quintin, tending to lessen the confidence of the soldiers in the skill and courage of their Officers, being unbecoming and

disgraceful to his character as an Officer, prejudicial to good order and military discipline, and contrary to the Articles of War.

3 That on the 10th day of April, 1814, during the battle of Toulouse, in France, the said Col. Quintin having the command of the regiment, and the regiment being that day in the presence of and attacked by the enemy, he, the said Colonel Quintin, did not, during such attack, make such efficient attempts as he ought to have done, by his presence and his own personal exertions, to co-operate with and support the advanced divisions of the regiment under his command; but neglected and abandoned his duty as Commanding Officer, leaving some of the divisions, who under fire from the enemy, without orders, and thereby unnecessarily hazarding the safety of those divisions, such conduct on the part of the said Colonel Quintin tending to lessen the confidence of the soldiers in the skill and courage of their officers, being unbecoming and disgraceful to his character as an Officer, prejudicial to good order and military discipline, and contrary to the Articles of War.

4 For general neglect of duty, by allowing a relaxed discipline to exist in the regiment under his command, when on foreign service, by which the reputation of the regiment suffered in the opinion of the Commander of the Forces, and of the Lieutenant-General commanding their cavalry, their displeasure having been expressed on implied in a letter from the Adjutant General of the Forces, to Major-General Lord Ed. Somerset, commanding the Hussar Brigade, dated the 25th of March, 1814; and in the Orders of the Lieutenant-General commanding the cavalry, dated the 25th February, 1814, such conduct on the part of the said Colonel Quintin being most prejudicial to the benefit of his Majesty's service, subversive of all order and military discipline, in breach of the established regulations, and contrary to the Articles of War.

Upon which charges the Court came to the following decision:—

The Court having maturely weighed and considered the evidence on the part of the Prosecution, as well as what has been offered in defence, are of opinion that Col. Quintin is guilty of so much of the first charge as imputes to him having neglected his duty as Commanding Officer, on the 10th of January, by leaving some of the divisions without orders when attacked by the enemy, but acquit him of the remainder of the charge.

With respect to the second charge, the Court are of opinion that Colonel Quintin is not guilty.

With respect to the third charge, the Court are of opinion that Colonel Quintin is not guilty.

With respect to the fourth charge, the

Court are of opinion that a relaxed discipline, as set forth in that charge, did exist in the regiment under Col. Quintin's command, whilst on foreign service, during the period alluded to in the Letter and Orders referred to in the charge, and as they cannot but consider the Commanding Officer of a regiment to be responsible for such relaxation of discipline, they therefore think themselves bound to find Colonel Quintin guilty to the extent of *allowing it to exist*; but as they consider the letter from the Adjutant General to the troops on the Continent, of March 25, 1814, expressing the displeasure of the Commander of the Forces, as a reprimand to Col. Quintin, adequate to the degree of blame which attached to him, the Court do not feel themselves called upon to give any sentence upon this charge in the way of further punishment, and they consider that any thing unusual in this determination will be explained by the singularity of the circumstances attending this charge, by which an Officer is put upon his trial for conduct, which had before been the subject of a *remonstrance* by those under whose command he was then serving, but which at the time was not considered deserving of a more serious proceeding by the Commander of the Forces; nor does it appear to have been made the subject of any remonstrance or request for a more serious investigation on the part of the Officers of the regiment.

The Court having found the Prisoner guilty of so much of the first charge as is above expressed, and so much of the fourth charge as is above recited, with the reasons which induce the Court to feel that they are not called upon to affix any punishment to the last-mentioned charge, do only adjudge, with reference to the first charge, that Col. Quintin be reprimanded in such manner as His Royal Highness the Commander in Chief be pleased to direct.

The Court, however, cannot conclude these proceedings without expressing their regret that there appears to have existed such a want of co-operation among the Officers of the regiment, as to render the duties of the Commanding Officer much more arduous than they otherwise would have been.

I am to acquaint you, that his Royal Highness the Prince Regent has been pleased, in the name and on the behalf of His Majesty, to approve and confirm the finding and sentence of the Court.

His Royal Highness has further been pleased to consider, that, when the Officers of a corps prefer accusations affecting the honour and professional character of their Commander, nothing but the most conclusive proof of their charges before a Court-Martial can justify a proceeding which must otherwise be so pregnant with mischief to the discipline of the army, and that a regard due to the subordination of the service must ever attach a severe responsibility to subordinate Officers, who become the accusers of their

superior! His Royal Highness, therefore, could not but regret, that the Officers of the 10th Hussars should have been so unmindful of what they owe to the first principles of their profession, as to assume an opinion of their Commander's personal conduct, which neither their general experience of the service, nor their knowledge of the alleged facts (as appears from their own evidence), could sanction or justify,—and which opinion would appear, from the proceedings, to have been utterly void of foundation, in every instance of implied attack or insinuation upon that Officer's courage and conduct before the enemy, as conveyed by the tenor of the second and third charges.

In allusion to the letter signed by the chief part of the Officers, and in which the present proceedings originated, the Prince Regent has specially observed, that, exclusive of the doubt which may be entertained of their capability to form a judgment; so much beyond the scope of their experience in the service, it was worthy of remark, that some who have affixed their names to that paper, had never been with the regiment during the period in question, and others had never joined any military body beyond the depot of their corps, and it might thus be deduced, that although the Officers have manifested, according to the appropriate remark of the Court Martial, a want of co-operation in support of their Commander's authority, yet those who have assumed a personal observance of Colonel Quintin's conduct, and those who, *though absent*, appear to have acted under a mischievous influence, by joining in an opinion to his prejudice, have all co-operated in a compact against their Commanding Officer, fraught with evils of the most injurious tendency to the discipline of the service; nor did it escape the notice of his Royal Highness, that this accusation has not been the momentary offspring of irritated feelings, but the deliberate issue of a long and extraordinary delay, for which no sufficient reasons, or explanation, have been assigned.

In this view of the case (which is not palliated by the very slight censure passed on Colonel Quintin upon the 1st charge) his Royal Highness has considered that a mark of his displeasure to such those Officers is essential to the vital interests of the army; and that the nature of the combination against Colonel Quintin, would call for the removal from the service of those who have joined in it; but as his Royal Highness would willingly be guided by a lenient disposition toward a corps of Officers who have hitherto merited his approbation, and would willingly believe that *inadvertency* in some and *inexperience* in others, had left them unaware of the mischievous tendency of their conduct upon this occasion, his Royal Highness is averse to adopt such severe measures as the custom of the service

in support of its discipline usually sanctions, upon the failure of charges against a Commanding Officer. Still it is essential that conduct so injurious in its nature should be held forth to the army as a warning in support of subordination, and his Royal Highness has therefore commanded that the Officers who signed the letter of the 9th August, shall no longer act together as a corps, but that they shall be distributed by exchange throughout the different regiments of cavalry in the service, where it is trusted that they will learn and confine themselves to their subordinate duties, until their services and experience shall sanction their being placed in rank and situations, where they may be allowed to judge of the general and higher duties of the profession.

The Prince Regent has been further pleased to observe, that though Colonel Palmer did not sign the letter of the 9th August, he is, nevertheless, by his declared sentiments on the prosecution, and his general concurrence in the opinion of the Officers, to be considered in the same light as if he had put his name to that paper, and his Royal Highness has therefore commanded that he shall also be removed to another corps—I am, &c.

(Signed) FRIDRICK, Commander in Chief To the Adjutant-General, &c.

The Adjutant-General then read the names of the following Officers \* —

Colonel Charles Palmer; Lieut-Colonel G. J. Roberts, Captains J. R. Lloyd, B. N. Harding, S. H. Smart, Geo. Fitzclarence, J. Smith, E. P. Turner, R. Green, C. Syngé, Lord A. W. Hill, Edw. Fox Fitzgerald, Lieutenants H. Marquis of Worcester, Chas. Eversfield, H. Somerset, G. Wombwell, C. Wyndham, H. Seymour, Henry Fitzclarence, A. F. Barkley, J. H. Powell, J. Jackson, J. A. Richardson, J. C. Green; Cornet R. B. Palliser,

And desired them to move forward in front of their respective troops, and to return their swords. He then addressed them as follows:—

"GENTLEMEN—I have the Commander in Chief commands to signify to you his Royal Highness the Prince Regent's pleasure, that you no longer belong to the 10th Regiment of Hussars; and the Commander in Chief enjoins you to hold yourselves in readiness to join the different regiments of cavalry to which the Prince Regent will immediately appoint you."

The Adjutant-General then directed the Hon. Major Howard, to take on himself the command of the 10th Royal Hussars, until it shall be resumed by Colonel Quintin.

\* Bring those who signed the letter to Colonel Palmer of the 9th August, from which the proceedings against Colonel Quintin originated.

# COBBETT'S WEEKLY POLITICAL REGISTER.

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## SUMMARY OF POLITICS.

AMERICAN WAR.—*Negotiations a. Ghent.*—*Measures of the American Congress.*—*Battle near Fort Erie.*—*Lake Ontario.*—*Dispatches about the Lake Champlain Battle.*—*British attack on Fort Mott.*—The negotiations at Ghent, though kept a secret from Johnny Bull, have reached him; as most other disclosures do, through the tell-tale press of America. Oh! that Republic and her Press! How many things the world knows through them! Is there no way of reducing them to silence? Take it in hand, good people, and see if there be no means of accomplishing it.—These negotiations shew, that JONATHAN, poor despised JONATHAN, is not much less smart in the cabinet than he is in the field. Certainly nothing ever was better managed than this negotiation on the part of JONATHAN. He pricked out brains, and then would do nothing, until he heard what the people of America should say. The grand of Messrs. Bayard, Gallatin, &c. was very reasonable; but how could they be expected to have instructions, relating to matters *never before matters of dispute?* The substance of the disclosure is this; we asked as a preliminary, that the Republicans should give up part of their territory, including those very Lakes, and their own borders of those Lakes, whereon they have defeated us, and which are their only secure barrier against us and our Indian allies.—The President, of course, lost no time in laying these papers before the Congress, who are said to have heard them with unanimous indignation; and the *Times* newspaper tells us, that “these papers have been made the means of uniting against us the whole American people.”—Thou great ass, they were united against us before. There were only a handful of “*Serene Highnesses*” and

“*Cossacks*” in Massachusetts, the acquaintance of Mr. Henry, who were not united against us. This, I suppose, shift that you resort to in order to cover your disgrace, by having to announce, Mr. Maddison is “yet” President, and that he is not even “*impounded*.” There is one passage in the last dispatch of Mr. Monroe, worthy of great attention. He tells the Plenipotentiary, that “there is much reason to presume, that Great Britain has now OTHER OBJECTS than those, for which she has hitherto professed to contend.”—Whether he built this presumption on the language of our public prints, or on the report of a speech in Parliament, attributed by those newspapers to Sir Joseph York, one of the Lords of the Admiralty, in which report the reporters made Sir Joseph say, that we had Mr. Madison to DEPOSE before we could lay down our arms. This report was published some time in May or June; and in August Mr. Monroe’s dispatch was written.—However, be the ground of presumption what it would, Mr. Madison does not seem to have changed his tone on account of it, and there can be no doubt that the people must have been greatly inflamed by such an impudent declaration.—This shews what mischiefs newspapers can do. The war is, in great part, the war of the *Times* and the *Courier*. Let them, therefore, weep over the fate of our fleets and armies in Canada and at Mobile.—The measures of the American Congress seem to be of a very bold character, and well calculated for a war of long continuation. The President has not been afraid to lay bare all the wants of the Government, and to appeal to the sense and patriotism of the people. From every thing that I can discover, the Nobles of Massachusetts will not be able to prevent, or even impede, any of the measures.—JOHNNY BULL is. last

tuesday's Gazette, treated to an account of the late battle near Fort Erie, from which JONATHAN sallied out upon Gen. Drummond's army. According to this account, our loss was as follows.—

KILLED	Captains	1
	Lieutenants	2
	Serjeants	7
	Rank and file	105
		—115
WOUNDED	Lieut. Colonels	3
	Captains	3
	Lieutenants	10
	Ensigns	1
	Serjeants	13
	Drummers	1
		Rank and file 147
		—178
MISSING	Major	2
	Captains	4
	Lieutenants	3
	Ensigns	2
	Adjutants	1
	Surgeons	1
	Serjeants	21
		Drummers 2
		Rank and file 280
		—316

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A most bloody battle! The armies, on both sides, are handfuls of men. These are battles of a very different description from those of the *Peninsula*, as it was called. General Drummond complains of the *overwhelming force* of the enemy. How came he to besiege him, then? It was a *sally*, observe, on the part of the Americans; and, it is the first time I ever heard of a sallying party being stronger than the army besieging them.—In the teeth of facts like these the malignant ass of the *Times* newspaper has the impudence to say, with as much coolness as if he had never heard of these things: "A peace between Great Britain and the United States can properly be made nowhere but in America. The conference should be carried on at New York or Philadelphia, having previously taken at those places the head-quarters of a *Yankee* or a *Hill*."—If Mr. Madison had this writer in his pay, the latter would not serve the Republican cause more effectually than he is now doing.—On Lake Ontario our newspapers now say, that we have a *decided superiority of force*. Very well. Let us hear that in *numbers*. Let us have no more of this *after a while* shall be taken

place.—The official accounts relative to the affair at Plattsburg and Lake Champlain are the most curious, certainly, that ever were seen. They consist of a mere account of the number of killed, wounded, and missing, up to the time that our army quitted, or was about to quit, Plattsburg, that is to say, [mind the *dates*!] up to the **FOURTEENTH OF SEPTEMBER**. Not a word have we about the **RETREAT** from Plattsburg, nor about the battle on Lake Champlain, though we have an account from Sir George Prevost dated on the **FOURTH OF OCTOBER**.—Mark that well.—The dispatch is said to have been dated on the 11th, at Plattsburg, but it contains the account of the losses to the 14th.—Let us hear the apology of the *Times* newspaper.—"The return from the 6th to the 14th of September being inclosed in the dispatch bearing date the 11th, is easily accounted for from the circumstance of that dispatch not having been made up for some time after. Although dispatches have arrived of a later date from Sir George Prevost, none has been received containing any account of his retreat. Private letters, however, contradict the American statements of precipitation and embarrassment in Sir George's movements on that occasion. The dispatch of the 11th, before mentioned, refers to the action on the Lake, but it is not thought proper to publish this until an official account of the action reaches the *Admiralty*."—Very well, now. Let us grant that it would not be proper to publish Sir George's account of the action on the Lake, though it was such a lumping concern as to require but little nautical skill to describe it; yet, here is no reason at all given for not publishing Sir George's account of his *own retreat*, other than *not having been received*, which is most wonderful, seeing that it is the inviolable practice to enclose *duplicates* and *triplicates* of every preceding dispatch, when forces are at such a distance. How came Sir George, in his dispatch of the 4th of October, not to send a *duplicate* of the account of his retreat, if he had sent that account before? And, if he had not sent it before, how came he not to send it along with his dispatch of the 4th of October?—The solving of these questions will be very good amusement for the winter evenings of Johnny Bull, who was so anxious to give the Yankees a good

"*drubbing*," and who thinks nothing at all of the Property Tax when compared with so desirable an object.—Reader, pray let me bring you back to the affair of *Mattisburg*. It is situated on the side of Lake Champlain, about 25 miles within the United States. There is a fortress near it, in which Jonathan had 1,500 regulars and 5 or 6,000 militia.—Against this fort and force, Sir George Prevost, with 14 or 15,000 men, marched early in September, the fort being to be attacked by water by our fleet, at the same time that our army attacked it by land. The attack was made, but the American fleet came up, attacked ours, beat and captured the whole of the ships.—Sir George Prevost seeing the fate of the fleet, retreated speedily into Canada, was followed, as the Americans say, by their army, who harassed it, took some cannon, a great quantity of stores, and many prisoners, and received, from the British army, a great number of *deserters*, who quitted Sir Geo. Prevost, and went over to them. This is the most serious part of the subject, and, therefore, as the Montreal newspapers had stated that we lost 150 men by desertion; as the Americans made them amount to a great many hundreds; and, as Mr. Whitbread, in the debate in Parliament, a few days ago, said he had heard that they amounted to 2,000, and that, too, of *Wellingtonians*, the people were very anxious to see Sir George Prevost's account of his retreat. The Ministers said, that Sir George Prevost had said NOTHING about any DESEPTION; and that, of course, *he would have mentioned it*, if it had been true. But the *Times* newspaper now tells us, that Sir George has sent no account of his retreat; or, at least, that none has been received. According to the Ministers, Sir George's account has been received, and no mention is made in it of desertions. According to the *Times*, Sir George's account has not been received. We must believe the Ministers, of course, and must set the *Times* down for a promulgator of wilful falsehoods: But, then, there is a rub left: if the account of the retreat is come, WHY NOT PUBLISH IT?—This is another riddle, Johnny Bull, for your winter evenings amusement.—

The attack of our forces on Mobile furnishes a new feature to the war.—We have before seen the two parties engaged, frigate to frigate, brig to brig, sloop to sloop, and, in two instances, fleet to fleet. We have seen them, on land, alternately

besieged and besieging. We now see the Americans in a fort, containing only 138 men, attacked by a combined naval and military armament, as to the result of which, after describing the scene of action, we must, for the present, take their own official account. Point Mobile is situated on the main land on the border of the gulph of Mexico, not far from the mouth of the great river Mississippi. On this point is a fort, called Fort Bowyer, belonging to the Republican enemy, to the attack of which our squadron proceeded in September last. Here follows the official account:

"Letter from Major-General Jackson to the Secretary at War, dated Headquarters, 7th Military District, Mobile, Sept. 17.

"SIR,—With lively emotions of satisfaction, I communicate that success has crowned the gallant efforts of our brave soldiers, in resisting and repulsing a combined British naval and land force, which, on the 15th instant, attacked Fort Bowyer, on Point of Mobile. I enclose a copy of the official report of Major W. Lawrence, of the 2d infantry, who commanded. In addition to the particulars communicated in his letter, I have learnt that the ship which was destroyed was the *Hermes*, of from 24 to 28 guns, Captain the Hon. W. H. Percy, senior officer in the Gulph of Mexico; and the brig that was so considerably damaged is the *Sophie*, 10 guns, Captain William Lockyer. The other ship was the *Carron*, of from 24 to 28 guns, Capt. Spencer, son of Earl Spencer; the other brig's name unknown. On board of the *Carron* 85 men were killed and wounded; among the latter was Col. Nicholl, of the Royal Marines, who lost an eye by a splinter. The land force consisted of 110 marines, and 200 Creek Indians, under the command of Capt. Woodbine, of marines, and about 40 artillerymen, with one four and a half-inch howitzer, from which they discharged shells and nine-pound shot. They re-embarked the pieces, and retreated by land towards Pensacola, whence they came. By the morning report of the 16th, there were in the fort, fit for duty, officers and men, 138."

"Letter from Major Lawrence to Major-General Jackson, dated Fort Bowyer, Sept. 19, 12 o'clock at night.

"SIR—After writing the enclosed, I was prevented by the approach of the enemy from sending it by express. At



"meidian they were under full sail, with  
 "an easy and favourable breeze, standing  
 "directly for the Fort, and at 4 p. m. we  
 "opened our battery, which they returned  
 "from two ships and two brigs, as they  
 "approached. The action became general  
 "at about 20 minutes past 4, and was  
 "continued without intermission on either  
 "side until 7, when one ship and two brigs  
 "were compelled to retire. The leading  
 "ship, supposed to be the Commodore,  
 "mounting twenty-two 22-pounders, having  
 "anchored nearest our battery, was so  
 "much disabled, her cable being cut by  
 "our shot, that she drifted on shore, with-  
 "in six hundred yards of the battery, and  
 "the other vessels having got out of our  
 "reach, we kept such a tremendous fire  
 "upon her, that she was set on fire and  
 "abandoned by the few of the crew who  
 "survived. At ten p. m. we had the pleas-  
 "ure of witnessing the explosion of her  
 "magazine. The loss of lives must have  
 "been immense, as no boats left her ex-  
 "cept three, which had previously gone  
 "to her assistance, and one of these  
 "I believe was sunk; one of her boats  
 "was burned alongside of her. The  
 "brig that followed her was much da-  
 "maged in hull and rigging. The other  
 "two did not approach near enough to be  
 "so much injured, but I am confident did  
 "not escape, as a well directed fire was  
 "kept upon them the whole time. Ten  
 "minutes past p. m. the whole enemy's  
 "fleet are standing to sea."—I extract  
 "these articles from the *Times* newspaper,  
 "and yet, in the face of these facts, in deli-  
 "gation of these red-hot balls, the consum-  
 "mate ass would make no peace, except at  
 "New-York or Philadelphia, they being  
 "first the head-quarters of a *Picton* or a  
 "*Hill*! This is as good a life as this writer  
 "could have given to Mr. Madison,  
 "and as hard a blow as he could have  
 "given to the *Noblesse* of Massachu-  
 "setts, on whom he and the rest of our  
 "war tribe had built, and do still build, their  
 "hopes of ultimate success.—Let him  
 "look at the attitude of New-York and of  
 "Philadelphia. I do not say, that it is im-  
 "possible to get at either of those cities with  
 "bomb-shells or rockets; but I am quite  
 "satisfied, that it would require a very large  
 "army to set foot in either of them, even for  
 "the purpose of burning and then quitting  
 "them in safety.—I will now make an  
 "observation or two with regard to *public*  
 "opinion as to the American war. People

are disappointed. The continuance of the  
*Property Tax* pinches. But would they  
 have the luxury of war without paying for  
 it? No; no. Pay they must; or they  
 must put up with what they have gotten,  
 and see the *Stars and Stripes* waving in  
 every sea.—They would have war. War  
 was their cry. They have it, and they  
 must and will PAY for it.

## LETTER I.

TO THE EARL OF LIVERPOOL,  
 ON THE AMERICAN WAR.

*Bolton, Nov. 24, 1814.*

MY LORD,—From the report of your  
 speech, on the 8th inst. it appears very  
 clearly, that your Lordship is, by the re-  
 porter, made to entertain an opinion, that  
 the DIVISIONS amongst the American  
 people are already such, that we may rati-  
 onally hope, by a continuation of the war,  
 to produce either a compliance with any  
 conditions, or an overthrow of the Union, in  
 which Union alone consists the strength  
 and the prospect of future greatness in  
 that rising and fast-growing Republic.  
 The words, as given in the report of your  
 speech, were these—"He (the Earl of  
 "Liverpool) had seen much stronger jus-  
 "fications of the conduct of our forces at  
 "Washington, which had been published in  
 "America, than any that had been published  
 "even in this country. Not only were they  
 "not more hostile to us, but the reverse was  
 "the case. In places even where the Bri-  
 "tish arms had been successful the people  
 "had shewn themselves in our favour, and  
 "had seemed well disposed to put themselves  
 "under our protection."—Your Lordship  
 is not singular in your opinion, if it be  
 your opinion. It is the general opinion in  
 this country. How that opinion has been  
 created, and kept alive, I will not now  
 inquire. The means made use of for this  
 purpose, the "most thinking people" know  
 nothing of. They have opinions furnished  
 them by others as regularly as soldiers or  
 sailors are served with rations. The lower  
 class are, from their poverty, wholly with-  
 out the pale of information true or false,  
 and appear to know and care as little about  
 the acts of the Government, and the state  
 of public affairs, as the earth, or any  
 other subjection, on which they expend  
 their time and their physical force. The  
 middle class are so incessantly employed in  
 pursuit of the means of keeping themselves  
 from the horrors of pauperism, that they

have no time for discussion or inquiry. Many persons, in this class of life, have asked me, whether the Americans *could* *swear English*. Few men in the higher ranks of life know any thing worth speaking of, with regard to the American Republic, a nation nearly equal in population to Great Britain, and inhabited, as we now feel, by men full as enterprising and as brave as our own soldiers and sailors. Even the writers, who have fanned the flame of this bloody war, appear to know nothing at all about the real state of America, for, though they have no desire to promulgate truth; though it is their *trade* to deceive and cheat the people, they shew by their statements, that they are ignorant of facts, which, if they knew them, would make them able to deceive with less exposure to detection. This being the case, it is no wonder that the whole nation is in a state of error as to this matter of primary importance. On the day when the news reached the country, relative to the capture of the City of Washington, I happened to call, on my way homewards from Essex, at the house of a gentleman, who was likely to be as well informed as any other gentleman in the county, as to this or any other political matter. The following was the dialogue, wherein I shall exhibit the gentleman and his good wife under the name of Friend.

*Mrs. Friend.* Well; Mr. Cobbett, we shall soon get rid of the 'Income Tax' [for so it is always called in the country] *now*.

*Mr. Cobbett.* Shall we, Madam? I am very glad to hear it: It will enable me to get a better horse for my gig.—[*She had just been laughing at my scurvy equipage.*]—But, *why now*, Madam? What has happened to excite such a cheering hope?

*Mrs. Friend.* Why, have you not heard the news?

*Mr. Cobbett.* No.

*Mr. Friend.* We have taken the Capital of America.

*Mrs. Friend.* And the cowardly dogs, to the amount of 9,000 men, ran away before 1,500 of our soldiers.

*Mr. Friend.* President and all ran away! Nobody knows where they went to, and the people were ready to submit to this all over the country.

*Mrs. Friend.* Cowardly dogs! Not stand to fight a moment for their Capital. They are a pretty nation to go to war with England!

*Mr. Friend.* They ran away like a

great flock of South Down sheep before a pack of hounds.

*Mrs. Friend.* The cowardly creatures will never dare show their faces again. What can you say for these Americans *now*?

*Mr. Cobbett.* Why, I say, that you appear to know no more about them than about the people said to be in the moon. Let me look at the paper. [*It lay before her on the table.*]

*Mrs. Friend.* No: we must tell it you. It is too long for you to sit and read to yourself.

*Mr. Cobbett.* Well; now, mind, I tell you, that, instead of putting an end to the war, this event will tend to prolong it; and, mind, I tell you, that, unless we give up what we contend for, the war will be of many years duration, and will be as expensive and more bloody than the war in Europe has been.

*Mrs. Friend.* We give up to such cowards as the Americans!

*Mr. Cobbett.* I do not mean to give up either territory or honour. I mean give up the point in dispute; or, rather, our present apparent object. The Americans, like other people, cannot meet disciplined armies, until they have had time to organise and discipline themselves. But, the Americans are not cowards, Madam. Their seamen have proved that; and, what I fear is, that a continuation of the war will make the proof clearer and clearer every day, by land as well as by sea; and, I am now more than ever afraid of a long continuation of the war; because, if such people as you seriously think that we are able to conquer America, I can have no reason to hope that any part of the nation remains undeceived.

*Mr. Friend.* But, do you not think that the States will divide?

*Mr. Cobbett.* Certainly not.

*Mr. Friend.* No!

*Mr. Cobbett.* No. And, I should be glad to know what are your reasons for believing that they will divide. If you will give me any reasons for your belief, I will give you mine for a contrary belief. Do you think, Madam, that the people of America are weary of living for thirty years without an Income Tax?

*Mr. Friend.* I have no reasons of my own about the matter. We see, in all our papers, that the Americans are a very divided people. They say that they cannot long hold together.

*Mr. Cobbett.* And do you really believe what these corrupted vagabonds put into their columns? You believe, then, of course, that "the American navy would be swept from the face of the ocean in a month;" for so they told you. Yet, how different has been the event! No, no: the Americans are not cowards, Madam.

*Mrs. Friend.* Have you had such heaps of melons this year as you used to have.

Such was, as nearly as I can recollect, the dialogue upon this occasion; and, as I am sure, that the war is continued in the hope, on the part of the nation, at least, of deriving success from a *breaking up of the Union* in America, which I am thoroughly persuaded we shall not effect, or see take place, I will endeavour to shew, that this persuasion rests on good grounds; and, if I succeed in this endeavour, I shall not yet abandon the hope, to which my heart clings, of seeing peace speedily restored between the two countries, upon terms not injurious to the interest, or character of either.

In turning back, now, to the reported speech of your Lordship, I perceive, and I perceive it with great regret, that you are, by the reporter, made to found your opinion of Americans' disaffection to their Government, and of their attachment to our King, in part, upon the fact of their having treated our officers, prisoners of war, with great liberality and kindness. I noticed this in my last Number. I challenged any one to shew the instance, in which they had ever behaved cruelly to prisoners of war. I cited the memorable case of Mr. (now Sir Charles) *Agyll*, and I appealed to their uniform conduct, during the present war, including the instances of Commodores *Bainbridge* and *Perry*. But as the conduct of the former, in this respect, has been most basely slandered in some of our public prints, I will be somewhat more particular as to both instances, adding that of Captain *Lawrence*.

Commodore *Bainbridge* captured the *Java*, off St. Salvador, on the 29th of December, 1812. His frigate, the *Constitution*, carried 44 guns, and *ours* 49 guns, according to the American accounts. *Ours*, he says, had upwards of 400 men on board. The Republicans killed 60 and wounded 170 of our officers and men, and had themselves 9 killed and 25 wounded. After the battle, at their pressing request, Commodore *Bainbridge* *provided them all*. The *Java* had on board Lieutenant Gene-

ral *Hislop* and his staff, together with several supernumerary officers and men. The following letter of General *Hislop* to Commodore *Bainbridge* will best speak for the latter:—"Dear Sir;—I am justly penetrated with the fullest sense of your very handsome and kind treatment, ever since the fate of war placed me in your power, and I beg once more to renew to you my sincerest acknowledgments for the same. Your acquiescence with my request in granting me my parole, with the officers of my staff, added to the obligation I had previously experienced, claims from me this additional tribute of my thanks. May I now finally flatter myself, that in the further extension of your generous and humane feelings, in the alleviations of the misfortunes of war, that you will have the goodness to fulfil the only wish and request I am now most anxious to see completed, by entering on their parole (on the same conditions you have acceded to with respect to myself) all the officers of the *Java* still on board your ship—a favour I shall never cease duly to appreciate by your acquiescence thereto—I have the honour to subscribe myself, dear Sir, your much obliged and very obedient servant."

The request was instantly complied with. Men and all were released upon parole.—In the case of Commodore *Perry*, the battle was fought on Lake Erie on the 10th of September, 1813. With vessels carrying altogether 54 guns, he not only defeated, but captured the whole of our fleet, six vessels, carrying 65 guns, as he stated in his official report, which report, by-the-bye, fully justifies our Admiralty as to Lake Erie. I take the following paragraph from his report to his Government upon this occasion:—"I also beg your instructions respecting the wounded. I am satisfied, Sir, that whatever steps I take governed by humanity would meet your approbation. Under this impression, I have taken upon myself to promise Captain Barclay, who is very dangerously wounded, that he shall be landed as near Lake Ontario as possible, and I had no doubt you would allow me to parole him. He is under the impression that nothing but leaving this part of the country will save his life. There is also a number of Canadians among the prisoners, many who have families."

Captain *Lawrence*, in the brig *Hornet*, attacked and sunk, in fifteen minutes, our

bing, the Peacock, killing between 30 and 40 of her men, while the Hornet lost but one man killed and two wounded. Thus says the American report. Ours I have not at hand. Then comes the following letter — *New York, 27th March, 1813*

—We, the surviving officers of his Britannic Majesty's late brig Peacock, beg leave to return you our grate-  
 "ful acknowledgments for the kind atten-  
 "tion and hospitality we experienced  
 "during the time we remained on board  
 "the United States sloop Hornet. So  
 "much was done to alleviate the distress-  
 "ing and uncomfortable situation in which  
 "we were placed, when received on board  
 "the sloop your command, that we cannot  
 "better express our feelings than by say-  
 "ing, 'We ceased to consider ourselves  
 "prisoners,' and every thing that friend-  
 "ship could dictate was adopted by you;  
 "and the officers of the Hornet, to remedy  
 "the inconvenience we would otherwise  
 "have experienced from the unavoidable loss  
 "of the whole of our property and clothes by  
 "the sudden sinking of the Peacock. Permit  
 "us ther, Sir, to express as we are with a  
 "grateful sense of your kindness, for our-  
 "selves and the other officers and ship's  
 "company, to return you and the officers  
 "of the Hornet our sincere thanks, which  
 "we shall feel obliged, if you will commu-  
 "nicate to them in our name; and believe  
 "us to remain, with a high sense of the  
 "kind office you have rendered us, your  
 "humble servants,—F. A. Wright, 1st  
 "Lieutenant; C. Lambert, 2d Lieutenant;  
 "Edward Lott, Master; J. Whittaker,  
 "Surgeon; F. Donnithorne Unwin, Pur-  
 "ser; James Lawrence, Esq. Commander  
 "U. S. sloop Hornet."—The American  
 "papers added, upon this occasion, the fol-  
 "lowing — "Is a fact worthy of note, and  
 "in the highest degree honourable to our  
 "brave tars, that on the day attending  
 "the destruction of his Britannic Ma-  
 "jesty's brig Peacock, the crew of the  
 "Hornet made a subscription and supplied  
 "the prisoners (who had lost almost every  
 "thing) with two shirts, a blue jacket and  
 "trousers each."

Now, my Lord, without going into more particulars, let me ask you, whether you think that this conduct towards our officers was the effect of disaffection towards their own Government, of disapprobation of its conduct, of a hatred of the war, and of "a disposition to put themselves under our protection?" And, if you answer in

the negative, as you must, I suppose, why do you think, that the humane treatment of our officers elsewhere indicates such a disposition? Does your Lordship see no possible danger in drawing such an inference? Do you think, that it is wholly out of all belief, that your being reported to have drawn such an inference may render the treatment of our officers, prisoners of war, less humane and kind in future?—Seeing that a disposition in an American citizen to put himself under the protection of our King is a disposition to commit treason, in the eye of the laws of his country, would it be so very surprising, if, in future, the Americans should be very cautious how they exposed themselves to the merit of such a compliment? I must, however, do your Lordship the justice to observe here, that what the proprietors of our newspapers have published as your speech, might never have been uttered by you. I would fain hope, that they have, in this case, put forth, under your name, the suggestions of their own minds. I, therefore, comment on the thing as theirs and not as yours.

In order to shew, that there is no good foundation for the hope, entertained by people here, and so often expressed by our newspapers, of dividing the Republic of America, I must go into a history of the parties, which exist in that Republic; give an account of their origin and progress, and describe their present temper and relative force. The population is divided into two parties, the REPUBLICANS and the FEDERALISTS. The latter also claim the title of *Republicans*, but it is, and, I think, we shall find, with justice, denied to them by the former.

These two parties have, in fact, existed ever since the close of the Revolutionary war, though their animosities have never appeared to be so great, nor to threaten such serious consequences as since the commencement of the French Revolution, and especially since the first Presidency of Mr. Hancock, whose exaltation to the Chair was the proof of decided triumph on the part of the Republicans, and plunged their opponents into a state of desperation.

The *Federalists* took their name from the General Government, which, being *federalis*, was called *Federal*. Some of the people, as well as some of the Members of the Convention, who formed the Constitution, were for the new General Government, and some were against it. These

who were against it, and who were for a Government of a still more *democratical* form, were called, at first, *Anti-federalists*; but, of late, they have been called *Republicans*, in opposition to the Federalists, who were for a Government of an *aristocratical* form, if not of nearly a *kingly* form, and who proposed, in the Convention, a *President* and *Senate for life*. There was ~~at~~ this time a great struggle between the parties; the opposition of the Republicans spoiled the projects of the Federalists; and the Government was, at last, of a form and nature, which was wholly pleasing to neither, but which did not, on the other hand, greatly displease either.

The Federalists, however, took the whole credit to themselves of having formed the Government, and, as General Washington, who had been President of the Convention, and was decidedly for a *Federalist* General Government, was elected the President under the new Constitution, the Federalists, at once, assumed, that *they* were the only persons, who had any right or title to have any thing to do with that Government, treating their opponents as persons *necessarily hostile to, and, of course, unfit to be entrusted with, the carrying on of the Federal Government*.

When the first Congress met, under the new Constitution, it was clear, that the Federalists endeavoured to do, by degrees, that which they had not been able to accomplish all at once in the Convention. They proposed to address the President by the title of *HIS SERENE HIGHNESS*, and to introduce other forms and trappings of royalty, or, at least, of high aristocracy. Their intention was defeated, to their inexpressible mortification. The people were shocked at these attempts; and, from that moment, the opposite party seem to have gained ground in the confidence of the people, who abhorred the idea of any thing that bore a resemblance of *Kingly Government*, or that seemed to make the slightest approach towards *hereditary or family rule*.

When the French Revolution broke out; when that great nation declared itself a *Republic*, and went even further than America had gone in the road of democracy, the two parties took their different sides.—Hats and animosities were revived.—While General Washington remained President, however, he acted with so much caution and moderation, that it was difficult for any one openly to censure him.

He was blamed by both parties. One wished him to take part with France, the other with England. He did neither, and, upon the whole, he left no party any good reason to complain of him. But when Mr. Adams, who was a native of Massachusetts, where the Federal party was in great force, became President, he certainly did, yielding to the counsels of weak and violent men, ~~pass~~ things very nearly to an offensive and defensive alliance with us. The violent and unjust proceedings of the French Government furnished a pretext for raising an army, which was, for some time, kept on foot *in time of peace*, in the very teeth of the Constitution. A *Sedition Bill* was passed, with power of *sending aliens out of the country*; and many other things were done, in the heat of the moment, which Mr. Adams, had he not been surrounded by the Massachusetts Federalists, never would have thought of, being a Republican at heart, and a real friend to the liberties of his country.

Mr. Adams's Presidency ended in March, 1801. He was proposed to be *re-elected*, but he lost his election, and the choice fell upon Mr. Jefferson, who had always been deemed the head of the Republican party. The truth is, that the people were *Republicans at heart*. Every thing had been tried; threats, alarms, religion, all sorts of schemes; but they took alarm at nothing but the attempts upon their liberty, and they hurled down the party who had made those attempts. Since that time, the Government has been in the hands of the Republicans. Mr. Jefferson was President for eight years. Mr. Madison for four years, and is now going on for the second four years.

Your Lordship knows, as well as any man upon earth, how fond people are of *place and power*, and that no part of any opposition is so bitter and troublesome as that part, which consists of men, whose ambitious hopes have been blasted by their being *turned out of place*. It now happens, very naturally, but rather oddly, that the Federalists became the opposition to the Federal Government; but they still retained, and do retain, their title, though, really, they ought to be called, the Aristocrats, or Royalists.

This opposition is now, however, chiefly confined to the State of Massachusetts, the State Government of which has even talked about *separating from the Union*. Your Lordship has heard of a Mr. Henry, who

was, it seems, in close consultation and correspondence with the persons holding the reins of Government in Massachusetts, upon the subject of such separation, and who pretended that he was employed by Sir James Craig, Governor of Canada, for that purpose. Your Lordship, I believe, disclaimed him and his intrigues; and, therefore, I must believe, of course, that he was not employed by our Government nor by our Governor. But the people of America have been led to believe; that there must have been something in his story.

This State of Massachusetts contains a great number of men of talents; many rich men, become so chiefly by the purchasing, at a very low rate, of the certificates of soldiers who served in the late war, and by procuring acts of Congress to cause the sums to be paid in full, which, indeed, was thought, and openly said, to be their main object in pressing for a Federal Government with large powers. These men,

disappointed in all their ambitious hopes; seeing no chance of becoming petty noblemen, seeing the offices and power of the country pass into other hands, without the smallest probability of their return to themselves, unless they be content to abandon all their high notions of family distinction; these men have become desperate, and, it am to judge from their proceedings, would plunge their country into a civil war, rather than yield quiet obedience to that very Government, which they had so long been in the practice of censuring others for not sufficiently admiring. But, my Lord, though there is a majority of voices in Massachusetts on our side, for on our side they really are, there is a thumping minority on the other side, and what is of great importance is the estimate, that minority consists of the nerves, the bones, and sinews of the population of the State; so that the sum total of our ground of reliance, as to a separation of the States, is the good will of the most numerous but most feeble and inefficient part of the people of the State of Massachusetts; and even these, I am fully persuaded, are, by this day, awed into silence by the determined attitude of the rest of the country.

The same charges, which our vile newspapers have been preferring against Mr. Madison, have been preferred against him by their *Serene Highnesses* of Massachusetts. They have accused him of a devotion

to France; they have, in our newspaper style, called him the "*tool of Napoleon*;" they too, have daied to assert, that he made war upon us, without the slightest provocation, for the purpose of aiding Napoleon in destroying England, "*the bulwark of their religion*." They have held public feasts and rejoicings at the entrance of the Cossacks into France, and at the restoration of the ancient order of things. You will bear in mind, that these people are staunch Presbyterians, and it would amuse your Lordship to read the orations, preachings, and prayers of these people; to witness their gratitude to heaven for restoring the Pope, whom they used to call the Scarlet Whore, the Whore of Babylon; for the re-establishment of the Jesuits; and for the re-opening of the dungeons, the re-sharpening of the hooks, and the re-kindling of the flames of the Inquisition. Their opponents, the Republicans, say, we never were the friends of Napoleon, as a despot, nor even as an Emperor; we never approved of any of his acts of oppression, either in France or out of France; we always complained of his acts of injustice towards ourselves; but he was less hurtful to our country than other Powers; and, as to mankind in general, though we regretted to see him with so much power, we feared that that power would be succeeded by something worse; and we cannot now rejoice, that the Pope is restored, that the Jesuits are re-established, the Inquisition re-invigorated; that Monks are again overspreading the fair face of Europe; and that the very hope of freedom there, seems to be about to be extinguished for ever. And this, your Lordship may be assured, is the language of nineteen twentieths of the people of America.

There are, it is to be observed, Federalists in all the States, which you will easily believe, when you consider how natural it is for men; or, at least, how prone men are, to wish to erect themselves into superior classes. As soon as a man has got a great deal of money, he aims at something beyond that. He thirsts for distinctions and titles. His real object is to hand them down to his family: It will require great watchfulness and great resolution in the Americans to defeat this propensity. You have not leisure, so it or it would amuse you to trace the workings of this would-be nobility in America. They are very shamefaced about it; but they let it peep out through the crannies of their

hypocrisy. Being defeated, and totally put to the rout in the open field by the general good sense of the people, they have resorted to the most contemptible devices for effecting, by degrees, that which they were unable to carry at a push. They have established what they call "*Bepetolent Societies*," to which they have prefixed, by way of epithet, or characteristic, the name of *Washington*. The *professed* object of these societies, who have their periodical sessions, preaching, prayers, and testings, was to afford relief to any persons who might be in distress. The *real* object appears to have been to enlist idlers and needy persons under their political banners. These little coteries of hypocrites appear to have assembled, as it were, by an unanimous sentiment, or, rather, by instinct, to celebrate the fall of Napoleon, and the restoration of the Pope, the Jesuits, and the Inquisition. But unfortunately for this attraction of hypocrites, they have little or no *materials* to work upon in America, where a man can earn a week's subsistence in less time than he can go to apply for and obtain it without work; and, accordingly, the affiliation seems destined to share the fate of the *Suzanne Highness's* proposition of 25 years ago.

The fall of Napoleon, so far from weakening, will tend to strengthen the general Government in the hands of the Republicans. It has deprived its enemies of the grand topic of censure; the main ground of attack. The "*Cossacks*," as they are now sometimes called, of Massachusetts, can no longer oblige the President with being the "*tool of Napoleon*;" they no longer stand in need of England as "*the bulwark of religion*," seeing that they have the Pope, the Jesuits, the Benedictines, the Franciscans, the Carthusians, the Dominicans, and, above all, the Inquisition, to supply her place in the performance of that godly office. They will no longer, they can no longer, approach the President for his attachment to *France*; for France has now, *making*, a *legitimate* sovereign, who regularly bears mass. They are now, therefore, put in this dilemma: they must declare openly for England against their country; or, by petty cavilling, must make their opposition contemptible. The former they *dare* not do; and, they are too restless and too full of spite not to do the latter. So that their doom, I imagine, is sealed; and their fall will not be much less complete than that

of Napoleon himself, with this great difference, however, that *his* name and the fame of his deeds will descend to the latest posterity, while *their* projects of ennobling themselves at the expense of their country's freedom and happiness, will be forgotten and forgiven before one half of them are eaten by worms.

This is my view of the matter. Your Lordship will probably think it erroneous; but, if it prove correct, how long and how bitterly shall we have to deplore the existence of this bloody contest. I am, &c.

WM. COBBETT.

#### DISPERATE NAVAL ENGAGEMENTS.

I observe it stated in the Halifax papers of the 2d instant, that the *Prince of Neufchâtel*, an American armed brig, had arrived at Boston, after sustaining a gallant action of twenty minutes, with five boats full of men belonging to our ship of war the *Entymion*. The account says, that one of our boats was sunk during the engagement, "which had on board at first 43 men, of whom two only were saved; and another, which had 36 men, was taken possession of after having eight killed, and 20 wounded." The *Entymion* is said to have had lost in all 100 men killed, wounded and prisoners, among which the first Lieutenant and a Master's Mate were killed, and three Lieutenants and two Master's Mates wounded. The *Prince of Neufchâtel* had only "31 men at quarters, including officers, and 97 prisoners on board. Six of her men were killed, 15 severely wounded, nine slightly, and eight remained unhurt." It is true, that nothing has been published here in an *official* shape respecting this naval disaster; but this circumstance can no more invalidate the truth of the statement, than the *silence* which has been kept up as to the fate of the *Arion*, will lead us to doubt that that vessel was sunk by her American opponent. The repulse and disaster attending the *Entymion*, is not, however, the only naval triumph of the enemy, which has been carefully concealed from the public eye. The following article appears in the Paris Papers, received to the 2d inst.:—"Extract of a Letter from Mr. John B. Dabney, Consul for the United States of America, Fayal, Oct. 6. "Our countrymen have had a brilliant affair. Despising the rights of nations and violating neutral territory, three English vessels, the *Plantagenet*, the *Rota*, and



"the *Carnation*, attacked the brig *General Armstrong*, American privateer, of 14 guns, commanded by Captain Reed, at anchor in these Roads. They succeeded finally in destroying her, but paid dearly for it, for they had 120 killed, and 90 of their best marines wounded, including the flower of their officers. Captain Reed, with his brave crew, consisting only of 90 men, had only seven men slightly wounded."—About ten days ago I received the following letter from an English gentleman at Fayal, which he transmitted by a vessel bound for Lisbon, giving the full particulars of the above attack. It speaks volumes, and must reach conviction to the minds of those who are so far deluded, as to think that it is in the power of this country to subdue a people who fight with so much undaunted resolution as the Americans.—

Fayal, Oct. 15, 1814.

Wm. COBBETT, Esq.—Sir,—The American schooner privateer *General Armstrong*, of New York, Captain Samuel C. Reid, of seven guns, and ninety men, entered here on the 26th ult. about noon, 17 days from that place, for the purpose of obtaining water. The Captain, seeing nothing on the horizon, was induced to anchor. Before the elapse of many hours, his Majesty's brig *Carnation* came in, and anchored near her. About six, his Majesty's ship *Plantagenet*, of 74 guns, and the *Rola* frigate, came in and anchored also. The Captain of the privateer and his friends consulted the first authorities here about her security. They all considered her perfectly secure, and that his Majesty's officers were too well acquainted with the respect due to a neutral port to molest her. But, to the great surprise of every one, about nine in the evening, four boats were dispatched, armed and manned from his Majesty's ship, for the purpose of calling her out. It being about the full moon, the night perfectly clear and calm, we could see every movement made. The boats approached with rapidity towards her; when, it appears, the Captain of the privateer hailed them, and told them to keep off several times. They, notwithstanding, pushed on, and were in the act of boarding before any defence was made for the privateer. A warm contest ensued on both sides. The boats were finally dispersed with great loss. The American, now calculating on a very superior force being sent, cut his cables, and rowed the

privateer close in, alongside of the fort, within half cable's length, where he moored her, head and stern, with four lines. The Governor now sent a remonstrance to the Van Lloyd of the *Plantagenet* against such proceedings, and trusted that the privateer would not be further molested; none being in the dominion of Portugal, and under the guns of the castle, was entitled to Portuguese protection. Van Lloyd's answer was, that he was determined to destroy the vessel at the expense of all Fayal, and should any protection be given her by the fort, he would not leave a house standing in the village. All the inhabitants were gathered about the walls, expecting a renewal of the attack. At midnight, 14 launches were discovered to be coming in rotation for the purpose. When they got within clear, or gun shot, a tremendous and effectual discharge was made from the privateer, which threw the boats into confusion. They now returned a spirited fire, but the privateer kept up so continued a discharge, it was almost impossible for the boats to make any progress. They finally succeeded, after immense loss, to get alongside of her, and attempted to board at every quarter, cheered by the officers with a shout of no quarter, which we could distinctly hear, as well as their shrieks and cries. The destruction was near about a total massacre. Three of the boats were sunk, and but one poor solitary officer escaped death in a boat that contained fifty souls; he was wounded. The Americans fought with great fierceness, but more like blood thirsty savages than any thing else. They rushed into the boats, sword in hand; and put every soul to death as far as came within their power. Some of the boats were left without a single man to row them; others with three and four. The most that any one returned with was about ten. Several boats floated on shore full of dead bodies. With great reluctance I state that they were minned with picked men, and commanded by the first, second, third, and fourth Lieutenants of the *Plantagenet*; first, second, third, and fourth, &c. of the frigate, and the first officers of the brig; together with a great number of midshipmen. Our whole force exceeded 400 men. But three officers escaped, two of which are wounded.—This bloody and unfortunate contest lasted about forty minutes. After the boats gave out, nothing more was attempted till day-light the next morning, when the *Car-*



nation hauled in alongside, and engaged her. The privateer still continued to make a most gallant defence. These veterans reminded me of Lawrence's dying words, off the Chesapeake, "don't give up the ship."—The *Carriacou* lost one of her top-masts, and her yards were shot away; she was much cut up in rigging, and received several shot in her hull. This obliged her to haul off to repair, and to cease firing.—The Americans now finding their principal gun (*long Tom*) and several others dismounted, deemed it folly to think of saving her against so superior a force; they therefore cut away her masts to the deck, blew a hole through her bottom, took out their small arms, clothing, &c. and went on shore. I discovered only two shot holes in the hull of the privateer, although much cut up in rigging.—Two boats' crews were soon after dispatched from our vessels, which went on board, took out some provisions, and set her on fire. For three days after, we were employed in burying the dead that washed on shore in the surf. The number of British killed exceeds 120, and ninety wounded. The enemy, to the surprise of mankind, lost only two killed and seven wounded.—We may well say, "God deliver us from our enemies, if this is the way the Americans fight."—After burning the privateer, Van Lloyd made a demand of the Governor to deliver up the Americans as his prisoners, which the Governor refused. He threatened to send 500 men on shore and take them by force. The Americans immediately retired, with their arms, to an old Gothic convent; knocked away the adjoining drawbridge, and determined to defend themselves to the last. The Van, however, thought better than to send his men. He then demanded two men, which, he said, deserted from his vessel when in America. The Governor sent for the men, but found none of the description given.—Many houses received much injury on shore from the guns of the *Carriacou*. A woman, sitting in the fourth story of her house, had her thigh shot off, and a boy lost his arm broken. The American Consul here, has made a demand on the Portuguese Government for a hundred thousand dollars for the privateer, which our Consul, Mr. Parkin, thinks is justice will be paid; and that they will claim on England.—Mr. Parkin, Mr. Edward Bayley, and other English gentlemen, disapprove of the outrage and depredation

committed by our vessels on this occasion. The vessel that was dispatched to England with the wounded, was not permitted to take a single letter from any person.—Being an eye-witness to this transaction, I have given you a correct statement as it occurred.—With respect, I am, &c.

H. K. F.

# AMERICAN PAPERS.

WASHINGTON, Oct. 11:

The following Message was yesterday sent to both Houses of Congress by the President of the United States. The sentiments excited in both Houses are purely national, and almost unanimous —

To the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States

"I lay before Congress communications just received from the Plenipotentiaries of the United States, charged with negotiating peace with Great Britain, shewing the conditions on which alone that Government is willing to put an end to the war. The instructions to those Plenipotentiaries, disclosing the grounds on which they were authorized to negotiate and conclude a treaty of peace, will be the subject of another communication."

(signed) "JAMES MADISON."

Mr. Monroe to the American Plenipotentiaries at Gottenburgh.

"Dispatch of State, 28th Jan. 1814.

[The letter begins by acceding to the proposal of the British Government to treat directly with the American United States. Mr. Monroe then calls the attention of the Plenipotentiaries to the grounds of the war with Great Britain.].

"On Impressionment, as to the right of the United States to be exempted from it, I have nothing new to add. The sentiments of the President have undergone no change on that important subject. This degrading practice must cease; our flag must protect the crew, or the United States cannot consider themselves an independent nation. To settle this difference amicably the President is willing, as you are already informed by the former instructions, to remove all pretensions for it to the British Government, by excluding all British seamen from our vessels, and even to extend this exclusion to all British subjects, if necessary, excepting only the few already naturalized, and to stipulate, likewise, the surrender of all British seamen deserting in our ports in future from British vessels, public or private. It was presumed, by all dispassionate persons, that the late law of Congress relative to seamen would effectually accomplish the object. But the President is willing, as you find, to prevent a possibility of failure, to go further. Should a treaty be made, it is proper, and would have a conciliatory effect, that

all our impressed seamen, who may be discharged under it, should be paid for their services by the British Government, for the time of their detention, the wages which they might have obtained in the merchant service of their own country."

"Blockade is the subject next in point of importance, which you will have to arrange. In the instructions, bearing date on the 15th of April, 1813, it was remarked, that as the British Government had revoked its Orders in Council, and agreed that no blockade could be legal which was not supported by an adequate force, and that such adequate force should be applied to any blockade which it might hereafter institute, this cause of controversy seemed to be removed. Further reflection, however, has added great force to the expediency and importance of a precise definition of the public law on this subject. There is much cause to presume, that at the repeal of the Orders in Council had taken place in time to have been known here before the declaration of war, and had had the effect of preventing the declaration, not only that no provision would have been obtained against impressment, but that under the name of blockade the same extent of coast would have been covered by proclamation, as had been covered by the Orders in Council.—The war which these abuses and impressments contributed so much to produce, might possibly prevent that consequence. But it would be more satisfactory, if not more safe, to guard against it by a formal definition in the treaty. It is true, should the British Government violate again the legitimate principles of blockade, in whatever terms, or under whatever pretext it might be done, the United States would have in their hands a correspondent resort; but a principal object in making peace, is to prevent, by the justice and reciprocity of the conditions, a recurrence again to war, for the same cause. If the British Government sincerely wishes to make a durable peace with the United States, it can have no reasonable objection to a just definition of blockade, especially as the two Governments have agreed in their correspondence, in all its essential features. The instructions of the 15th April, 1813, have stated in what manner the President is willing to arrange this difference."

"On the other, neutral rights, enumerated in the former instructions, I shall remark only, that the catalogue is limited in a manner to evince a spirit of accommodation; that the arrangement proposed in each instance is just in itself; that it corresponds with the general spirit of treaties between commercial powers; and that Great Britain has sanctioned it in many treaties, and gone beyond it in some."

"On the claim to indemnity for depredations, I have only to refer you to what was said in the former instructions. I have to add, that should a treaty be formed, it is just in itself, and would have a happy effect

on the future relations of the two countries, if indemnity should be stipulated on each side, for the destruction of all individual towns, and other property, contrary to the laws and usages of war. It is equally proper that the negroes taken from the southern States should be returned to their owners, or paid for at their full value. It is known that a considerable trade has been carried on in the West Indies by the sale of these persons there, by those who professed to be their deliverers. Of this fact, the proof that has reached this department shall be furnished you. If these slaves are considered as non-combatants, they ought to be restored; if, as property, they ought to be paid for. The treaty of peace contains an article which recognizes this principle."

[After some further arguments relative to the Russian mediation, which the President's agents was not accepted, the letter concludes.] "JAMES MONROE."

*Messrs Adams, Bayard, Clay, and Russell, to Mr. Monroe, Secretary of State, Aug 12, 1814.*

"Sir.—We have the honour to inform you, that the British Commissioners, Lord Gambier, Henry Goulburn, Esq. and William Adams, Esq. arrived in this city on Saturday evening, the 8th instant.—The day after their arrival, Mr. Baker, then Secretary, called upon us to give us notice of the fact, and to propose a meeting at a certain hour, on the ensuing day. The place having been agreed upon, we accordingly met, at one o'clock, on Monday, the 8th instant. We enclose herewith a copy of the full powers exhibited by the British Commissioners at that conference; which was opened, on their part, by an expression of the sincere and earnest desire of their Government, that the negotiation might result in a solid peace, honourable to both parties. They, at the same time, declared, that no events which had occurred since the first proposal for his negotiation, had altered the pacific dispositions of their Government, or varied its views as to the terms upon which it was willing to conclude the peace. We answered, that we heard these declarations with great satisfaction, and that our Government had acceded to the proposal of negotiation, with the most sincere desire to put an end to the differences which divided the two countries, and to lay, upon just and liberal grounds, the foundation of a peace which, securing the rights and interests of both nations, should unite them by lasting bonds of amity. The British Commissioners then stated the following subjects, as those upon which it appeared to them that the discussions would be likely to turn, and on which they were instructed:

1. The forcible seizure of merchant ships and merchant vessels, and jurisdiction with it, claimed by Great Britain, against the allegiance of all the native subjects of Great Britain.

2. We understood them to intimate, that the British Government did not propose that

point as one which they were particularly desirous of discussing, but that as it had occupied so prominent a place in the disputes between the two countries, it necessarily attracted notice, and was considered as a subject which would come under discussion.

"2. The Indian Affairs of Great Britain to be included in the present one, and a definite boundary to be settled on their territory."

"The British Commissioners stated, that an arrangement upon this point was a *quo non*, that they were not authorised to conclude a treaty of peace which did not embrace the Indians. A. Ales of his Britannic Majesty; and that the establishment of a definite boundary of the Indian territory was necessary to secure a permanent peace, not only with the Indians, but also between the United States and Great Britain.

"3. A revision of the boundary line between the United States and the adjacent British Colonies."

"With respect to this point, they expressly disclaimed any intention on the part of their Government to acquire an increase of territory, and represented the proposed revision as intended merely for the purpose of preventing uncertainty and dispute."

"After having stated these three points, as subjects of discussion, the British Commissioners added, that before they desired any answer from us, they felt it incumbent upon them to declare, that the British Government did not deny the right of the Americans to the fisheries generally, or in the open seas; but that the privileges, formerly granted by treaty to the United States, of fishing within the limits of the British jurisdiction, and of landing and drying fish on the shores of the British territories, would not be renewed without an equivalent. The extent of what was considered by them as waters peculiarly British, was not stated. From the manner in which they brought this subject into view, they seemed to wish us to understand that they were not anxious that it should be discussed, and that they only intended to give us notice that these privileges had ceased to exist, and would not be again granted without an equivalent, nor unless we thought proper to provide expressly in the treaty of peace for their renewal.

"The British Commissioners having stated, that these were all the subjects which they intended to bring forward or to suggest, requested to be informed, whether we were instructed to enter into negotiation on these several points? and whether there was any amongst these which we thought it unnecessary to bring into the negotiation? and they desired us to state on our part, such other subjects as we might intend to propose for discussion in the course of the negotiation. The meeting was then adjourned to the next day, in order to afford us the opportunity of consultation amongst ourselves before we gave an answer. In the course of the evening of the same day we received your letter of the 25th and 27th of June.

"There could be no hesitation, on our

part, in informing the British Commissioners, that we were not instructed on the subjects of Indian pacification or boundaries, trade or fisheries; nor did it seem probable, although neither of these points had been stated with sufficient precision in that first verbal conference, that they could be admitted in any shape. We did not wish, however, to prejudge the result, or by any hasty proceeding abruptly to break off the negotiation. It was not impossible that, on the subject of the Indians, the British Government had received erroneous impressions from the traders in Canada, which our representations might remove; and it appeared, at all events, important to ascertain distinctly the precise intentions of Great Britain on both points. We therefore thought it advisable to invite the British Commissioners to a general conversation on all the points, stating to them, at the same time, our want of instructions on two of them, and holding out no expectation of the probability of our agreeing to any article respecting them. At our meeting on the ensuing day we informed the British Commissioners, that upon the first and third points proposed by them we were provided with instructions, and we presented as further subjects considered by our Government as suitable for discussion.

"1st. A definition of blockade, and as far as might be mutually agreed, of other neutral and belligerent rights.

"2d. Claims of indemnity in certain cases of capture and seizure.

"We then stated that the two subjects, 1st of Indian pacification, and boundaries; and, 2d, of fisheries, were not embraced by our instructions.—We observed, that as these points had not been heretofore the grounds of any controversy between the Government of Great Britain and that of the United States, and had not been alluded to by Lord Castlereagh, in his letter proposing the negotiation, it could not be expected that they should have been anticipated, and made the subject of instructions by our Government; that it was natural to be supposed that our instructions were confined to those subjects upon which differences between the two countries were known to exist; and that the proposition to define, in a treaty between the United States and Great Britain, the boundary of the Indian possessions within our territories was new and without example. No such provisions had been inserted in the Treaty of Peace in 1763, nor in any other treaty between the two countries;—no such provision had, to our knowledge, ever been inserted in any treaty made by Great Britain or any other European power, in relation to the same description of people, existing under like circumstances. We would say, however, that it would not be doubted, that peace with the Indians would certainly follow a peace with Great Britain—that we had information that Commissioners had already been appointed to treat with them; that a treaty to that effect might, perhaps, have been already concluded;—and that the United States having no interest, nor any motive, to continue a

separate war against the Indians, there could never be a moment when our Government would not make peace with them.

We then expressed our wish to receive from the British Commissioners a statement of the views and objects of Great Britain upon all the points, and our willingness to discuss them all, in order that, even if no arrangement should be agreed on, upon the points not included in our instructions, the Government of the United States might be possessed of the entire and precise intentions of that of Great Britain respecting these points, and that the British Government might be fully informed of the objections on the part of the United States to any such arrangement. In answer to our remark, that these points had not been alluded to by Lord Castlereagh, in his letter proposing the negotiation, it was said that it could not be expected that in a letter, merely intended to invite a negotiation, he should enumerate the topics of discussion, or state the pretensions of his Government, since these would depend upon ulterior events, and might arise out of a subsequent state of things. In reply to our observation, that the proposed stipulation of an Indian boundary was without example in the practice of European nations, it was asserted, that the Indians must in some sort be considered as an independent people, since treaties were made with them, both by Great Britain and by the United States, upon which we pointed out the obvious and important difference between the treaties we might make with the Indians, living in our territory, and such a treaty as was proposed to be made, respecting them, with a foreign power, who had solemnly acknowledged the territory on which they resided to be part of the United States.

"We were then asked by the British Commissioners whether, in case they should enter farther upon the discussion of the several points which had been stated, we could expect that it would terminate by some provisional arrangement on the points on which we had no instructions, particularly on that respecting the Indian, which arrangement would be subject to the ratification of our Government? We answered, that before the subject were distinctly understood, and the object in view more precisely disclosed, we could not decide whether it would be possible to form any satisfactory article on the subject; nor pledge ourselves as to the exercise of a discretion under our powers, even with respect to a provisional agreement. We added, that as we should deeply deplore a rupture of the negotiation on any point, it was our anxious desire to employ all possible means to avert an event so serious in its consequences; and that we had not been without hopes that a discussion might correct the effect of any erroneous information which the British Government might have received on the subject, which they had proposed as a preliminary basis. We took this opportunity to remark, that no nation observed a policy

more liberal and humane towards the Indians than that pursued by the United States; that our object had been, by all practicable means, to introduce civilization amongst them; that their possessions were secured to them by well-defined boundaries (that then persons, lands, and other property, were no more effectually protected against violence or frauds from any quarter, than they had been under any former Government; that even our citizens were not allowed to purchase their lands; that when they gave up their title to any portion of their country to the United States, it was by voluntary treaty with our Government, who gave them a satisfactory equivalent; and that through these means the United States had succeeded in preserving, since the Treaty of Greenville, of 1795, an uninterrupted peace of 18 years with all the Indian tribes—a period of tranquillity much longer than they were known to have enjoyed heretofore.

"It was then expressly stated on our part, that the propositions respecting the Indians was not distinctly understood. We asked, whether the pacification, and the settlement of a boundary for them were both made *a sine qua non*? Which was answered in the affirmative. The question was then asked the British Commissioners, whether the proposed Indian boundary was intended to preclude the United States from the right of purchasing by treaty from the Indians, without the consent of Great Britain, lands lying beyond that boundary? And as a restriction upon the Indians from selling, by amicable treaties, lands to the United States, it had been hitherto practised?—To this question, it was first answered by one of the Commissioners, that the Indians would not be restricted from selling their lands, but that the United States would be restricted in purchasing them; and on reflection, another of the Commissioners stated, that it was understood that the Indian territories should be a barrier between the British dominions and those of the United States; that both Great Britain and the United States should be restricted from purchasing their lands, but that the Indians might sell them to a third party.—The proposition respecting Indian boundary, thus explained and connected with the right of sovereignty ascribed to the Indians over the country, amounted to nothing less than a demand of the absolute cession of the rights both of sovereignty and of soil. We cannot abstain from remarking to you, that the subject (of Indian boundary) was indirectly stated, when first proposed, and that the explanations were at first obscure, and always given with reluctance.—And it was declared from the first moment to be a *sine qua non*, rendering any discussion unprofitable, until it was admitted as a basis. Knowing that we had no power to cede to the Indians any part of our territory, we thought it unnecessary to ask, what probably would not have been answered till the principle was admitted, where

the line of demarcation of the Indian country was proposed to be established.—The British Commissioners after having repeated that their instructions on the subject of the Indians were peremptory stated, that unless we could give some assurance, that our powers would allow us to make at least a provisional arrangement on the subject any further discussion would be fruitless, and that they must consult their own Government on this state of things. They proposed accordingly a suspension, of the conference, until they should have received an answer, it being understood that each party might call a meeting whenever they had any proposition to submit. They dispatched a special messenger the same evening, and we are now waiting for the result.

"Before the proposed adjournment took place, it was agreed that there should be a protocol of the conferences, that a statement should for that purpose be drawn up by each party, and that we should meet the next day to compare the statements.—We accordingly met again on Wednesday the 10th instant, and ultimately agreed upon what should constitute the protocol of the conferences. A copy of this instrument we have the honour to transmit with this dispatch; and we also enclose a copy of the statement originally drawn up on our part, for the purpose of making known to you the passages to which the British Commissioners objected.—Their objection to some of the passages was, that they appeared to be argumentative, and that the object of the protocol was to contain a mere statement of facts. They, however, objected to the insertion of the answer which they had given to our question respecting the effect of the proposed Indian boundary; but they agreed to an alteration of their original proposition on that subject, which renders it much more explicit than as stated, either in the first conference, or in the proposed draught of the protocol.—They also objected to the insertion of the fact, that they had proposed to adjourn the conferences until they could obtain further instructions from their Government. The return of their messenger may, perhaps, disclose the motive of their reluctance in that respect. We have the honour to be, very respectfully, Sir, your humble and obedient servants,

(Signed) JOHN QUINCY ADAMS, J. A. BAYARD, H. CLAY, JOHN RUSSELL.

In a letter from Messrs. Adams, Bayard, Clay, Russell, and Calamit, dated from Ghent, on the 19th August, 1814, the British Commissioners, in a conference on that day, explain the views of the British Government as follows:—

"1st. Experience had proved that the joint possession of the Lakes, and a right common to both nations, to keep up a naval force on them, necessarily produced collisions, and rendered peace insecure. As Great Britain could not be supposed to expect to make conquests in that quarter, and as that province was essentially weaker than

the United States, and exposed to invasion, it was necessary, for its security, that Great Britain should require that the United States should hereafter keep no armed naval force on the Western Lakes, from Lake Ontario to Lake Superior, both inclusive; that they should not erect any fortified or military post or establishment on the shores of those Lakes; and that they should not maintain those which were already existing. This must, they said, be considered as a moderate demand, since Great Britain, if she had not disclaimed the intention of any increase of territory, might, with propriety, have asked a cession of the adjacent American shores. The commercial navigation and intercourse would be left on the same footing as heretofore. It was expressly stated (in answer to a question we asked), that Great Britain was to retain the right of having an armed naval force on those Lakes, and of holding military posts and establishments on their shores.

"2. The boundary line west of Lake Superior, and thence to the Mississippi, to be revised; and the Treaty right of Great Britain to the navigation of the Mississippi to be continued. When asked, whether they did not mean the line from the Lake of the Woods to the Mississippi, the British Commissioners repeated that they meant the line from Lake Superior to that river.

"3. A direct communication from Halifax and the province of New Brunswick to Quebec, to be secured to Great Britain. In answer to our question, in what manner this was to be effected, we are told, that it must be done by a cession to Great Britain of that portion of the district of Maine (in the state of Massachusetts) which intervenes between New Brunswick and Quebec, and prevents that direct communication.

"We asked whether the statement made, respecting the proposed revision of the boundary line between the United States and the dominions of Great Britain, embraced all the objects she meant to bring forward for discussion, and what were particularly her views with respect to Moose Island, and such other Islands in the Bay of Passamaquoddy; as had been in our possession till the present war, but had been lately captured? We were answered, that those Islands, belonging of right to Great Britain (as much so, one of the Commissioners said, as Northamptonshire) they would certainly be kept by her, and were not even supposed to be an object of discussion.

"We need hardly say that the demands of Great Britain will receive from us an unanimous and decided, negative. We do not deem it necessary to detain the John Adams for the purpose of transmitting to you the official notes which may pass on the subject and close the negotiation. And we have sent it out duly immediately to apprise you, by this timely but correct sketch of our last conference, there is not, at present, any hope of peace. (Signed as above.)

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LETTER II.

TO THE EARL OF LIVERPOOL,  
ON THE AMERICAN WAR.

Bolton, 27th Nov. 1814.

MY LORD,—In my last, I gave you my reasons for believing, that we ought, in this contest, to place no reliance on the expected *Separation of the States* of the American Republic. The recent intelligence from that country tends strongly to confirm this opinion. But, before I come to speak more particularly upon this point, I think it may be useful to state the substance of the most interesting parts of this recent intelligence, in the order in which that intelligence presents itself. For, as to the mutual and gabled extracts, published by the London newspapers, they are only calculated, and, indeed, only intended, to cheat this nation. It must be observed, however, that none but papers on the *Federal*, or *Noble*, side appear, since the commencement of the war, to reach this country; which is not at all wonderful, if we consider, that the channels are all now closed, except to the English Government, or the English merchants. Halifax is the great channel; our ships of war and packets are the bearers. It is to be expected, therefore, that we shall never, except by mere accident, see a newspaper hostile to our views. Your Lordship will bear in mind, that the expedition to the City of Washington destroyed, very completely, the *printing presses and types* of Messrs. Gales and Seaton, who were charged with hostility to our cause. How far this was consistent with the usages of war amongst civilized nations I know not; but, if our officers were so attentive to the press in this instance, it is not to be supposed, that they would be negligent in other instances; it is not to be supposed, that they would be the bearers, or suffer any body else to be the bearers, of Republican newspapers. A summary of intelligence is as follows.

Sept. 21. Troops were withdrawn from the back parts of the Eastern States

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(where the war was most opposed) for the defence of the sea-coast. At Boston, even (the seat of the Cossack Priesthood) every preparation was made for defence, and the Bostonian Cossack newspapers announce, that they *bid defiance* to any force that may be brought against that city, or the State of Massachusetts.

Sept. 26. At Baltimore grand funeral processions at the interment of certain volunteers, who, it is said, lost their lives 'in defence of the city and of their country's rights.'

Sept. 28. The citizens of New York continued their daily labours on the fortifications for the defence of that important place.—Same date, the following article from Boston. THE STRANGER.—Of "this valuable prize, a letter from Salem adds,—A passenger in the Stranger states, that she was one of four ships laden with ordnance stores, which sailed from England, under convoy of a frigate; that on the Banks of Newfoundland they were separated in a gale and two of them foundered, and the crews were taken off by the Stranger and the other ship, which two afterwards separated. that the Stranger has on board sixty-six 32 pounders, with cartridges, and apparatus complete, expressly intended for Sir James Yeo's new ship building at Kingston; and a great quantity of blankets, soldiers clothing, shot, shells, Congreve rockets, blue lights, muskets, and a variety of other articles, for the use of the army, in Canada. The Stranger commenced unloading yesterday, and no doubt by this time every article of her important cargo is safely deposited in a place of security.—The of the Stranger, and the two ships foundered, will be a very serious one to the enemy, and which cannot very well be remedied till the spring."

Sept. 29.—The Governor of Vermont (*d Federalist*), issued a proclamation, in which is the following passage:—Whereas as it appears, that the war on our back country is an unfortunate one, we have

"sumed an entirely different character, since its first commencement, and has become almost exclusively defensive, and is prosecuted by the enemy with a spirit, unexampled during pending negotiations for peace, which leaves no prospect of safety but in a manly and united determination to meet invasion at every point, and expel the invader.—And, whereas, notwithstanding the signal and glorious naval victory lately achieved by our gallant Commodore McDonough and his brave officers and seamen, over a superior British naval force, on Lake Champlain, and a like discomfiture of the enemy's whole land force, concentrated at Plattsburgh, by General M'comb's small but valiant band of regular troops, aided and powerfully supported by our patriotic, virtuous, and brave volunteers, who flew to meet the invader with an alacrity and spirit, unexampled in this or any other country, it is made known to me, that the British army is still on the frontier of our sister State, collecting and concentrating a powerful force, indicating further operations of aggression.—And, whereas, the conflict has become a common, and not a party concern, the true has now arrived when all degrading party distinctions and animosities, however we may have differed respecting the policy of declaring, or the mode of prosecuting the war, ought to be laid aside, that every heart may be stimulated, and every arm exerted, for the protection of our common country, our liberty, our altars, and our firesides, in defence of which we may, with a humble confidence, look to Heaven for assistance and protection."

*Same Date.* Account of a dinner at Albany.—These are the signs of the feelings of the people of America. They are more worthy of attention than 50,000 empty harangues on either side.—"On Monday the 19th inst. a Public Dinner was given by the citizens of this city to Majors General Scott and Gaines, and their respective suites. The company was very numerous, and consisted of the most respectable citizens of this place, without distinction of party.—The Hon. John Taylor, Lt. Gov. Presided—and the Hon. P. S. Van Rensselaer, the Mayor, was Vice President.—The following Toast were drunk on the occasion—

"1. Our soil—in its defence every good and brave man will exert his energies

"3. The President of the United States.

"4. The Congress of the United States—May they possess the wisdom to discern, and the energy to pursue, the true and permanent interests of their country.

"5. Our Commissioners at Ghent—May they return freighted with the blessings of peace

"6. The memory of Washington

"7. The heroes and statesmen of the Revolution—May our gratitude for their service, be as immortal as their fame.

"8. Our Navy—Both hemispheres have been illuminated with its ascending glory

"9. The Governor of the State of New York

"10. Party—May it be banished from our Land—We have now but two parties, our country, and its invading enemies

"11. Our brave army on the Niagara frontier—It has covered itself with glory. It has the rich merit of having redeemed our national character.

"12. Commodore McDonough—The ever memorable and glorious victory of the 11th September, achieved by his squadron over a superior British force in men and gun, he immortalised him and his brave men. The State of New York owes him peculiar gratitude, he has saved our northern frontier from pillage and desolation

"13. Major-General Brown—His military skill and valor enables him to the pleasure of

"14. Major-General Porter—The gallant leader of the New York State Volunteers

"15. Those heroes who have fallen in battle in defending our rights—they have sealed with their blood their devotion to their country—their memories are enshrined in our heart.

"16. The memory of George Clinton

"17. The memory of Alexander Hamilton

"The following volunteer toasts were given:  
"By Major-General Scott—The City of Albany, in munificence and public spirit, worthy to be the metropolis of the first State in the Union.

"By Major-General Gaines—The People of America, united, will defy the strength and arms of Kings

"After Generals Scott and Gaines withdrew, the following toasts were given

"Major-General Scott, the pride of his country—the Battles of Chippawa and Buffalo—wager, have consecrated his genius and valour.

"Major-General Gaines—Hero of Fort Erie, honour to him—honour to his country"

I have put stars in the place of a word expressive of great irreverence towards





*Kings*, with whom those Republicans make rather free.

*October 4.* Unbounded praises on the fleet and army at Lake Champlain. An official report from General Macomb of our army, which marched against him to Plattsburgh, as follows:—

"*A list of the principal officers of the British army, and an exhibit of the several regiments and corps under the command of Lieutenant-General Sir Geo. Prevost at the siege of Plattsburgh.*"

"*Lieutenant General Sir George Prevost, commander in chief.*"

"*Major-General de Rottenburgh, second in command.*"

"*Major-General Robertson, commanding first brigade.*"

"*Major-General Powers, commanding second brigade.*"

"*Major-General Bissant, commanding third brigade.*"

"*Major-General Baynes, adjutant-general.*"

"*Sir Sidney Beckwith, quartermaster-general.*"

"*Col. Hughes, chief engineer.*"

"*Major Sinclair, commanding officer of artillery.*"

"*Lieut. Col. Tryall, assistant adjut.-gen.*"

"*Capt. Burke, deputy ass. adjut.-gen.*"

"*Col. Murray, assistant quartermaster-gen.*"

"*Major Montgomery, do do.*"

"*Capt. Davis, dep. ass. quartermaster-gen.*"

*List of the Regiments and Corps*

" 4 Troops 15th light dragoons	300
" 4 Companies royal artillery	400
" 1 Brigade of rocketeers	25
" 1 Brigade royal sappers and miners	75
1st Brigade—7th regt. 1st battalion	300
58th	900
5th	1000
3d or Buffs	900
	— 3700
2d Brigade—88th	1000
39th	900
76th 3d bat.	900
27th 3d bat.	800
	— 3600
3d Brigade—8th or King's 2d bat.	900
13th	600
49th	600
6th	1000
	— 3100
4th Brigade—Muran's regt. (Swiss)	1200
Canadian Chasseurs	900
Voltigeurs	550
Frotherlight infantry	150
	— 2800

14,000

*Same Date.*—A message from Mr. Tompkins, Governor of the State of New York, giving a detail of about 40,000 militia called out by that State into actual service. A recommendation to form companies of *Cadets*, one of which was already supported at the expense of a private patriotic individual. He recommends also the establishment of a great cannon-foundry in the interior.

*Oct. 5. [A MOST MEMORABLE DAY.]* "The Washington, SEVENTY FOUR GUN SHIP, was launched at Portsmouth, in superb style, at half-past 12 o'clock. No accident occurred. The spectators were very numerous."—*Portsmouth*, my Lord, there is in *New Hampshire* as well as in *Old Hampshire*. --It is Greek meeting Greek, let folks say what they will! This is the first of their ships of the line. There are three more getting forward. They may all be out at or before next May, with frigates and smaller vessels in their suite. Pray, my Lord, do your best to put an end to this war. It will, as I always said, create a formidable navy. Let the Americans have peace. The war makes them pay taxes, to be sure; but it makes us pay taxes too, and in a much greater proportion—Observe, too, that this ship is launched in our favourite *Eastern States!* In one of those States which we expected to separate from the Union! It is amongst the "*non-combatants*" that this first ship of the line is launched.

*Same date.*—*New York Gazette.*—

"The Philadelphia papers of yesterday, which we last evening received by the quick stages, contain the subsequent articles.—We have seen a letter from Philadelphia, stating, that a report prevailed there all the morning of Monday that the famous Wm. Cobbett had arrived in that city, and put up at the office of the Democratic Press.—Whether the report is correct or not, we are unable to determine, but it is a fact, that the democratic Press of Monday evening contains an address to the public, of three columns, under the signature of "William Cobbett." You see, my Lord, that, in spite of their alarms, they can *hoax* in that country as well as in this. Indeed, my Lord, I was not there. The Noblesse of Massachusetts were cleverly hoaxed. They are first becoming the laughing-stock of the whole country. There is no reliance to be placed upon



them. They are a set of vain fools, with that consummate conceit, H. G. OTIS at their head, who will never be a *Seigneur* unless he quit America.

Oct. 14.—The *Dispatches from Ghent* published.—The tone of the Federal prints changed. Not one of them daring to say, that he would recommend peace on our conditions. The sound of resistance, the charge of arrogance against England, became *unanimous*.

Same date.—Report of the Finances state, that the gross-revenue for 1815, is to be 22,435,000 dollars; a little more than *two thirds* of our **POOR RATS ALONE!** What a beggarly nation this America must be, my Lord! And yet the laborers in Philadelphia eat *meat!* Me it, did I say? Why, they eat fowl, and geese, and turkeys! They talk of *great exertions*, and are only going to raise 22,435,000 dollars, 5,608,777 pounds, upon seven or eight millions of people, while we raise more than 80,000,000 of pounds upon about ten millions of people, including paupers, army, navy, and all! This is their great, their gigantic effort, is it? But, then, it must be observed, that the people do a vast deal of their own accord. They turn out and work and fight without pay. As at New York, where even the school-boys are working at the different fortifications; and, as at Baltimore, where the city was defended, and our attack repelled, by the citizens themselves. The *Bostonians*, our friends, too, say that they are *ready* for us, and that they *bid us defiance*.

Same date.—Letters from Commodore Channcoy indicate, that he is in little fear of our **BIG SHIP**.

Same date.—The freedom of the city of New York presented to Commodore Perry.

Oct. 18.—News that the Americans had broken up the pirates at *Barataria*, captured all their ships, and taken 200,000 dollars in booty.—Account of the repulse of our expedition against Mobile.—Great prizes bestowed on the defenders of that fort, who are said to have proved to the world, that Americans are fit for war *in all its ships*.

The Legislature of Massachusetts, about ten days before, the dispatches arrived from Ghent, made a report, followed by certain *resolutions*, the object of the whole of which appears to have been to get the other New England States to join them in embarrassing the General

Government in the prosecution of the war. This project will, according to all appearance, be blown into air, and will have no other effect, than that of bringing its authors into utter disgrace. It is curious enough to hear this Legislative complain of us for treating *their* country as *roughly as the rest of the States*. They call us an enemy, who attacks, *without discrimination*, those who were against the war as well as those who were for it. Thus they have thrown off the mask. They did it at a very unlucky time, for, in ten days after they had done it, out came the *dispatches*, which appear to have silenced all the enemies of the war. This set-off disappointed the would-be Noblesse, who, when in power, railed against *faction*, called the opposition to Mr. Adams *atheists*, passed *Sedition Bills*, raised, and kept on foot, a *standing army in time of peace*, this set are not to be *relied on by us*. It was amongst these very men, that the Revolution began. They will do what they can to regain their lost power and consequence, they will *say any thing*, but they are never to be *relied on*. If they saw, that we were likely to have power to make them little *Seigneurs* over the people, and if their priests, the most greedy of all mankind, saw that we were in a state to make the people give them a good share of their earnings, if such were the fair prospect, I do not say, that they might not be tempted to an open rebellion against their General Government. But while there is any *doubt*, they will never take a decided part; and, therefore, I again beseech your Lordship to place *no reliance upon these men*.—It is little H. G. OTIS, who, signs this report of the Massachusetts Legislature. I have heard of A CERTAIN CORRESPONDENCE of this little *Seigneur Highness's* man. Poor little fribble! A Yankee Republican would beat an army of such men with a broom-stick. Besides, you very Lord, that their friendship depends upon our *forbearance*. We must not touch *their State*, if we do they will fight us. If, indeed, they would receive our ships into Boston harbour, take an army into their State, send us all sorts of supplies to Bermuda and Halifax, then there would be good ground for sparring them. But to spair them on account of their railing against Mr. Madison, and their contrivance about our being "the bulwark of their religion," is to be *cheated*

by a set of the most cunning hypocrites that ever existed. They are, in their report,—"We are resolved to defend our country against the incursions of an enemy, who has not discovered between those who have *arrogantly sought* peace, and those who have *uncommonly professed the war*." Thus, you are expected to be quiet and unmolested, while the *other States were attacked!* This would, indeed, be a pretty mode of carrying on war! We should thus leave the most vulnerable parts unscathed. *Portsmouth* is in the heart of England. We were not to attack that place, of course, though there is now a *fort-gun-ship* launched against us. So that these *friends* of ours are likely to be of amazing benefit to us. This is the great error of the war. We have, I fear, placed a *thorn* upon this little Noblesse, which chance has, at one and the same time, encouraged us to make propositions, and strengthened our arms, till the Eastern fleet is quite ready for defence. And yet they would still carry on the *force of friendship* towards us, at once to deceive us and to vex the general Government.

But, my Lord, as was our case in the first French war, it is to their victories, and especially their *naval triumphs*, that the Americans owe the present popularity of the war. These have been so decisive, so striking, so wonderful, so far beyond all calculation, that the nation, who claim them, must be proud, unless we suppose them to be different from all other nations. These victories are the more agreeable, because the people of America have always looked at our naval power with dread. Some time after the capture of the Java and the destruction, an American editor, having collected together the several paragraphs and speeches, published upon the subject in England, re-published them under the head of "*Failling and gnashing of teeth*," and added a set of remarks, enough to make the blood of almost any Englishman boil but mine, which, having so long been boiling over a hotter fire, could receive no additional heat from these strictures. All our apologies about the *size of their ships; the number of their guns, the weight of their metal; the number of their men*; all these have been the subject of the most cutting and cruel irony, levelled against "the Mother Country." And, as to Captain Carden's description of the frigate by which he was captured in the *Macedonian*, namely,

that "*she was a 74 in degree*," it has become a by-word in the Republican States. Another ground of apology has been very much ridiculed, namely, that the Americans have won their battle with *our women*. This has been constantly asserted here by our foolish writers, not perceiving that it was the very worst apology that could possibly be offered. For, if the fact were so, it would follow, that our men *fought better* on board of the Yankee ships than on board of our own ships; or, that the best of our men preferred the American service to our own; or, that the American officers were *more able or more brave than ours*. One of these conclusions must be drawn from such a fact. So that these apologies for our defeats have really been the most cruel censures; have greatly aggravated the pain which the nation felt upon the occasion.—Yet, disgraceful as it is, the notion has prevailed, and the *Times* newspaper treats us to the following anecdote, relative to the cause of our failure, our defeat, our "*disgrace*," as they call it, on Lake Champlain.—"When Captain Prince, the second in command in the unfortunate affair on Lake Champlain, went on board the American commander-in-chief's ship to deliver up his sword, he observed a man *who treated him very disdainfully*, and wishing to learn the cause, he was told by the Commander that the individual was an *English fishman*, late boatswain of the British sloop of war *Alert*, and *as the man's skill and exertions the American Commander confessed he was PRINCE-PALLY indebted for the success of that day*."—I wonder where the *Times* newspaper got this anecdote. Or, rather, I wonder how the fool came to think of publishing such a falsehood. What, then, he is really to allow, I suppose, that one English boatswain has more skill than all the English officers on board our fleet! But still this boatswain had to work with *American sailors*. There was only his *directing head* at most. Wonderful that he should have been, by his single head, and American arms, able to capture a whole British fleet!—Yet, stupid as this is, it will take with this "*most thinking nation*." Indeed, the common opinion is, that it is to *our seamen* that the Americans owe their victories. I should not at all wonder if it were to be believed, that the armies of Macomb, Brown, Izard, Gaines, Scott, Jackson, &c. were composed of English-

men; men deserted from the English army. Monstrous as this appears, disgraceful as it is to our character, striking, as it does at the very root of our Government, despicable as it is calculated to make us in the eyes of the whole world; still even this seems to be thought payable to an acknowledgment, that the Americans, and especially that *Republicans*, possess more skill or more courage than our navy and army.

My Lord, I have, from before the beginning of this war, been deeply impressed with the opinion, that we should be the cause of creating a great *Naval Power* on the other side of the Atlantic. Say what men will, the real force of a ship depends upon her *men*. How came the *Peacock* to be sent to the bottom in fifteen minutes by a vessel of rather inferior size and metal? The Americans are *active* above all men in the world. They are *enterprising* above all men. They are, as a mass, *better informed* and *more acute* than any other people. They are more *hardy* than any other people. They are more *sober* than any other people amongst northern nations. They have less of *bodily disease* than any other people. Their education is such as to give every individual *great confidence in himself*, and a high opinion of his *own importance*. Such are the materials of which an American crew is composed. The acts, which have been performed by American prisoners of war, in several instances, are really of a character savouring of romance. We have nothing in history, nor upon the stage, nor in our chivalrous books which come up to these acts.—I will trouble your Lordship with an account of one of them, from an American paper, which account is worth a thousand essays upon such a subject. You will, from this account, see what Americans are capable of performing, and will cease to wonder at their naval successes.—You see how *lightly* they themselves treat such adventures.

#### A YANKEE TRICK; OR

#### An escape from a British Prison-Ship.

"We, the following named persons, citizens of the United States of America, viz. Samuel G. Parker, a native of Boston, taken by H. B. M. ship *Mailborough*; Thomas W. Nelson, a native of New York; John H. T. Estes, a native of Virginia; and John Hamman, a native of Pennsylvania, taken in the sch.

"*Bona*, of Baltimore, by H. B. M. ship of war *Laurestinus*; Robert Bond, a native of New York, taken by H. B. M. ship *Mailborough*; Samuel Wright, a native of Connecticut, attached to the United States' navy, taken in the United States' brig *Viper*, by H. B. M. frigate *Narcissus*; Jacob Anderson, a native of Massachusetts, taken in the *Albert*, of Baltimore, by H. B. M. ship *Mailborough*; Pleasant Scott, (man of colour) a native of Virginia, taken by H. B. M. ship *Mailborough*; Thos. McKeezy, (man of colour) of Philadelphia, taken in the *Dart* of Philadelphia, being prisoners on board of H. B. M. ship *Gorcy*, lying at the island of Bermuda, and finding our fare very hard, being on very short allowance of indifferent provision, and it being reported there, that there was to be no exchange of prisoners, resolutely determined to hazard our lives for our freedom the first opportunity, therefore on Wednesday morning, April 21st, eleven prisoners were ordered into the *Gorcy's* launch, to get fresh water, when the above named persons went into the boat, with two other prisoners, names unknown to us, under the guard of two soldiers of the 102d regiment, and the boatswain of the ship *Gorcy*—proceeded to St. Catharine's tank, there filled six casks with water; on our return the word *Washington* was given, it being our signal for an attempt to escape. We immediately dismissed the soldiers and took possession of the boat, and then within reach of two forts, namely St. Catharine's and Paquet forts, and within gun shot of the *Junon* frigate, the sloop of war *Nimrod*, and another sloop of war name unknown to us, boarded H. B. M. schooner *Bermuda*, she having five men on board, of the following description—a king's pilot, the captain and three hand—they made an ineffectual resistance, we then compelled them to retreat under deck, took possession, cut all her cables and moorings, made sail, and pushed out of an unknown channel, after turning off the boat with only two oars, two soldiers, and the boatswain of the *Gorcy*. The *Bermuda* being in the habit of laying buoys in the channel, had five of them on board, which we supposed would weigh two tons each, hove four of them overboard, not knowing the time of the vessel, reserved one of the buoys until we should discover it, the sails that were

on board were to sail and the flying jib we set as a studding sail, the gaff topsails as a flying jib boom, there being neither topmast, jib, nor any spare spars on board, we made spars of our oars by lashing them together. We found it necessary to have a boom of order on board, therefore Sam. G. Parker was unanimously elected master; we left Bermuda at eleven o'clock, *a. m.* with a moderate breeze from the southward; at once, *p. m.* we heard the alarm gun fire—two, *p. m.* saw a sail in chase of us, supposed it to be the brig *Nimrod*, at sun set we observed she gained on us fast, we then firing E. N. E.; at dark, ship pointed she could not see us, fired ship, fired W. by N.; about eight, *p. m.* saw her lights, when she passed about one mile astern of us, at three, *a. m.* by moon light, saw a brig about two miles to windward of us, we bore away and she over us—she kept way with us until about 8 *a. m.* the 22d, when we launched the fish boat and found this the time of the sail, by 10, *a. m.* ran her out of sight. We now examined and found we were at sea without any book, chart, or instruments, save a compass, with a quantity of fresh water, and ten days provisions. Nothing material passed during the passage, except that we were several times chased, and met with a gale of wind in the gulph, which compelled us to live too about sixty hours, until the 28th of April, when we made the land bearing N. W.; as we drew nigh, discovered it to be Cape May, saw a line of battle ship in the channel, two vessels endeavouring to cut us off up the bay, and a pilot boat in chase of us, we suspecting them to be rogishly inclined made as fast as possible to land, and within pistol shot of the pilot boat Pennsylvania, she being full of armed Englishmen, boarded the vessel, and jumped ashore at Cape May—having no arms ourselves, were obliged to abandon the vessel to the five prisoners and the Pennsylvania, after an anxious passage of seven days and six hours.—The schooner *Bermuda* is a fine Bermudian built vessel, coppered to the bends, and her sails new—was launched in June, 1812; is about 90 tons burthen; had on board a smith's forge, calculated for a man of war, with bellows, anvil, &c. one long six-pounder in the hold, dismounted, a quantity of shot and pig iron for bal-

last, no gun powder, and an azimuth, which was drawn for the Porters line of battle ship."

Now, my Lord, is there any thing like this upon record, with regard to any other nation? But there are many instances of such acts performed by Americans. They frequently happen. And yet are there men, who have the folly to believe, that it would be impossible for the Americans to gain a victory without the aid of *English seamen*? Must not a fleet, manned with such men, be a formidable object? And, if the war continue long, what reason have we to hope, that we shall not, on the Ocean as well as on the Lakes, have to face such a fleet? I am aware, that it is now too late to prevent the Republicans from having a considerable fleet. If peace were made to-morrow, they would build them 74's and then frigates. They have had a proof of the necessity of a respectable naval force even for the purposes of mere defence. They have had a taste of *glory*. They will now, in any case, be a *naval power*. But the progress of this power will be greatly *quickened* by a continuation of the war, while, on the other hand, that continuation will, day by day, render peace less likely to restore the former relationships of the two countries.

It is said, that, if we make peace *now*, without regarding what we have lost in naval reputation, we shall retire from the contest *disgraced*. I will not dispute that point, but, if we retire from the contest in a year or two hence, without recovering what we have lost, what will *then* be our situation? I beg your Lordship will to consider this question for, in comparison with this, what are to us all the arrangements of the *Congress of Vienne*? What, compared with this, are the questions relating to the parceling out of Germany; the distribution of its petty sovereignties; the allotment of its towns, fields, and population? What is it to us to have destroyed the naval arsenal of Antwerp, if a navy is to rise up in the American Republic? To have left the Emperor Napoleon master of *all* the Continent of Europe would not have been so dangerous to us as would be the existence of a considerable navy in America; for that navy, having once with it, would put our naval superiority, and even our safety at home, in imminent danger. There can be no doubt, that France will, whenever she has the opportunity, side with the Republic

against us. It would not, in such a case, be like an alliance against us by France and Spain and Holland, whose fleets we have been so long accustomed to dispose of by wholesale. One American seventy-four would outweigh half a fleet of such enemies. *Example is very contagious.* It is already seen, that we are *not invincible*. There is a moral effect in that fact equal to the half our physical force. I know well that this effect cannot be removed. I know the evil to be without a remedy. But, by putting an end to the war, we may retard, if not prevent, the increase of this great evil.

The peace on the Continent of Europe, which was regarded as the most fortunate event that ever occurred for this country, will, if the war with America be not speedily terminated, prove, in my opinion, to have been the most unfortunate that the country ever knew. If we had been still at war with Napoleon, he would, in spite of all explanation, have been looked upon as an ally of the Republic. At any rate, we should have been seen combatting America with a proportionally small part of our force. But now, we have no other enemy. We are pitted against the Republic *single-handed*. The world are looking on. We must now, if we continue the war for any length of time, triumph in a most signal manner, or, our reputation is gone for ever. The result of the naval action on Lake Champlain has, (the newspapers tell us), produced a wonderful sensation on the Continent, where people can hardly believe their eyes and ears. The fall of Napoleon was no less expected than these victories of America over the British Navy. These events have given a new turn to the views of politicians on the Continent; and the moral influence of them must be very great. I have not the smallest doubt, that your colleague, now at Vienna, feels somewhat of the effect of this influence, which, though no one will tell him of it in so many words, will act in diminution of his weight. Our newspapers tell us, that the American negotiators would "not be suffered, to shew their noses at Vienna." They need not go thither. The official reports of the battles of their country will do more than they could do in person. What need they care who possesses Poland and Italy and the Netherlands? What need they care about the intrigues of Europe? Their country must now stand, or fall, by the de-

cision of the sword. If she fall there will be no European Sovereign to mourn over her; but, if she stand, there will be enough to court her friendship, and the longer the war lasts, the more signal, the more important, the more lasting will be the effect of her triumph; the higher will she stand in the estimation of the world, the greater will be her weight, at the same time that, towards us, the greater will be her resentment.

I do not, however, suppose it necessary for America to place any reliance on the aid, or the good wishes, of France, or of any other power. She is, I am persuaded, quite able to defend herself, and to conduct the contest to a successful termination. Our newspapers announce, with great apparent glee, that Duke Wellington has prevented a French ship from sailing from France to the American Republic, with 300 French officers on board. It must have been a pretty large ship! But, why not let these officers go? It is a thousand to one if any of them would have been employed, if they had been employed, could they have been more mischievous to us than the Macombs, the Browns, the Bainbridges, the Perrys, &c. &c. have been? But whether employed or not, we should, at any rate, in case of final failure, have had to ascribe our defeat to the veteran officers of France. We should have had others besides the Yankees, to whom to ascribe our failure. We should have had something to soothe us under our mortification. It was said, that, when Lord Cornwallis yielded up his army at York Town, he wished to deliver his sword to the General who commanded the French part of the troops; but he was compelled to yield it to General Washington. The nation were soothed in 1782 with the reflection, that it was *not America alone*, to whom it had submitted; by whom it had been defeated. It was thought to have been no disgrace to give up to France, Spain, Holland, and America all joined together. Therefore, I would have let the 300 French officers go, for, while it is very certain that they could have done us no harm, they might, possibly, have afforded us the consolation of attributing any misfortune that may happen to them and not to the Republicans. The French officers are now *Royalists*. What they may be in a few moons no man can tell. At present, however, they are very loyal men, and go to hear mass. If these knights of the *Saint esprit*, or *Holy Ghost*, had

gone to America, we might safely have ascribed all future American victories to them, though they had, all the while, been eating herb-soup, and wearing dirty shirts, and gabbling about war, and writing everlasting memorials in the taverns of New York and Philadelphia. If, indeed, they were men *dissatisfied* with the present order of things in France; Republicans in principle, going with a resolution to *settle* in America; if, in short, they were men, of whom the King of France wished to get rid, then, I think, the Duke was right: for such men, even ordinary members of society, would be valuable in America, and, of course, injurious to us. But if they are knights of the Holy Ghost, I would let them go and join the Noblesse of Massachusetts, where they might possibly be regarded as “a bulwark of religion,” and afford great comfort to the Holy souls of the Presbyterian patriots, by performing an annual *Tu Deum* in honour of SAINT LOUIS, and of the restoration of the Pope, the Jesuits, and the Inquisition.

No, my Lord, the Americans want no officers from France, or from any other country. A well fed, well educated population, together with uncommon natural genius, will give them officers enough of their own growth. In future letters, I shall lay before your Lordship my thoughts more fully as to the formation of a navy in the American Republic, and the probable consequences of it: on the state of her manufactures, on the resources of her agriculture, as now practised, and as it admits of being improved, as also upon other matters, which now are become interesting to us.

I am, &c. &c.

WM. COBBETT.

P. S. Since writing the above, I have seen the *Gazette* (the long-promised *Gazette*) relating to the battles of *Plattsburgh* and *Lake Champlain*. We have here presented to us Sir George Prevost's account of his proceedings up to the 11th of September, the day when he was preparing to storm the fort, and on which fatal day our fleet was captured. — We have also a letter from Sir James Yeo, dated at Kingston, Lake Ontario, on the 24th of September. — I will speak about the accounts which we HAVE NOT, by and bye. — At present I wish to speak of, and put in as clear a light as possible, the dispute between Sir James Yeo and Sir

George Prevost. — The *Morning Chronicle*, which has long been, apparently, a tool in the hands of a faction in Canada against Sir George Prevost, says upon this occasion “It will be observed, in the letter of Sir James Yeo, with what criminal ignorance the attack on Plattsburgh was conducted.” — Sir James Yeo says — “It appears to me, and I have good reason to believe, that Captain Downie was urged, and his ship hurried into action before she was in a fit state to meet the enemy. I am also of opinion that there was not the least necessity for our squadron giving the enemy such decided advantages, by going into their bay to engage them, even had they been successful, it would not in the least have assisted the troops in forming the batteries; whereas, had our troops taken their batteries first, it would have obliged the enemy's squadron to quit the bay, and given ours a fair chance.” — There is in the *Gazette* a letter of Captain Ping, (second in command on board our fleet) to Sir James Yeo, which speaks of the *haste* with which our principal ship, the *Confiance*, was got ready for the service; but, it appears, that she was in sailing order several days, if not weeks, before the action. Sir George had received orders from home to undertake the expedition, which he did as soon as the troops arrived from France, and it leaks out from Capt. Ping, that the season demanded that no longer delay should take place. Now, which is very material, do we hear of any remonstrance by Capt. Downie against the movement of his fleet? — Sir James Yeo talks of the *decided advantage* which the enemy had by our going to engage them in the bay. I do not comprehend this. What advantage could the enemy have from that circumstance? If, indeed, he had been covered by the works on shore, he would have had an advantage; but, it appears, that he was at anchor out of gun-shot from the shore; consequently he could receive no protection from the land, while he left us at liberty to choose our mode of attack. This having been the case, for thus it is stated by Sir George Prevost, what reason could Sir James Yeo have for saying, that, “if the batteries had been taken first it would have obliged the enemy's squadron to quit the bay?” The batteries could not reach the enemy's squadron, which was “out of gun shot from the shore.” So that, after all, the result of the expedi-

"tion must have depended upon the fleet, which must have *sheered off*, or have come to action in the very position in which it did come to action"—Sir James Yeo says, even had our fleet been successful, "it would not, in the least, have asserted the troops in storming the 'battery.'" A most strange assertion!

What if the American fleet had been captured, in sight of the troops in the fort, would not have had *no effect on the troops*? But this was not what Sir George Prevost wanted so much. What he wanted, in order to induce him to lose part of his army in taking the fort, was to see that, *after that*, he had a fleet to *command the Lake*, and to enable him to move, and to derive advantage from his attack, and the *sacrifices* he most necessarily had made in that attack. Without the command of the Lake, he could neither have advanced nor retreated. He must have gone instantly back. Of what use, then, would have been the capture of the fort? How dangerous would have been his position, if he had lost many men in that capture, and had afterwards found out the naval force on the Lake employed against him in his retreat, intercepting and galling him at every river and creek, conveying against him all sorts of means of annoyance?

Burgoyne, though he had the absolute command of this same Lake, though he left behind him not a single battery of the enemy, was captured with all his English and German army very soon after he got out of the reach of the Lake, which, in fact, is the only channel and highway through that immense tract of country. The editor of the *Morning Chronicle* accuses Sir George Prevost of "*criminal ignorance*" in this enterprise. An accusation more unjust was never preferred. What could be more judicious than all his plans and movements upon this occasion? He marches with success to the place of attack, he is ready to begin that attack the moment the fleets engage. The result of their battle could not many minutes be doubtful. He sees our fleet beaten; and then he instantly retreats, well knowing, that, without the command of the Lake, the prosecution of the attack would be wholly useless, even in case of success. The truth is, that no attempt to invade the Republic could be thought of until the command of the Lake was looked upon as *secured*. Sir George Prevost evidently did look upon it as secured, and had he

not a right so to do, when he knew that our naval force was SUPERIOR TO THAT OF THE ENEMY?—There is, a very strange circumstance as to this interesting and most important fact.—Sir G. Prevost states the naval force to have been as follows—

ENGLISH		AMERICAN	
SHIPS	GUNS	SHIPS	GUNS
Constance ..	96	Saratoga ..	20
Lanet .....	18	Surprise ..	20
Broke .....	10	Thunderer ..	10
Shannon ..	10	Preble .....	7
12 Gun-boats....	10	10 Gun-boats ..	14
Total.	50	Total ..	81

Now, my Lord (pray attend!), what says Captain Pring upon this subject, in his letter to Sir James Yeo, which is published in the *Gazette*? He says, "I trust you will feel satisfied of the decided advantage the enemy possessed, *contrary to their great superiority in point of force*, a comparative statement of *the account of the British force* has NOT BEEN TRANSMITTED] of which I have *the honour to announce*."—What! Has not been transmitted! How come Sir James Yeo not to transmit it, since Capt. Pring had "*the honour to announce*" it to his letter? How can Sir James not to do this? This is a question to put to those who are for a *court-martial* on Sir George Prevost. But Sir George Prevost, who seems to have forgotten what these Naval Gentlemen would be at, has taken care to transmit the account of the naval force, on both sides, himself; and, I'll engage, that no one will ever dare to *contradict* his statement.—Under such circumstances, knowing that our naval force was superior to that of the enemy, well might Sir Geo. Prevost "*urge*," as Sir James says, that is to say, *push on the fleet* to meet the enemy. Well might he, as Captain Pring says, make an "*earnest solicitation*" for the fleet to come forward. The only thing that appears strange in this is, that the fleet should have needed such *urging* and *soliciting*.—Even if we had had a gun or two less than the enemy, Sir George Prevost might have been excused, one would think, for entertaining no doubt of a *fortunate result*; but when he knew, that we had a decided superiority of force, is he still to be accused of *hurrying* the fleet into action? These naval gentlemen seem to have become extremely *cautious* in their movements of late.—In short, my Lord, who does not, through all this, perceive, that the mortification of the navy

is intended to be revenged on the head of land commander. I should think, however, that the project will fail. Sir George Prevost, though he has a most powerful body to contend against, is a man of talents, and talents with truth will, in the end, prevail.—In the mean while Sir James Yeo, it must be confessed, runs, according to report, not the least risk of being overpowered. He has now, at any rate, a decided superiority of force; and he has one *hip* so big, that nothing, on the other side, will ever dare face him. He is got into a sort of *Ark* on these new seas. According to Commodore Channcey's report, Sir James had a *superiority before this big hip was launched*. If this be true, Sir James is certainly a very prudent commander. He can now wait no longer to be sure, though Sir George Prevost appears to have gone up into his *gibboudhead*.—Now, my good friend, pray let me to speak to you of the accounts, which we have NOT BLLEN to do to you. *Concette*, though it seems to have been promised us by the Minister several days ago. I mean the account of Sir George Prevost's RETREAT from Plattsburgh, which account I, for my part, am very anxious to see. We left Sir George Prevost at Plattsburgh. We now hear that he is at Kingston, or at Sackett's Harbour, where he and Sir James Yeo have captured Commodore Channcey's fleet, and all the American army at that place. This is what our newspapers say; but nobody gives us any account of Sir George's RETREAT, after seeing the fleet captured on Lake Champlain. The *Times* newspaper says, that the stores, left behind, or destroyed, in this retreat, cost from 70 to 100 thousand pounds sterling. But the most serious matter is, the reported *desertions* which took place during this retreat. Mr. Whitbread is reported to have said, in the House of Commons, a few days ago, that he had heard that 2,000 *Wellingtonians* deserted upon this occasion. Mr. Vansittart is reported to have answered, that Sir George Prevost had said nothing about any desertion; and, therefore, he could not believe the report; because, if the fact had been such, Sir George would have said something about it.—This was a very satisfactory answer for the time; but we expected to hear *what* Sir George really *did* say; and in this we have been disappointed.—We hope, however, to have the account at last.

*Botley, 29th November.*

P. S. 2d.—Our newspapers tell us, that they learn from letters just received from Halifax, that our Commanders have *destroyed* the buildings, which they had caused to be erected as *barracks* in the Tangier Islands, in the Bay of Chesapeake. This does not seem to indicate very strong symptoms of our taking up those "winter quarters," that we talked of, "in some commanding position, in the interior of the country."—But the same newspapers tell us, that we shall send out *four thousand more men in the spring*. If the war be to go on, I must say, that I wish to see this done. For, the sort of war that we are carrying on now, that is very bloody and expensive, seems to promise no truce. With sixty or seventy thousand of English and Germans in the field at once, it takes seven years to win it at a peace in 1782; and now it will, I dare say, take us the same time to arrive at a peace with 100 or 150 thousand men in the field at one time, so that it is high time to settle the forties and fifties of tomorrow, and greatly disapprove of the civilising administration of the property tax. Did I not tell the people, that they must pay this tax, or forego the delight of giving the Yankees a *whipping*? What! do they expect the Ministers to carry on the war on their own pocket? These *larks* wait for a without taxes! This is not folly or faction; it is, my friend, sheer *want of conscience*.

*Botley, 30th November.*

P. S. 3d.—As it is my intention to make a complete series of these letters, and to introduce them all into *the Liberator*, to say relative to this war with America, I shall, in this, stick on Postscripts, on the subjects, arising day by day. In the present Postscript I shall state, as accurately as I am able, the situation of things and of views in the two countries respectively.

IN AMERICA the first *seventy-four gun ship*, the *Wellington*, has been launched at *Portsmouth*, in *New Hampshire*. A new frigate is also stated to have been launched at Philadelphia.—300 thousand of the militia appear to have been called out into service; volunteer corps of horse and foot have been formed and equipped in a very complete manner.—The first *steam battery* is said to have been launched at New York. This battery is moved by steam, without regard to wind or tide; can be placed in any position on the



water; can be shifted and turned at pleasure; is bomb-proof, will resist cannon balls at 200 yards; forms a complete shelter to the men on board it, and has a furnace for heating shot. A report was made to the Congress, on this subject, last year, and the construction authorised by that body.—Works for the defence of all the principal towns and cities on the coast, or near it, have been, and are, carrying on with great alacrity.—Philadelphia cannot be touched by water, unless the works on land be first taken. To get at Philadelphia, General Howe was obliged to land an army below the Bay of Delaware; to march up through that State and through a part of Pennsylvania, more than 150 miles; and to fight a bloody battle at the Brandywine creek, which we should call a great river, the obstacles would not now be less; so that to get to Philadelphia, forty thousand men, with a stout train of artillery, would be requisite.—New York is more exposed to naval operations. A stout army might make a landing on Long Island, or, perhaps, on the Jersey shore. Staten Island is now too well fortified. But, it is possible, that, by the combined operations of a great fleet and a great army, New York might be taken, after much slaughter.—Boston and Charlestown are naturally strong, and every precaution appears to have been taken to provide for their defence. Baltimore must be attacked, if at all, by a very powerful army.—In short, now that the Republicans are ready for us, the war must be abandoned, or a larger army must be sent out than we have ever had on the Continent of Europe.—The Congress have resolved to raise taxes to the amount of 22 millions of dollars in 1815.

IN ENGLAND the Prince Regent has called upon the Parliament for the means of making great exertions in the prosecution of the war.—The Parliament, without a division, have promised him the means.—The war taxes, to the amount of about twenty millions of pounds annually, appear to be intended to be kept on.—The people are very sore under this disappointment, having promised themselves the taking off of these taxes at the expiration of the French war.—In addition to this a considerable part of the militia and volunteers have been, and are, kept embodied. A motion has been made against this, in the House of Commons. The American war is alleged to

be the justification for the measure. A Member asked, if they were afraid that Commodore M'Donough would come into these seas with his fleet.—If a great army be not sent to America, the Republicans and the world will laugh at us, and, if a great army be sent, it is evident to all men, that our expenses cannot be diminished; for, though we are making some retrenchments as to barracks and posts at home, we must have others, and more expensive ones, in Nova Scotia, New Brunswick, and Canada.—The people see all this, and so does the Government.—The disappointment and chagrin at the apparent length of the war is very general, amongst all but the army, the navy, and the taxing people.—But the general feeling still is, that of implacable vengeance against the Republicans for what is called their sauciness, or, in other words, their insolent treatment of our ships of war and fleets.—The fault of continuing the Property Tax is not laid upon the Ministers, but upon the Republicans.—The friends thought the American war would not last above half a year. When the City of Washington was taken, they expected a *Pukey* to be sent out directly. Their disappointment now is hardly to be described.—I remember being at the Quarter Sessions at Winchester, in the Autumn, I think it was, of 1812, when the news arrived of Sir George Prevost's first success over the Americans. One Cor., an army agent, brought the newspaper into the Court, and being one of the *Justices*, communicated it to the whole of the Bench. The universal sentiment was "*so much*" for the Yankees, then; they are *done* "*for*."—The disappointment, therefore, is now extremely great; but, still, the thirst for vengeance on the country of Hull, Bainbridge, Decatur, Lawrence, Perry, M'Donough, Porter, &c. &c. is greater even than this disappointment.—In the mean while, it is said, that a great number of transports are collecting at Portsmouth to carry out troops. The talk is of fifty thousand men. Our newspapers say, that as soon as the Congress at Vienna has made all safe on the Continent, many thousands will go thence. So, that people are in hopes of seeing one hundred thousand men sent off next year.—It is very curious, that what I have said in the above letter, with regard to French officers, has already been confirmed, as will appear from the following article from the *Times*

newspaper of yesterday.—“*Extract of a Letter from Paris, November 24.*—“Much has been said by the newspaper lately relative to an arrest of a French General and others for treason. The latter part of the story must be a pure addition of the English tale-bearers:—there never was the slightest mention in Paris of General Dufour, and 40 associates, being taken up for an attempt to overturn the King’s authority in France. There were two stories afloat.—one that he had been engaged in procuring natives of Belgium, settled in France, or once in the French service, to join the Belgians under the Prince of Orange; the other account was that he had busied him self in a similar way, to get French officers for the service of the *United States of America*. If the latter had been the case, the time and labour of the General would have been most foolishly thrown away for I happen to know, as a matter of fact, that several officers have returned to France, disappointed in their hopes of employment in the American armies,—the Republicans being so jealous of foreigners—so confident in their own strength—and, alas! in the feeble measures of their adversary, that they have refused to appoint any of these French Gentlemen even to a serjeant’s pike. But with regard to General Dufour’s arrest, I can assure you that he was seen and spoken to by a friend of mine the day after that on which it was said to have happened! These mischievous statements prove only the malice of their inventors, but nothing whatever as to the state of France. You see by the arrival of the Fingal what I have long prophesied, that both parties in America have actually coalesced—and that if you wish to preserve the Canadas, or a foot of ground on the Northern Continent, you must put forth the whole strength of the British Empire.—God grant that even so you may succeed.—How pious he is! Distance a old Mother Cole a whole peck! “*God grant*.” How pious! We are famed for many qualities; but our piety, upon such occasions, is the most distinctive trait in our character. So, they refused the “French gentlemen even a serjeant’s pike!”—Yes; Jonathan did not stand in need of these gentlemen. He wanted none of those who cried *à la l’Empereur*, one day, *à la*

*Bourbons*, the next. He did not want any of those gentlemen, who hailed their country’s invaders as its “*generous allies*.”—Our newspapers are accusing the French people of ingratitude, because they appear delighted at the success of the Republicans of America.—The gallant defence of the General Armstrong privateer, at Fayal, has produced a great sensation amongst all well-informed people. To hear, that 90 Republicans killed 120 and wounded 90 of our people, with the loss of only two killed and seven wounded, is, indeed, enough to produce a sensation.

#### ON RELIGIOUS PERSECUTION.

“It is the greatest impiety to deprive mankind of Liberty in matters of Religion, or to hinder them from choosing what Divinity they may please to worship; neither God nor Man is desirous of constrained service.”

*Tertullian’s Apology, chap. 11.*

#### LITFTR I.

SIR,—Voltaire has told us that martyrs are productive of proselytes, and the history of every age proves the assertion. If a man lose either life or liberty, for maintaining and promulgating his opinions, the circumstance naturally creates enquiry concerning those opinions, which neither the gloom of a dungeon, nor the fear of death, could induce him to abjure. Martyrdom is certainly an evidence of the zeal and resolution with which men embark in the cause for which they suffer; and evinces their sincere belief in the doctrines they maintain; consequently, all those of their own party become more attached to doctrines, the truth of which has been attested with blood, while curiosity gains over the indifferent. Yet martyrdom is no proof of Truth; and our Divines are so well aware of this, that they seldom make use of it in any learned reply to the scoffs and jeers of Infidels; being well aware that martyrs have died in support of dogmas directly opposite to each other; and, therefore, it only proves that the persons so immolated, confidently relied on the virtue of their cause, and had enthusiasm enough to carry it to death. The application of the term martyr depends entirely upon time, place, and circumstance. Charles the First is a blessed martyr with the sticklers for hereditary kingship and arbitrary power, and in our

church service is profanely compared with the lowly Jesus; while the Friends of Freedom describe him a monster, justly executed for committing high treason against the rights of the people. Every sect looks upon that man as a martyr, who falls in the propagation of its tenets, and every opposing sect brands the martyrs of the other with the name of vile heretics, and blaspheming infidels. It is customary with us to boast of the present being a very enlightened era, that a general circulation of knowledge has taken place, which has made men's minds so liberal and humane, that it is impossible for the tragedies of Smithfield again to be performed, all which blessings we constantly attribute to the complete liberty of the press, which we enjoy. Yet what can we term the late prosecution of Mr. George Houston, for editing a Life of Christ, entitled *Ecce Homo*, but the spirit of the dark ages revived; and who knows but he may be considered as a martyr by a great portion of society? Why should not the Deists have their martyrs as well as the Christians?

Mr. Houston, I am informed, has six children to support, with no other means than the extremely precarious emolument derived from literary pursuits; his two years imprisonment will, of course, greatly increase his expences, and be a considerable burthen to his exertions for the maintenance of himself and family; but this is not all:—when this horrible deprivation of liberty is expired, he may still be detained for the remainder of his life, or until the King dies, if the *real* Christian, the Republican, the Free-thinker, or the Philanthropist, does not come forward to assist him in paying a fine of £200 to the Crown. May not all these circumstances, I would ask, have a tendency to excite compassion in the public mind for the sufferings of the individual; and, at the same time, an ardent curiosity to be acquainted with the work, which has been the cause of his prosecution? Our venerable Milton, who was a good Christian and a staunch Republican, has said that—“A forbidden writing is thought to be a certain spark of truth, that flies up in the face of those who seek to tread it out.” I appeal to the experience of all men, whether they have not always perceived a condemned book with more attention, and consequently received a greater impression from it, than they

would have done, provided it had not been prohibited. Therefore, I contend, that this prosecution was dictated by a weak, narrow, and mistaken policy, because, if the object were to suppress the doctrines, it has completely failed, and advertised the work to those, who would otherwise, probably, never have heard of it. It is betraying a great ignorance of human nature to think the world can be informed of the existence of a curious book, and be, at the same time, forbidden to read, without creating an anxious desire to do so. State persecutors should keep in mind the pretty little tale of our grandmother, Eve, and the tree of knowledge. She

mandated not to taste of that fruit which would open her eyes, but female curiosity could not resist the temptation to disobey, though the penalty attached was so severe. Will our priests admit that they suppress opinions for the same reason, and that their efforts are thwarted in a similar manner? Of what import can be the antimadversions of a single pen, against the truth of our holy faith? Is it not built upon the rock of ages, and does it not carry with it an internal evidence of its acknowledged truth and authenticity? Why fear the efforts, then, of puny men, and bring in question the divine origin of our religion, by the human frailty of its persecuting and pushillamous professors? It inspires an idea, that our priests are an ignorant, or an indolent set of beings, who then resort to persecution for proof, instead of employing their learning and their energies to confute misrepresentation, or remove doubt, and prevent suspicion of their faith by the purity of their lives. It has a bad look with it; and I, as a Christian, cannot easily forgive their shortsightedness in thus cherishing, by their mismanagement, the very things which in their hearts they detest. If it were possible, for a moment, to suppose they could not answer this book, and made them inability a plea for the disgraceful remedy of persecution, still they act unwisely. They should then affect to treat it with contempt—to designate it as too frivolous and vague to deserve reply—that they pitied and prayed for its deluded author, who had only attacked what he could not injure, and whose crucible had only tried, not evaporated, the pure gold of the infallible Christian faith.

The number of the established; or State

pre-throw, in England alone, is upwards of 20,000, and their wages amount to two millions annually. Besides these, who may be considered as regular traders in old established concerns, there are innumerable adventurers and speculators in the same line of business, who have by their rascality and assiduity gained connections and customers in every part of the country; so that at present there is scarcely a parish in the kingdom where they have not commenced an opposition. But although there may be a certain degree of animosity between the old shop-keeper and the upstart, yet the principles of their craft are the same, consequently they are agreed in falling foul on those who attack the tricks of their trade; and what can the united skill of this redoubtable phalanx have to fear from a work like *Free Homs*.—By the consternation this work has spread amongst them, one would think its writer must have possessed talents of a very superior nature, as none of the modern philosophers appear to alarm them half so much. The elegant characteristicks of the accomplished Shaftsbury, the energetic style of Bolingbroke, the brilliant wit and poignant humour of Voltaire, the eloquence of Mirabaud, in his *System of Nature*; the profound reasoning of Helvetius, in his *Traité on l'Homme*, the general philanthropy of Godwin, in his *Political Justice*; the bold and liberal sentiments promulgated by the learned and impartial author of the *Masters for Thinking*; united with the fascinating Reveries of Volney, in his *Ruins of Empires*, have not, altogether, struck them with so much terror as this trifling volume, which, by their impotent efforts to suppress it, will be forced into an importance that all these authors have failed to obtain, though with the same object in view, and with more talent, and the liberty of being universally read. Hundreds of people have read, and, perhaps, imbibed, the opinions contained in the third part of Mr. Paine's *Age of Reason*, and from that circumstance have been induced to borrow and peruse his first and second parts, who knew nothing of either previous to the prosecution of Daniel Isaac Eaton, which advertised it to the world. Another effect of the impolicy of prosecuting Eaton, was the opportunity it gave him of publicly defending the principles he had published, and reprobating, what he called, the absurdities of the Bible before an open Court

of Law, which he certainly did with great magnanimity, considering his age and infirmities, and the frequent interruptions of the Judge who presided. If the *Age of Reason* was a *bullet*, the prosecutors of Eaton occasioned the publication of a *warrior*, because they gave him the power of publishing a full report of his defence, which can be circulated with impunity through all parts of the country, and is by far a more elaborate production than the pamphlet which was the ground of his offence, and will continue to be read with a lasting interest, as it contains a great variety of arguments, drawn from the sentiments and opinions of the earliest Fathers of the Church, and from the works of the most liberal and enlightened Divines of different ages, in favour of a FREE TOLERATION as to matters of faith, and against every species of religious persecution. The country we live in is called a Christian country, because that religion is professed and protected by the Government, consequently we are supposed to be the followers of Jesus, who is always represented to have been so mild and humane, that he uniformly discouraged every thing like violence and persecution, in disseminating his benevolent doctrine. Indeed, he is described as being so meek, that he did not resent even the greatest injuries, nor reviled those who ridiculed him, endeavouring rather to convert them by persuasive argument, to gain their good will by the suavity of his manners, to excite their admiration and astonishment by the wonderful deeds he performed, and ultimately to convince them of his sincerity by voluntarily suffering an ignominious death at the hands of the common executioner, sooner than desert the great work he had embarked in. How absurd, then, is it for us, if we pretend to belong to any of the numberless sects who profess him to be their founder, to punish any man for writing as freely of our religion as we do of others! We cannot justify our conduct, by any thing that Christ is reported to have said or done, or by any of the writings attributed to his disciples, who went no further than to threaten the refractory with a warm birth in the devil's dominions; therefore I think Voltaire was warranted in saying—"If you would resemble Jesus Christ you must be martyrs and not executioners."

So liberal are our laws, that they permit us to worship the power or powers

above in our own way, yet, if that way happen to be different from the State religion, they are so illiberal that they deny many of our civil rights; therefore we cannot boast of enjoying complete Toleration, while we are mute in one way for what we receive in another, nor is it a little singular that our Protestant Government, who pride themselves so much for the purity and moderation of their system, who profess to be so zealous in defending the dignity of the Christian Faith, and to consider all kinds of fanaticism as a disgrace to religion, should encourage to such an extent the various sects that have seceded from the Church of England, and undermined its foundation. The Methodists are suffered to establish themselves in every village; the dreams of Emanuel Swedenborg, the ravings and prophecies of Joanna Southcott, and the wildest absurdities are published with safety, provided they are pretended to be deduced from the Jewish or Christian Scriptures. Even those who deride with the Deist the doctrine of the Trinity, are now under the sanction of the law, provided then one God be the God of the Bible; though at the same time they reject great part of that sacred book as forgeries and falsehood. I would ask any rational man, whether our holy religion is not more likely to be brought into contempt by the conduct of such Sects, than by the toleration even of Deism itself, which is, at worst, never enthusiastic, nor likely to disturb the public peace; and if at any time it has been forced into notice, it has been through the intolerance of the Priesthood, in their ill-timed and unchristian-like opposition.

What reply can such men make to the question of Saint Augustine.—“Shall we persecute whom God tolerates?”

Upon the whole, it seems to have been the opinion of the wise and the good in all ages, that discussion can do no harm to the cause of truth or morality, but, on the contrary, must, in the end, be productive of great benefit to society. Does not the holy Apostle say,—“Prove all things, and hold fast that which is good.” And how are we to be determined in our choice, if we are not allowed to canvass and discuss the merits or demerits of particular systems? As I know of no writers, either sacred or profane, who deny the loveliness of virtue and the immutability of truth, I shall conclude, for the present, with a sentiment of the learned and ingenious Toland —“If it be a desirable thing to have truth told without disguise, there is but one method to procure such a blessing. Let all men freely speak what they think, without being ever branded or punished but for wicked practices, and leave their speculative opinions to be confuted or approved by whoever pleases; then you are sure to hear the whole truth; and, until then, but very scantily, or obscurely, if at all.”

If you think the above remarks worthy insertion in your liberal Paper, I shall continue the subject, and be happy to meet the animadversions of any of your readers who may think proper to reply.

Dec. 1, 1814. ERASMUS PERKINS.

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## TO THE COSSACK PRIESTHOOD OF THE STATE OF MASSACHUSETTS.

Botley, England, Nov. 29, 1844.

GENTLEMEN,—I perceive, that there were held, in your State, and at your instigation, and under your guidance and ministry, *solemn fasts and thanksgivings* on account of the entrance of the Cossacks into Paris, and of the fall of Napoleon. Hence, I perceive, that you are called *the Chaplains of the Cossacks*; and, sometimes, *the Cossack Priesthood*. That you, who used to be regarded as some of the best men in your Republic, and the purity of whose religious motives were never even doubted, should have exposed yourselves to the application of such titles, I extremely regret to hear. But it is not my business to give way to private feelings upon such an occasion. It is for me, as far as I am able, and as I dare, to make *truth* known to the world; and, as you, in this case, appear to me to have shown a more decided hostility to truth than any other set of men of whom I have heard, not excepting the Editors of the London newspapers, it is natural for me to address myself to you upon the subject.

The religion, of which you profess to be teachers, is the *Presbyterian*. I believe, that there are three or four sorts of Presbyterian Christians. To which of these sorts you belong, or whether some of you are of the one sort, and some of each of the others, I know not. Nor is it material; it being well known, that, substantially, all these sorts are the same, and that the religion you profess has existed and has been generally prevailing in the four Eastern States of the Republic, where there has been, long, and reared up an industrious, sober, humane, gentle, kind, brave, and free people, distinguished, heretofore, above all others, for their right and clear understanding of the principles of liberty, and for their zeal and undaunted resolution in her cause. Whether the people would have been as

good, better, or worse, without the religion that you have taught; whether, discarding, as is the manner of some men, all *myths*, and believing in nothing, the truth of which cannot be substantiated by undeniable facts, or by incontrovertible argument, they would have been as good, better, or worse, than they are, is a question, which I will not meddle with. But you will excuse me, if I observe, that, while this can possibly be made a *question* amongst rational men, you, who receive pay for your teaching of religion, ought to be very careful to excite no doubt in the minds of mankind as to the purity of your views, or the sincerity of your faith.

Your recent conduct does, however, appear to have excited such doubts in the minds of your countrymen. In my mind it has done more. It has convinced me that your motives are any thing rather than pure; and that your professions are a mere pretence; a trick to enable you to live without labour upon the earnings of those who do labour, just as are the tricks of Monks and Friars, and of all other impostors on popular credulity, from the golden-palmed showman of the Lady of Loreto down to the lousy-cowled consecrators of halfpenny strings of beads, and the itinerant Protestant bawlers, whose harangues are wholly incomprehensible, until they come round with their hat to collect the means of recruiting the hully. All the zeal of impostors of every kind; all their calumnies of others; all their innumerable persecutions of those who have endeavoured to withdraw the people from their degrading influence, have had, thus, great end in view. to extract and secure by themselves the means of living well, without labour, out of the earnings of those who do labour. I am very sorry to ascribe such a motive to you, whose forefathers fled to a wilderness rather than violate the dictates of their conscience. But truth compels me to say, that you appear to have no claim to an exemption from the general charge. Yet, I am not so unjust as to suppose, much less to hold forth to the

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world; that *all* the Priests of Massachusetts are of this description; but, as I find no account of any *protest*, on the part of any of the Priests, against the odious and detestable Celebrations and fasts before-mentioned, I shall stand fully justified for not making any particular exceptions. If any of the Priests of Massachusetts feel sore under the appellation which I have given them, they ought to direct their resentment against those whose conduct has brought it upon them, and not against me, unless they are able to shew that I charge them unjustly.

Had you, indeed, confined your thanksgivings to the release of certain countries of Europe from the arms of an *invader*, a *conqueror*, an *oppressor*, an *ambitious despot*, who, instead of giving *liberty*, added to the civil sufferings of some of the nations, whom he overran, having first extinguished Republican Government, and along with it political liberty, in France, where the people had put power into his hands to be used in the cause of freedom. Had you held solemn thanksgivings in account of the triumph of the Cossacks, and their associates, in the cause of the *civil* and *political* independence of nations, you would not have excited indignation in the breast of any reasonable man; for, though some men would have differed with you in opinion upon that point; though some men would have said, as some men thought, that the conqueror could not long have held under his sway so extensive an empire as he was grasping; that, in a few years, the several countries of which it was composed, beginning with France, would, in all human probability, throw off his yoke and form themselves into independent States, freed from all his, as well as all former shackles; and that, thus, he would, in the end, be found to have been instrumental in establishing liberty, civil as well as religious, in every part of Europe where it did not before exist; though some men would have said this, and would, of course, not have joined you in your thanksgivings for the victories of the Cossacks, no just and considerate man could have censured you, so long as you confined your thanksgivings to the aforementioned objects. But when, in your prayers and sermons, you called the Cossacks, and others engaged on the same side, "the Bulwark of our Religion;" when, with the Rev. Mr. PARSON at your head, you called Napoleon *Anti-Christ*, and

hawled out songs of praise to the Cossacks and their associates for pulling him down, and especially when you maliciously threw on your political opponents the charge of being the *abettors of Anti-Christ*; then you excited the indignation of all those who did not turn with disgust from your horrid ejaculations and harangues.

If there was one trait above all others, by which your sermons and prayers, until of late years, were characterised, it was by your zealous, your violent, not to say four-mouthed, attacks on the Romish Faith, faith, and worship. You had no scruple to represent the Pope as *Anti-Christ*, and as the *Scarlet Whore of Babylon*, covered with abominations. How clearly did you prove that he was the *Beast* of the Revelations; that he had made the world drunk with his fornications; that his seven heads were the seven hills on which Rome is situated; his ten horns the ten principal Catholic Sovereigns of Europe; and that his colour was *scarlet*, because it was dyed in the blood of the *Saints*? Was there a sermon, was there a prayer, that issued from your lips, in which you did not call on the Lord for vengeance on this "*Man of Sin*," and in which you did not describe the Catholic Religion as *idolatrous*, *blasphemous*, *dubious*, and as evidently tending to the eternal damnation of millions and millions of *perishing souls*?

Every one, who shall read what I am now writing, must acknowledge, that this description of your conduct, in regard to the Romish Church, is far short of the mark. What, then, have you now to say in justification of your recent conduct? Where is your justification for your violent attacks on Napoleon and his family, to say nothing, at present, of your thanksgivings for the restoration of the ancient order of things, or, in your own language, "the *ancient and venerable institutions*?" Where is your justification for your attacks on the Bonapartes? Others, indeed, might consistently attack them. Such as thought that the Church of Rome and her power were *evils*, such as regarded Napoleon as good as another, might consistently attack Bonaparte. But, you, who professed the opinions above described; how can you apologize to the world, and to your abused flocks, for the part which you have taken against him?

There is, with regard to you, stands thus: There was, before Bonaparte's



power commenced, existing in Europe, a system of religion, or, as you called it, irreligion, having at the head of it a Sovereign Pontiff, with innumerable Cardinals, Bishops, Vicars General, Abbots, Priors, Monks, Friars, Secular Priests, &c. &c. under him. To this body you ascribed false doctrines, tricks, frauds and deception without end. You charged them with the propagation of idolatry and blasphemy; with keeping the people in ignorance; with nourishing superstition; with blowing the flames of persecution; with daily murdering, in the most horrid manner, the martyrs to the true faith. The Sovereign Pontiff himself, the corner stone, of the whole body, you constantly called *Anti-Christ*, the *Scarlet Whore*, the *Beast*, and the *Man of Sin*. And you prayed most vehemently for his overthrow, insisting that the system, of which he was the foundation, minutely tended to the eternal damnation of the souls of the far greater part of the people of Europe.

Well! Napoleon arose. He hauled down the Pope; he overthrew the *Anti-Christ*, the *Scarlet Whore*, the *Beast*, the *Man of Sin*, and with him all the long list of persecutors of the Saints. Napoleon and his associates did, in three years, what your prayers and preachings had not been able to effect in three centuries. The Pope was stripped of all temporal power; the Cardinals and Bishops were reduced to mere cyphers; the Monks were driven from their dens of laziness and debauchery; the tricks and frauds were exposed; the adored images were turned into fire wood; the holy relics were laughed at; the light of truth was suffered freely to beam upon the minds of the people; religious persecution was put an end to; and all men were not only permitted, but also encouraged, openly to profess, pursue and enjoy, whatever species of religious faith and worship they chose. Every man became eligible to offices, trusts and honours; and, throughout the domains of Italy and France, where a Presbyterian would have been held in a stake and roasted rather than be suffered to fill an office of trust, or to exercise any prerogative, religious liberty was enjoyed. Napoleon made us perfect in France, and more perfect than in your State of Massachusetts.

These are facts, which none of you, not even Mr. Parish, will dare openly to deny. They are as notorious as they will be, and ought to be, memorable.

Ought you not, therefore, to have rejoiced at this wonderful change in favour of religious liberty? How could you see 50 millions of souls set free without feeling it impossible to suppress an expression of your pleasure? How could you see the fall of *Anti-Christ* without putting up thanksgiving to that God, to whom you had so long been praying, whom you had so long been worrying with your importunities, for the accomplishment of that object? Was not this an event calculated to call forth your gratitude to Heaven?—Ought it not to have been expected from you, that you should speak very cautiously in disapprobation of Napoleon and the French Republicans, who had effected what you had so long been praying for apparently in vain? Ought you not, if you had spoken at all of the sins of his ambition; if you had blamed him as an invader, a conqueror, a destroyer of Republican freedom, to have touched him with a tender hand, considering the immense benefits which religious liberty had received in consequence of his invasions and conquests? Ought he not to have found in you, above all men living, if not impartial judges, at least, mild and moderate censors?

If this was what might, naturally and justly have been expected from you, what must have been the surprise and indignation of those who saw you amongst the very fiercest of Napoleon's foes; amongst the foulest of his calumniators; amongst the first and loudest of those who rejoiced at his fall; who saw you holding solemn fasts and thanksgivings for his overthrow; who heard you hail with holy rapture the return of "the ancient order of things," and the re-establishment of the "*venerable institutions*" of Europe; who heard you joining in the Hosannas of the Monks, styling the Cossacks and their associates "*Bulwarks of Religion*," "*Deliverers*" and "*Saviours*;" who heard you, in the words of Mr. PARISH, shifting from the Pope to Napoleon himself the imputation of being *Anti-Christ*, and charging your political opponents with being the abettors of that "*Scarlet Whore*," that "*Man of Sin*!" What must have been the surprise and indignation of those, who were the witnesses of your conduct upon this memorable occasion? How you may stand, at this time, in the estimation of your flocks, it is impossible for me to know; but if you still preserve your former weight and con-



quence, I must say, that you exhibit an instance of success, of which, in an enlightened country, no former set of impostors ever had to boast.

*What was* that "ancient order of things," the return of which you hailed with such rapture? *What were* "venerable institutions," of which you thanked the Lord for the approaching re-establishment? The *Holy See of Rome* was one, and the *Inquisition* was another. Thousands of submit in "venerable institutions" naturally followed in the train of these; such as the Virgin Mary's House at Loretto; the shrine of Saint Anthony; the Holy Cross; the exhibition of Saint Catherine's Wheel, of the Holy Thorn that penetrated Christ's cheek, of the Breaches of St. Polono, so efficacious with barren wives, especially by a lusty-Monk.

Hundreds and thousands of thousands of these "venerable" things, naturally followed the overthrow of him who had overthrown them. All the persecutions of the Protestants; all the frauds, insolence, and cruelty of the Romish Priests must have been in your view. You are not ignorant men. On the contrary, you are some of the most cunning even of Priests. You knew to a moral certainty, that the Pope, whom you had formerly led your flocks to believe was Anti-Christ, would be restored. You knew that, instead of a milder way, he would naturally be more rigid than ever in the exercise of his power. All this you knew. You knew, that the toleration of all Protestant sects, the encouragement of them, the free use of reason on religious subjects, and the free circulation of religious opinions, which were so complete under Napoleon, would be instantly destroyed in the far greater part of Europe. And yet you held a solemn thanksgiving to God, that Napoleon had been overthrown, and you had the impious hypocrite to call his enemies "the bulwarks of religion." You, *you*, whose fathers fled for a wilderness across the sea, rather than live where they were not permitted openly to denounce as damnable the remnants which the Church of England had preserved of that very religion; of which the enemies of Napoleon were the bulwark, and which you now thanked God for the prospect of seeing restored!

The Holy Father, whom you formerly called the "Scarlet Whore," dived in the blood of the Saints. The "*Beast*," as you used to call him, whose "mouth was

"full of blasphemies," remounted his chair even before "the *Most Christian King*" got upon his throne. One of his first acts was to restore the *Jesuits*, that "ancient and venerable institution," which had become so odious, on account of its wicked acts, that it had been abolished, by all the Princes of Europe, and even by a former Pope himself. The next remarkable step was, the re-establishment of the *Inquisition* in Spain, where it had been abolished by *Napoleon*, on the day that he took possession of the Government of that country; and, what is worthy of particular notice, though perfectly natural, "Ferdinand the *beloved*," in his ordinance, dated 23d July last, for the re-establishment of that horrid tribunal, makes use of almost *your very language*, in reproaching *Napoleon* its abolition, as you will see by the ordinance itself annexed to this letter.

You yourselves well know what that tribunal was; but, as some of the good people, whom you have deceived, may not know the precise nature of that "venerable institution," which Napoleon abolished, and which has been restored in consequence of the successes of your "*bulwarks of religion*," I will here insert an account of it from the last edition of *Encyclopædia Britannica*, referring your flocks to Mr. Dobson's greatly improved Philadelphia edition, that they may verify the correctness of the extract, which they will find under the words "*Inquisition*" and "*Act of Faith*," as follows:—

"INQUISITION.—In the Church of Rome, a tribunal in several Roman Catholic countries, erected by the Popes for the examination and punishment of heretics. — This Court was founded in the 13th century, by Father Dominic and his followers, who were sent by Pope Innocent III. with orders to extirpate the Catholic princes, and people to "extirpate heretics, to search into their number and quality, and to transmit a faithful account thereof to Rome. Hence they were called *Inquisitors*, and this Court came to the formidable tribunal of the *Inquisition*, which was received in Italy, and the dominions of Spain, except the kingdom of Naples, and the Sicilian Countries. — This diabolical tribunal takes cognizance of Heresy, Judaism, Mahometanism, Sodomy, and Polygamy; and the people stand in no manner of it, that parents deliver up their children, husbands their wives,

and masters their servants, to its officers, without daring in the least to murmur. The prisoners are kept for a long time, till they themselves take their own accusers, and declare the causes of their imprisonment; for they are entitled to their crime, nor are satisfied with the names. As soon as their friends go into mourning, and speak of them as dead, not daring to solicit their pardon, lest they should be brought in as accomplices, there is no shadow of proof against the pretended criminal, he is discharged after suffering the most cruel tortures, a tedious and dreadful imprisonment, and the loss of the greatest part of his effects. The sentence against the prisoners is pronounced publicly, and with the greatest solemnity. In Portugal, they erect a theatre capable of holding 3000 persons, in which they place an altar, and raise seats in each side in the form of an amphitheatre. There the prisoners are placed; and over against them is a high chain, whither they are called, one by one, to hear their doom, from one of the Inquisitors. These unhappy people know what they are to suffer by the clothes they wear that day. Those who appear in their own clothes are discharged; upon payment of a fine; those who have a *santo bernito*, or straw yellow coat without sleeves, charged with St. Andrew's cross, have their lives, but forfeit all their effects; those who have the resemblance of flames made of red serge, sewed upon their *santo bernito*, without any cross, are pardoned; but threatened to be burnt if ever they relapse; but those who, besides these flames, have on their *santo bernito* their own picture, surrounded with figures of devils, are condemned to expire in the flames. The Inquisitors, who are ecclesiastical, do not pronounce the sentence of death; but form and read an act, in which they say, that the criminal being convicted of such a crime, by his own confession, is, with much reluctance, delivered to secular power to be punished according to his demerits; and this writing they give to the seven judges, who attend at the right side of the altar, who immediately pass sentence.

**ACT OF FAITH.**—In the Romish Church, is a solemn day held by the Inquisition, for the punishment of heretics, and the absolution of the innocent accused. They usually contrive the *Auto* to fall on some great festival, that the execution may pass with the more awe and regard; at least it is always on a Sunday.—The *Auto da Fe*, or *Act of Faith*, may be called the last act of the Inquisitorial tragedy; it is a kind of gall-delivery, appointed as oft as a competent number of prisoners in the Inquisition are convicted of heresy, either by their own voluntary or extorted confession, or on the evidence of certain witnesses. The process is thus.—In the morning they are brought into a great hall, where they have certain habits put on, which they are to wear in the procession. The procession is led up by Dominican Friars; after which come the penitents, some with *san-benitos*, and some without, according to the nature of the crimes; being all in black coats without sleeves, and barefooted, with a wax candle in their hands. These are followed by the penitents who have narrowly escaped being burnt, who over their black coats have flames painted with their points turned downwards, *Fuego revuelto*. Next come the negative and relapsed, who are to be burnt, having flames on their habits pointing upwards. After these come such as profess doctrines contrary to the faith of Rome, who, besides flames pointing upwards, have their picture painted on their breasts, with dogs, serpents, and devils, all open-mouthed about it. Each prisoner is attended with a familiar of the Inquisition; and those to be burnt have also a Jesuit on each hand, who is continually preaching to them to abjure. After the prisoners come a troop of familiars on horseback, and after them the Inquisitors, and other officers of the Court, on mules; last of all, the Inquisition-General, on a white horse, led by two men with black hats and green hat-bands. A scaffold is erected in the *Plaza de la Paz*, big enough for two or three thousand people; at the end of which are the prisoners, at the other the Inquisitors. After a sermon made up of encomiums of the Inquisition, and invectives against heretics, a priest ascends a desk near the middle of the scaffold, and having taken the adjuration of the penitents, recites the final sentence of those who are to be put to death; and delivers them to the secular arm, earnestly beseeching at the same time the

"secular power not to touch their blood, or put their lives in danger. The prisoners being thus in the hands of the civil Magistrate, are presently loaded with chains, and carried first to the secular gaol, and from thence in an hour or two brought before the civil Judge; who, after asking in what religion they intend to die, pronounces sentence on such as declare they die in the communion of Rome, that they shall be first strangled, and then burnt to ashes; on such as die in any other faith, that they be burnt alive. Both are immediately carried to the Ribera, the place of execution; where there are as many stakes set up as there are prisoners to be burnt, with a quantity of dry furze about them. The stakes of the professed, that is, such as persist in their heresy, are about four yards high, having a small board towards the top for the prisoner to be seated on. The negative and relapsed being first strangled and burnt, the professed mount their stakes by a ladder; and the Jesuits, after several repeated exhortations to be reconciled to the church, part with them, telling them they leave them to the devil, who is standing at their elbow to receive their souls, and carry them with him into the flames of hell. On this a great shout is raised, and the cry is, *let the dogs' beads be made*; which is done by thrusting flaming furzes fastened to long poles against their faces, 'till their faces are burnt to a coal, which is accompanied with the loudest acclamations of joy.—At last fire is set to the furze at the bottom of the stake, 'over which' the professed are chained so high, that the top of the flame seldom reaches higher than the board they sit on; so that they rather seem roasted than burnt.—There can not be a more lamentable spectacle; the sufferers continually cry out, while they are able, *Misericordia per amor de Dios*.—Pity for the love of God! yet it is beheld by all sexes and ages with transports of joy and satisfaction."

"People of Massachusetts! Sons of Englishmen who fled to a wilderness, who sacrificed their dearest connexions to religious liberty! Merciful, humane, gentle, kind, and brave people of Massachusetts, though your Cossack Priests can view with dry eyes and unmoved muscles this horrid spectacle, does it not chill the blood in your veins? Though they, with holy

impudence, can put up thank-givings for the fall of him, by whom this "venerable institution" had been overthrown, and of whose fall its revival was a natural, if not certain, consequence; do not your hearts revolt at the impiousness, the baseness, the cruelty, of the sentiment?"

People of Massachusetts! (for to your hardened Priests will I no longer address myself), what can have been the real cause of this conduct on the part of your Priests? In the people of England it was very natural and reasonable to rejoice at the fall of Napoleon. He had immense power; he was near them; he had threatened to invade their country; he had made preparations for so doing. It was, therefore, natural for them to rejoice at his fall; but, even here, with the exception of a few hypocrites, despised by persons of sense, of all parties, people did not rejoice at his fall as an enemy of religion. Had your Priests not put up thank-giving for the deliverance of religion, their conduct might have been passed over; but, when they made that the ground of their gratitude to the Cossacks and to Heaven, they invited the lash of censure, they called aloud for the detestation of mankind.

While, indeed, the French nation seemed to have thrown aside all religion and hatred, while they were setting aside all the memorials and marks of the Christian era; while they were apparently all *Atheists*, there was some reason for your Priests to wish their overthrow. Even in that case, however, they would have shown more confidence in Christianity, if they had been less bitter against the French. Some men thought that their extreme asperity against such writers as Paine seemed not to say, that they possessed ability to detect him in the field of argument; and, indeed, seemed to argue, that they did not feel a sufficient degree of confidence in the goodness of their cause itself; for, if they had been thoroughly convinced, as they ought to have been, that the Christian Religion was built upon a rock, and that the gates of hell should never prevail against it, Paine would have been an object of their pity, rather than of their persecution. Their persecution him was madness, unless they apprehended danger from his attempts; and if they did apprehend danger from his attempts, they shewed a want of sufficient confidence in their cause itself, which want of confidence should have taught them moderation in their attacks on

the adversary. There was a great outcry about *Atticism* in France; but what was it, after all, but letting the human mind loose to range at pleasure? When every man was at liberty to say what he liked, who need have been in fear for the cause of truth? He who was an insincere Christian; he who doubted of the truth of Christianity; he who thought it false, but who professed it from interested motives; had reason to rail against the innovators; but he who was a real believer, and whose belief was founded on the conclusions of reason, could not possibly have any ground for alarm, seeing that freedom of discussion, and eternally must be, favourable to truth, and, of course, hostile to error and falsehood. Those, therefore, who are opposed to freedom of discussion, on any subject, and who make use of clamours, slander, or force to prevent it, may, in all cases, and acting under whatever pretence, be safely considered as wishing to sustain error or falsehood.

But these observations do not apply to the case of the Emperor Napoleon. However just the hatred of your Priests against the *Atticism* of France, there was no portion of that hatred due to him, who reproached the churches, who invited the performance of religious worship, who encouraged the people to make provision for the maintenance of the parochial clergy, who went very regularly to hear mass himself; but who, at the same time, effectually prevented all religious persecution; who countenanced and encouraged all religious sects; who put them all upon a footing of civil and political equality; and who, throughout his vast dominions, was speedily introducing such a system, as to religion, as must, in a few years, have inevitably rooted out every fibre of superstition, and have put an end for ever to that spirit of persecution, which had so long been filling Europe with misery and woe.

Be he, therefore, what he might, in other respects, he had been, and he was a friend and protector of religious freedom. This quality, one would have thought, was that which, above all others, ought to have pleaded in his behalf with your Priests; yet they rejected it, as they did; they hated his enemies as the "Gallies of Rome"; they put up thanksgivings for the restoration of the "venerable institutions" which he had pulled down; and they even called him "Anti-Christ," the appellation which they had formerly given to the Pope.

Let your Priests say what they will of the French Republicans and of Napoleon, the world are witnesses to the fact, that, even though a counter-revolution has taken place in France, that country has derived immense advantages from the Revolution; that she is now freed from numerous oppressions before endured; that her agriculture has made astonishing progress; that she has got rid of her feudal tyrannies, her *Monks*, her *tythes*; that her farmers are now able to undersell ours in our own markets; that her manufactures are greatly increased; and that, as yet, her King has not ventured to overthrow Napoleon's laws, securing to all men perfect religious liberty, and an equality as to all matters connected with religious worship and the public capacities of the professors of different religions. Nothing could be a greater compliment to Napoleon, than the stipulation with the King, that NAPOLEON'S CODE, civil and religious, should remain untouched.

What ground, then, could your Priests have for their implacable hatred of Napoleon? Why did they put up thanksgiving for his overthrow? Why did they call the Cossacks and their associates the "bulwarks of religion?" Why did they call him the oppressor of Spain, who had abolished the *Inquisition*, and had driven the Monks from their convents and their luxury? What could have been the cause of their being amongst his calumniators? How came they to join in the prayers and thanksgivings of the Jesuits and Dominicans? The truth is, they were actuated by self-interest.—They were alarmed at the consequences to which freedom of discussion might lead.—The sudden overthrow of the old establishments of Europe, the great shock which the French Revolution gave to long received opinions; the burst of light which had come into the human mind; these alarmed them. They began to fear, that, if religion became out of fashion in Europe, it might become out of fashion in Massachusetts, and leave them in a situation like that of the buckle-makers, when shoe-strings came in vogue. They now began to perceive, that the fall of the Pope and of the Roman superstition and persecutions would be to them a vast injury. They saw that the French and Napoleon were snatching the very bread and meat off their plates. This was the true cause of their hostility against him; this was the

true cause of their thanksgivings for the victories of the Cossacks and their associates, as the "bulwarks of religion;" that is to say, the bulwarks of their broad and meat; the bulwark of their living well without labour on the earnings of you, who pay them, and who do labour. The same motive would, of course, have induced them to abuse the pullers down of Mahomet. Nor must they be surprised if the world should suspect, that, in a similar cause, they would have made, if they could, a solemn league and covenant with the devil himself, and have called him the "Bulwark of Religion."

If this conclusion against the Cossack Priests of Massachusetts were not obviously deducible from their above-described conduct, unsupported by any other fact; if any other proof were wanted, you have that proof in their electioneering tricks of last year, when, amongst their objections to the electing of a Republican, or, as they termed it, *Democratic*, Legislature, they complained of a former *Democratic* Legislature, in these memorable words:—

"They impured the constitutional provision for the support of a public worship, by releasing the disaffected from contributing to the support of permanent Teachers of piety, religion and morality."—That is to say, they complained of the "*Democrats*" for having endeavoured to make Massachusetts, in point of religious liberty, what WILLIAM PENN. made Pennsylvania, and what Napoleon had made, as nearly as he possibly could, France and Italy, and all the countries which he had conquered. Here we see the REAL ground of the hostility of your Priests to the French Republicans, to Napoleon, and to the Republican party in America. They had long enjoyed the benefits of a sort of established and dominant church; they had long been receiving compulsory payments for their support; they had long felt the agreeable effects of

this "venerable institution." The example of France, and the practical effect thereof in America, had shaken their hold of valuable possession; and hence, and hence alone, their abuse of the French and Napoleon; their dread of the continuance of his power; their exultation at his overthrow; and their thanksgivings for the restoration of these "venerable institutions" in Europe; those ecclesiastical powers and profits, which kept their own in countenance, and of which the French and Napoleons had been the determined enemies.

No more need be said. You, the People of Massachusetts, who possess so much good sense, who have so often exercised that good sense as to other persons and things, cannot long remain the dupes of these hypocrites, who, while they have the desire of your welfare in the next world constantly on their lips, are manifestly intent upon securing to themselves, in this world, ease and plenty at the public expense. WM. COBBETT.

POSTSCRIPT.—The following is the Decree of the King of Spain, establishing the Inquisition, published in a Supplement to the Madrid Gazette, 23d July, 1814:—

"The King our Lord has been pleased to enact the following decree.—The glorious title of Catholic by which the Kings of Spain are distinguished among the other Christian Princes, because they do not tolerate in their Kingdom any one who professes another religion than the Catholic, Apostolic, and Roman, has powerfully excited my heart to employ all the means which God has placed in my hands, in order to make myself worthy of it.—The past troublesome war which afflicted all the Provinces of the Kingdom, during the space of six years; the residence therein during that time of foreign troops of different creeds, almost all infected with abhorrence and hatred to the Catholic Religion; and the disorder that these evils always bring with them, together with the little care which was taken, for some time in the interim, for what concerned the Christian Religion, gave to the wicked superstitions, which had arisen after the war, and were to be tolerated in this Kingdom, and even many persons, perverted opinions, by the same means, which they had been propagated in other countries.—Desiring therefore to provide

Note.—All religions were always tolerated in Massachusetts; but there was a law before the Republicans got the upper hand, in 1780, which gave to contributors to the support of public Protestant worship, the right to elect a Priest of the parish where he resided. The Republicans appear to have left every man free to pay to whomever he liked, or not at all, as the case was. William Penn left the matter in Pennsylvania.—This was the crime of the Republicans in the eyes of the Priests of Massachusetts. Whether the Federalists have since loaded the people with taxes on account of the religion, I know not.

"a remedy against so great an evil, and preserve in my dominions the holy religion of Jesus Christ, which my people love, and in which they have lived and do live happily, both by the duty which the fundamental laws of the Kingdom impose on the Prince, which shall I obey it, and I have sworn to observe and fulfil, as likewise being the most proper means to preserve my subjects from intestine dissensions, and maintain their peace and tranquillity, I have thought it would be very convenient in the present circumstances, that the tribunal of the Holy Office should return to the exercise of its jurisdiction. Upon which subject wise and virtuous prelates and many corporations and persons, both ecclesiastical and secular, have represented to me that it was owing to this tribunal that Spain was not contaminated in the 16th century, with the errors that caused so much affliction in other Kingdoms; the nation flourishing at that time in all kinds of literature, in great money, in holiness and virtue. And that one of the principal means employed by the oppressor of Europe, in order to sow corruption and discord, from which he derived so many advantages, was to destroy it, under pretence that the light of the age could not bear its continuance any longer, and which, afterwards, the self-styled general Cortes with the same pretence, and that of the Constitution, which they had tumultuously framed, annulled to the great sorrow of the nation. Wherefore, they have ardently requested me to re-establish that tribunal; and according to their requests, and the wishes of the people, who from love to the religion of their fathers, have restored, of their own accord, some of the subaltern tribunals to their functions, I have resolved that the Council of the Inquisition and the other tribunals of the Holy Office should be re-established and continued in the exercise of their jurisdiction, both ecclesiastical and secular, at the request of my august predecessors, the pontiffs who succeeded to it, and the kings who succeeded to it, observing, in the exercise of their functions, the strictness by which they were governed in 1609, and the laws and provisions which to avoid certain abuses, and moderate some privileges, it was meto to take at different times. As besides these provisions it may perhaps be suitable to adopt others; and my intention being to improve this

establishment that the greatest utility may arise to my subjects from it, I wish that as soon as the Council of the Inquisition shall meet, two of its members, with two others of my Royal Council, both of which I shall nominate, should examine the forms and mode of proceeding in the cases appertaining to the Holy Office, and the method established for the seizure and prohibition of books; and if there should be found any thing in it, contrary to the good of my subjects, and the upright administration of justice, or that ought to be altered, it shall be proposed to me; that I may determine what shall be proper. This is my communication for your information, and of whom it may concern."

"Palace, 21st July, 1814."

THE KING.

"To Don Pedro de Alcantara."

### LETTER III.

#### TO THE LADY OF LIVERPOOL,

##### ON THE AMERICAN WAR.

MY LORD,—In the American newspaper I have seen an article, entitled "*British Boheism*," in which article are noticed, in a most indignant, but most provoking manner, all the wise observations made in England, as to the cause of our ships being beaten by those of America. At the close of the article, the writer states what he regards as the real cause; but which statement, I will, for your health's sake, refrain from repeating to your Lordship. But if this sneering Republican gave the title of "*Boheism*" to our former praxlings upon this head, what will he say now, when the question is become ten thousand times more embroiled than ever? The speeches, attributed to the Opposition, upon this subject, present matter worthy of public observation. Mr. HORNER lays the blame of the failure on the Lakes, *Extr. and Champlain*; he attributes those miserable victories of the Americans, to the *Extr. and Champlain*. He complains, that you and your colleagues left our naval commanders to contend with a vast superiority of force. The American official account, in both cases, makes the superiority of force on our side; and, as to *Lake Champlain*, Sir George Prevost himself gives us a superiority of seven guns. I am, for my part, at a loss to discover the policy of ascribing every disgrace to the Ministers, and every success to the commanders. Of its flagrant



injustice there can be no doubt; and, it appears to me, that it is folly is not much more questionable. Wellington was made a Duke for his successes; but, according to the present way of thinking, or, of talking, the Fleet of the War Department should have been made a Duke, and Wellington remained what he was; and the Lords of the Admiralty should have had all the ribbons, stars, and titles that have been bestowed on naval commanders. It to the commanders belong the prizes of victories, to them also belong, upon the face of the matter, the blame of defeat.

Much reliance appears to be placed by the Opposition on the circumstance of Captain Barclay having been honourably acquitted by a court-martial. For, say they, if he was provided with a force equal to that of the Americans, he must have been guilty; and, if he was not, the Ministers are to blame. They take this sentence of the court-martial, therefore, as proof of the guilt of the Ministers. But is it not very evident that this conclusion is false? Captain Barclay might be as brave a man as ever existed; he might have acted with wisdom equal to his bravery; he might have had a superiority of guns and men; he might have been defeated; yet he might be perfectly free from any blame, and might, on the contrary, merit honours and rewards; still the Admiralty might deserve no censure whatever. The Americans might have abler seamen; they might, from their superior bodily strength and agility, be able to fire quicker than we; they might fight with an unheard of degree of resolution and eagerness; they might be animated by feelings unknown to the bosoms of their adversaries. What is it to become a maxim, that whenever one of our commanders is defeated, there must be a *crime* either in him or in the Ministry? Must he be punished, or they condemned? Must he be their accuser, or they his accusers? This would soon introduce a very amicable sort of connection between the commanders and the Ministry.

The truth is, my Lord, that there is a degree of mortification and of shame attached to the naval victories of the Americans, that drives men, and particularly naval men, who have all the mass of the people with them, to acts of follies and inconsistencies. They do not know what to say, or to do, in order to get rid of this mortification. Sometimes

Johnny Bull says to Jonathan, "you have got some *English sailors* in your ships."—"May be so," says Jonathan, "but you have got *all English sailors* in your ships."—"Ay," replies John, "but you have got the *best* of our sailors."—"May be so," says Jonathan, "but, then, how comes the *best* of your sailors to desert from your service to come into mine?"—"No, no!" rejoins John, hastily, "I don't mean the *best men*, I mean that they fight *more desperately* than those that we have on board, because the rascals know, that if they are taken they will be *hanged*."—"Oh, fie!" Johnny," rejoins Jonathan, "do you think that Englishmen will fight better from a dread of the *gallows*, than from a love of their King and their glorious Constitution?"—"No," says John, "I said no such a thing. You have got *heavier shot*, and *stronger powder*, and *more guns*, and *more men*."—"Indeed," Johnny," says Jonathan, "Why, I am sure you *pay* enough for your ships, shot, guns, men, and powder. Your navy and ordnance, last year, cost you 25 millions sterling, which is *more than twenty times* as much as ours is to cost us *next year*, though we are building fleets and forming dock-yards, besides defending, Lakes and all, three thousand miles of sea coast."—"Well," says John, ready to burst with anger, "what is that to you what I *pay*? I will pay it, if I like to; say it."—"Oh, dear," says Jonathan, "don't be angry, old friend. I have not the least objection to your *paying*; only, I hope, I shall not hear any more of your grumbling about the *Proper Tax*."—"You are a *saucy scoundrel*," says John, foaming with rage; "you deserve a good drubbing, you Yankee dog, and you will *get it yet*; and, at any rate, if I pay taxes, I'll make you pay taxes too. If I am miserable myself, I'll make you unhappy; if I can."

It is to this mortification, my Lord, that you have to ascribe the attacks of the newspapers on the Naval Administration, which really appears to me to have done more injury than could have been expected at their hands. You see that the Opposition here are supported by the country, who will blame you, blame Sir George Prevost, blame our powder, shot, ships, gunlocks, blame any person or thing; blame and execrate all the world, rather than acknowledge that the Republicans

are, gun to gun and man to man, our *massacre upon the sea*. I can be it from me to *show a reluctance to come to such an acknowledgment*. The reluctance arises from a love of one of the best professions of our country; namely, its fame in deeds of arms. But, then, it is manifest, that this patriotic feeling, if not subjected to reason and enlightened views, may be productive of great injustice towards commanders, or ministers, or both; and may expose the nation to great and lasting misery. The opposition are feeding this feeling.—They ascribe every failure to you and your colleagues, and they studiously keep out of sight the real cause of those failures.—They misstate the war, on our part; they falsify the facts; they excite false hopes of future success; they say to the people, we have failed hitherto from the fault of the Ministry; and, thereby, they cause it to be believed, that better may be done for the future, without any radical change in our political and naval systems; and, in doing this, they do, in my opinion, as great an injury as they can possibly do to the country.

Next to the Ministry comes Sir George Prevost. Mr. Horner did not know which was to blame, the Ministry or the Colonial Governor. The fleet had been beat and captured, and Mr. Horner was sure that it must have been owing to something other than the fleet itself; or, at least, its commanders. It never could be *their* fault. No, it was *not* their fault. Men who fought two hours and twenty minutes within a few yards of the muzzles of the opposing cannon, and whose vessels had not a mast or any thing standing to which a sail could be fastened. Such men could not be in fault. They fought most bravely. They were *overpowered*. They lost their fleet, but ungrateful is the country and base the man, who insinuates that they ought to have done more. They could do no more. If they had continued to fight, they must have been all blown to pieces, without the power of resistance. No: it was not the fault of the officers of our fleet. It was the fault of the Yankees for being so strong in body, so agile, so dextrous, and so determined. Mr. Horner should have made a motion against them. Suppose he were, next time, to make a motion for prosecuting them? If we could get at them in that way, it would soon benumb their faculties.

"Aye," say the people about Ports-

month and Gosport. "it is time an inquiry was made." It is a shame that Sir George Prevost is not brought home and *punished*. I can assure your Lordship, that this is their language; and they will be quite outrageous, when they find, that he is not to be punished; but, on the contrary, is to remain where he is. There is no one hereabouts, who does not think that Sir James Yeo's letter to the Lords of the Admiralty is a *finisher* to Sir George. To such a pitch of folly has the nation been pushed by their notions of the *inimicability* of the navy, that a *Captain* in that service is looked upon as the absolute arbiter of the fate of a *Province*, or a *Province*, *on whom command he is wrong*. Sensible men were disgusted at the arrogance of Sir James Yeo's letter, but it was well-suited to the capacities and tastes of those who saw, or pretend to, Brodick's numerous trash about the fleet and the sailors.

Upon the heads of those, who demand these *expansions* and *expansions*, be the consequences. These consequences will be, clear proof, that our naval officers had a *sufficiency of force*, upon both the occasions alluded to, and that they were to blame, if any *heavy* was, for their defeats. Sir Geo. Prevost will never suffer himself to be regarded as the cause of these calamities and disgraces; and I am very sure, that the Ministry, having the power, will not neglect the means of justifying themselves. So that all this will only tend to make the mortification of the navy greater than it now is; the principles of the nation will only receive the greater shock, and the world will only have complete proof of those very facts which we are so anxious to disprove or disfigure.

It was observed during the debate, that though our ships of war were quite sufficiently provided with the means of "combating an ordinary foe, they ought to have been fitted out in an extraordinary way to combat such a foe as the American *cans*." But, suppose the Admiralty not to have fitted them out in this extraordinary way? Were they to blame for that? Was there a man in the country, who did not *desire* the American navy? Was there a public writer, besides myself, who did not desire that navy to destruction in a month? Did not all parties exceedingly relish the description, given in a very august assembly, of "half a dozen of *fire* frigates, with *blue* striped bunting at



their mast heads? Did not the *Guerriere* sail up and down the American coast, with her name written on her flag, challenging three fir frigates? Did not the whole nation, with one voice, exclaim, at the affair of the *Little Belt*, "only let *Rockers* come within reach of one of our frigates?"

If, then, such was the opinion of the whole nation; of all men of all parties; with what justice is the Board of Admiralty blamed for not thinking otherwise; for not sending out the means of combatting an extraordinary sort of lie; for not issuing a privilege to our frigates to run away from one of those fir-built things with a bit of striped bunting at its mast-head?

It has always been the misfortune of England, that her rulers and her people have spoken and have thought contemptuously of the Americans. Your Lordship and I were born, and, indeed, not born, or, at least, I was not, when our King first was involved in a quarrel with the Americans. But almost as long as I can remember any thing, I can remember, that this contempt was expressed in the songs and sayings of the old-hoppers, amongst whom I was born and bred; in doing which we conducted down to the earth that we delved the sentiments of the Squires and Lords. The result of the former war, while it enlightened nobody, added to the vindictiveness of hundreds of thousands; so that we have entered into this war with all our old stock of contempt, and a vastly increased stock of rancour. To think that the American Republic is to be a great power is insupportable. Some men, in order to keep her down in their language, and, at the same time, not use harsh expressions, observe, that she is only another part of ourselves. They wish her to be thought, if not dependent upon us, still to be a sort of younger child of our family, coming in after Ireland, Jamaica, &c.

I met a very worthy "civil gentleman, a month or two ago, who wished that some man of ability would propose a scheme that he had, and without which, he said, we never should have peace again. "Well, Sir," said I, "and, pray, what is your scheme?"—"Why," said he, "it is very simple. It is to form an UNION with the American States." It was raining, and I wanted to return; so that I had not time to ascertain what sort of Union he meant. This gentleman, however, was remarkably moderate in his views. The far greater part of the nation expect absolute Colonial

submission; and, if our fleets and armies should not finally succeed in bringing a Property Tax from America into his Majesty's Exchequer, the far greater part of the people will be most grievously disappointed. So that this contempt of the Yankees have given your Lordship and your colleagues a good deal to do, in order to satisfy the hopes and expectations which have been excited, and which, I assure you, are confidently entertained.

Of the effects of this contempt I know nobody, however, who have so much reason to repent as the officers of his Majesty's navy. If they had triumphed, it would only have been over half a dozen of fir frigates, with bits of bunting at their mast-heads. They were sure to gain no reputation in the contest; and, if they were defeated, what was their lot? The worst of it is, they themselves did, in some measure, contribute to their own ill-fate; for, of all men living, none spoke of "poor Jonathan" with so much contempt. To read their letters, or the letters which our newspaper people pretended to have received from them, at the out-set of the war, one would have thought, that they would hardly have condescended to return a shot from a bunting ship. And now, to see that bit of bunting flying so often over the British Flag! Oh! it is stinging beyond expression! The people in the country cannot think how it is. There are some people, who are for taking the American Commodores at their word, and ascribing their victories to the immediate intervention of Providence. Both Perry and McDonough begin their dispatches by saying: "Almighty God has given us a victory." Some of their clergy, upon this ground alone, call them Christian heroes, and compare them to Joshua, who, by the bye, was a Jew. I observe, that, when any of them get beaten, they say nothing about any supernatural agency; yet, there is still a victory, on one side or the other; and, if they ascribe their victories to such agency, why not ascribe our victories, and of course, their own defeats, to this same over-ruling cause? If Mr. Madison had told the Congress, that "Almighty God" had been pleased to enable the enemy to "burn their Capitol," how they would have stared at him! Yet, surely, he might have said that with as much reason as Commodore McDonough ascribed his victory to such interposition. If Commodore Perry, who captured our fleet on Lake Erie, had

been met at New York with looks of perfect indifference, instead of being least elated and toasted as he was, and had learnt that the cause of this was, that he had gained no victory, even according to his own official report; how silly he would have looked! And yet, he could have had no reason to complain. I perceive also, many other instances of this *aping* propensity in the Americans. It is the "*Honourable* Wm. Jones, Secretary of the Navy," the "*honourable* the Mayor of New York," "*his Honour* the Chief Justice," and, even the Members of Congress call one another "*honourable* gentlemen," and their "*honourable* friends," I was not, till of late, aware, that this sickly taste was become so prevalent in America. This is, indeed, *contemptible*; and England will have, in a few years, a much better ground of reliance for success, in this change of the national character in America, than in the force of our arms. When once the hankering after titles becomes general in that country when once riches shall have produced that effect, the country will become an easy prey to an old, compact, and easily-wielded Government like ours. When men find, that they cannot obtain titles under the form of Government now existing, they will, as soon as they have the opportunity, sell the country itself to any Sovereign, who will gratify their base ambition. This is the *slow poison* that is at work on the American Constitution. It will proceed, unless speedily checked, to the utter destruction of that which it has assailed.—Our best way is to make peace with them now; and leave this poison to work. By the time that they get to "*Right Honourables*," we shall be ready to receive their allegiance. When the *bat of hunting* comes to be exchanged, for some sort of *armorial* thing, the fellows, who now "*fight like blood-thirsty savages*," as our papers say, will become as tame and as timid as sheep.

I am, &c. &c. WM COBBETT.

#### AMERICAN BRAVERY.

SIR,—As the American contest is becoming remarkable, and begins to excite considerable interest, allow me, to make some desultory remarks upon it, which may have a beneficial influence on some, at least, of your readers.—Whether the advantage is or is not in our favour, at this stage of the contest, it is not my purpose

to examine. But the gallantry displayed by the Republicans, in particular, appears to surpass any thing on record in the history of mankind, if the accounts can be relied on. General Hammond's report of his action with their land forces cannot be questioned, and the resolute onset, on that occasion, cannot be read without a shivering kind of astonishment, which leaves little power of analysing the feelings of the mind, struck, almost, transfixed, and recoiling. But the account which you gave of the naval action, at Fayal, exceeds that and every thing which man has ever heard of; and I am, I own, led to doubt the correctness of the statement. Whether our force was employed regularly or not, must be left to future elucidation. I believe, from the character of our naval officers, it will be found that no impeachment of them will, finally, be proved. But taking the account which you have published to be, in other respects, exact, I must confess that no parallel transaction has ever come to my knowledge. What to admire most, the deliberate conduct, or the desperate valour, of these men, becomes a question of difficulty. The commander first makes inquiry of the Portuguese authorities as to his safety. He then abstains from hostility till he is actually attacked, and the aggression becomes undoubted. Now, having repulsed the assailants, he rows his tiny vessel under the neutral fort, that his station may be no problem. When called upon there to act, he and his brave crew, seemingly well prepared for the worst, deal destruction on the enemy, with almost supernatural good fortune and success. As long as resistance could be made, with hope of glory, for there could have been none of final safety, they remain at their post, to encounter, after every struggle, a force of superior force, which could not want a superabundance of hands for offence and defence, and beat her off. Not seeing any good from prolonging a contest, in which they destroy more than twice their own number, they render their cock-boat unserviceable, and retire. Yet, pursued and demanded, they resolve, with their small numbers, to brave danger to the last, and occupy a position on land, determined to render as dear as possible their eventual fall before such superior force. This last determination is the essence of heroism; it drives one wild with admiration. But the features of the contest, which

throw the most brilliant lustre on it, are *the imposing force that surrounded the undaunted Republicans, and the high qualities of the enemy whom they had to encounter.* A privateer, Sir; yes, a privateer, of 7 or of 11 guns, no matter which, seen, at anchor by its side, an English 74, an English frigate, and an English brig of war, and even the last of superior force, and yet it resists! Would any man have expected that they would not have scuttled their canvas, on the slightest appearance of hostility, taken to their boats, and made the best of their way to land, which they would have been fully justified in doing? Tell me, when the English have ever met with an enemy such as the Americans had to tug with in *this*. When, where? unless in this war, and the Republicans are, at last, allowed to be antagonists worthy of us. But an observation forces itself on me at this place, and I do not study method. How inconsistent with the national honour, and how contradictory in themselves, are our words and actions with respect to the Americans! At one moment it would seem that they are cowardly, base, and cruel, but even our *great men*, at the same moment, speak of their humanity as so extraordinary, as to indicate a secret inclination to place them *even* under our protection; while our prints, with the silliest reluctance, are forced to give such accounts of their noble daring, as alone can justify our forces when *worsted by them*. This reluctance I call silly, because it is even more silly than it is envious and grudging; for unless they admit the superior gallantry of the victor, what is the conquered, in the name of British renown? And yet I cannot think it less silly to give such unequivocal marks of acknowledgement of the gallantry of our foe, as we have done in the waywardness of the mixed admiration and scoffing with which we have loaded him. Such a conduct may have an ill effect on the *morale* of our gallant seamen and soldiers, and make them suspect that success is equivocal, than which nothing can be more injurious to it. Therefore, I cannot say that I think Captain Broke should have been made a Baronet, or that he should have accepted the distinction, for it is proclaiming, that to capture an American ship of equal, or nearly equal, force, is some great achievement. Perhaps the enemy may have merited this compliment, for, surely, it is no compliment to any one else without

then having their full share of it. Yet, it is not always right to blazon, to *praise* forces, how much we rate the skill and courage of our antagonists, though it is both cowardly and ill policy to deny that he possesses them, after meeting us in a way to content the most ambitious of fame. But I am tired of these inconsistencies and contradictions, and shall go on with my remarks.—The inequality of force that we have sometimes seen on the side of the Americans, and their extraordinary efforts at all times, new to war themselves and opposed to the English, and to the English inured to warfare for twenty years by land and sea, lead us to inquire into the cause of a phenomenon, that is, to say the least, rare and singular: I am apt to think that something must be attributed to corporeal force. The Yankees are, surely, possessed of more bodily power, more muscular strength, firmer stamina, sterner nerves, than the English. It is probable that there may be something in this. Food, in America, is at the command of every human being, in superabundant quantity, from his youth. Has not this a tendency to bring men up with that force of limb which gives him a pre-eminence in manhood over such as have not the same advantage? In this country, food has been, to the poor, a scarce commodity for many years. May not this circumstance cause a degree of nervelessness and impotence, which cannot be removed by the abundant fare supplied when they enter into his Majesty's service?—And, by the bye, if this be admissible, may not an argument be deduced hence against *Corn Laws*, if their effect be to render food dearer, for that would render our defenders feeble, which is by no means a desirable result? Besides, on account of the pressure for men in our late extensive warfare, many of the feeblest of the English population have been admitted into our naval and military service, and the hardships of our manufacturers drove them to seek that or any mode of keeping body and soul together. These may be considered as the puniest of our people. Whereas, the Americans have men who have spent their lives in plenty, and free from *excessive* labour in the country, or in all the abundance which their flourishing commerce supplied. But as the above cause may be disputable, and can, but in part only, account for the fact, if it be a fact, that the Republicans are stronger men than our brave defenders, I will

state which appears almost unequivocal testimony to the superiority which they have sometimes shown, and the efforts which, though new and new, they have, at all times, made. The history of the world, from the creation, to say nothing of the nature of the thing, shews that there is something in *Republicanism* that gives extraordinary energy to those who possess it, whether a Republic be a good or a bad institution. We will not go to ancient times, because it is sufficient to appeal to the last American war, and to the war of the French Revolution, to prove the point. The Americans were successful to the end, and it will not be denied that they contradicted Republicans. The French Republicans were also always successful. Indeed, such a career of success scarcely ever fell to the lot of any other people. We well recollect the events of that day. No man, that has memory, can forget the universal impression, that it was Republican energy that crowned that nation, every where, with victory, over all Europe aimed against it. The conclusion of the Continental war adds all its force to this observation. When the sublimation, the soul, which stirred up Republican Frenchmen to deeds of immortal renown, ceased to animate the French, though they had the memory of their triumph as a temporary stimulus, yet they were conquered, conquered by a force far less than had been repeatedly brought against them in the days of their Commonwealth. If there is any thing in this, let it arise itself from what cause it may, I will venture to say that the Americans possess it, in its fullest measure; for no nation on earth ever existed more thoroughly Republican than the people of the United States. If you like the above, it is at your service and that of your readers; but I must now take my leave.

MORFATOR.

#### DEFENCE OF CORRUPTION.

MR. COBBETT, — It surely is neither generous nor fair for the multitude to run down an individual, although a supposed enemy; neither is it the accused to be pronounced guilty without having been heard in his own defence, by himself or his counsel. Much has been said against corruption, yet its defence has never been properly attended to. Accusations from all quarters have been poured in, yet, conscious of its integrity, it has maintained a dignified silence, and, like *Patience sitting*

*in a Monument smiling at Grief*, it is daily seen, sitting on certain benches, not merely weeping, but even laughing *loud* at the impotence of its accusers. But the public having accused it, let it be fairly placed at the bar, not allowed counsel. *Then*, then, it must be granted, that a name given does not make any alteration in the thing itself, for example, all is not charity or patriotism that pass under these denominations, corruption may be *charity*, and pay is an act of the strictest justice; just as a *ROTTEN OILIO* is the best dish in Spanish cookery, and no one refuses to regale himself therewith on account merely of the disgusting name. Nearly the same may be said of corruption: it may possibly be the most savoury dish at a Minister's table. Which of the well-bred guests, then, would shew himself so fastidious as to refuse tasting it, solely because of its name? *Next*, your Reformers clamour about paying their Representatives. Is not tantamount if corruption is employed to pay such Representatives? Were the public actually to pay their Representatives, it must go through some regular channel, and be performed by some regular officer, appointed for the purpose. Now the Kingly authority we term the Executive, and Ministers derive their power from the King. Who, then, can have so great a right to pay the people's Representatives? Here again is another argument in favour of corruption: were it to employ its own money, nothing could be said in its defence, but it is not yet so void of principle it draws from the public purse, and no one will presume to deny that the contents of that purse are drawn from the pockets of the people. The people, therefore, may be justly said to pay their Representatives! What would Reformers desire more? I acknowledge they complain that they are not fairly represented; that the majority of the nation have no votes, &c. Here let me ask, in what does the majority of the nation consist? Is it composed of virtues or of vices? Let the public look around. — *Each* will find that, excepting with himself, and a very few of his acquaintances, virtue and honesty do not exist; but that all the vices reign triumphant, and overspread the land. — *Each* having made this remark, will draw the natural conclusion, that the National Representation is complete, and while he circumscribes honesty and virtue

within the very narrow circle of himself and friends, he will take comfort in knowing that so comparatively small a portion of national honour and virtue is represented in Parliament by at least an adequate number of Members. Away, then, with all unfounded plaint and prejudice. Desist no longer corruption, but pay—and honestly acknowledge the nation to be fully and fairly represented, although no way flattered in the picture.

AN ANTI-REFORMER.

#### UNIVERSITY OF OXFORD.

SIR,—A few months ago, some letters appeared in your paper relative to the great abuses which prevailed in the exercise of the procuratorial power at Oxford. I am now happy to state, and for the credit of the University it should be made public, that, in consequence of a change of officers, a very material alteration has taken place. With respect to the domiciliary visits, (which subject formed a great part of the above-mentioned letters), it gives me pleasure to say, that the present proctors, as far as I have been able to learn, have never put them into practice. Indeed, these visits are of so tyrannical a nature, and so contrary to the common law of the land, that unless in cases of riot, or any other breach of the peace that would authorize a similar exertion of power in any other place, they should never be put in execution. The act of searching the lodgings of unfortunate females, and (which has frequently been done) making them leave their beds in the night to open the doors of their apartments, and examining every corner of their rooms, is surely a degradation of the procuratorial office. It must be observed, too, that the description of the scenes which sometimes take place on these occasions, as related by the proctors themselves, and the consequent morriment in conversation to which such searches give rise, have frequently inclined us to attribute these domiciliary and nocturnal visits to motives less pure than those of the discharge of an official duty. And all this has been sometimes done by men who are generally considered as good-natured. The fact is, a prying and humanly curiosity

is often as cruel as an innate malevolence, for it is frequently productive of the same effects.—When a gownsmen has been found in any of these houses, the proctor has been known to have ordered the Marshal to take the woman away in the middle of the night!—However we may, as moralists, deplore the fact, it is to be feared that the existence of common prostitutes must be acknowledged to be a necessary evil, and one that can never be eradicated. As an immorality, it is not to be defended; but, perhaps, it has the effect of preventing the commission of greater ones; among which, and particularly in such a place as Oxford, may be reckoned the habits of intrigue, and the arts of seduction. If this is the case, and experience seems to confirm it, it is cruel to punish an unhappy woman for exercising an occupation, that generally brings its own punishment with it, an occupation which, most probably, were it in her power, she would be happy to relinquish; and which from necessity should be connived at, if carried on with an attention to public decency. Instances have occurred in Oxford of women of this description having been imprisoned, merely for having been so unfortunate as to be found by the proctors with gownsmen at their own houses, when there has been no noise or riot, for a longer time than persons who have been convicted of theft at the quarter sessions! Imprisonment for a month in the city prison is a very common, but a most severe punishment. In damp weather, the stone walls of the cells in which they sleep, literally run down with water. There is no glass in the windows, and only a sliding board to exclude the air.—The writer of this letter is aware that it will expose him to the censure of all those whose hypocrisy is greater than their humanity. He can only say, that the censure of such men is, in his estimation, of little importance; and that with every attention to a rational and well regulated discipline in the University, and a proper and becoming respect to his superiors, he never has, and never will, be deterred from noticing acts of cruelty and oppression, or the shewn of pedantry or the threats of self-assumed authority.

Oxford, Dec. 1814.

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## LONDON COMMON COUNCIL.

### MEETING REGARDING THE PROPERTY TAX.

At this Meeting the following Resolutions were agreed to, which have since been published in the usual form, and on the debate on which resolutions, after inserting them, I shall submit some remarks to the reader —

BIRCH, Mayor.

A COMMON COUNCIL, holden in the Chamber of the Guildhall of the City of London, on Friday, the 9th day of December, 1814;

Resolved unanimously, That it appears to this Court that the Tax upon Income, commonly called the Property Tax, was, under circumstances of peculiar national difficulty, resorted to as a War Tax only, and its enactment accompanied with the most solemn provisions that the same should finally cease at a limited period, after the termination of the then existing hostilities.

Resolved unanimously, That this Court has nevertheless strong reasons to apprehend that it is in the contemplation of his Majesty's Ministers to attempt the continuation or renewal of the said Tax, after its legal expiration, on the 6th day of April next.

Resolved unanimously, That this Court did, upon the first introduction of the Tax, declare, and has since repeatedly expressed their abhorrence of a system which appeared to them no less partial and oppressive in its operation, than repugnant to the free principles of the British Constitution—partial and oppressive, inasmuch as no distinction is made between Annuities, the precarious and fluctuating incomes arising from Trade and other uncertain sources, and the Incomes derived from fixed and permanent property—repugnant to the free principles of the British Constitution, inasmuch as it establishes an odious and inquisitorial system of Commissioners, before whom individuals are compelled to submit to the most degrading exposure of their private concerns and circumstances, and against whose arbitrary decisions, however unjust, they have neither remedy nor appeal.

Resolved unanimously, That, without attempting to detail the numerous evils resulting from

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such a system, it is evident that, rather than undergo such an exposure of their affairs, persons in an embarrassed or insolvent state will necessarily submit to any assessment, however unjust, to the great injury of their creditors, and the utter ruin of themselves and families.

Resolved unanimously, That the nature and character of such an Inquisition cannot be better described than on the authority of the Author of the W. alth of Nations, who observes, that "an inquisition into every man's private circumstances; and an inquisition which, in order to accommodate the Tax to them, watched over all the fluctuations of his fortune, would be a source of such continual and endless vexation as no people could support."

Resolved unanimously, That experience has sufficiently evinced the truth of this opinion, and such has been the vexation, injustice and oppression, resulting from the arbitrary and rigorous exactions under this novel and hateful system, that it has at length become altogether insupportable.

Resolved unanimously, That the continuance of such a system, under any modifications, more especially at a time when the people are anxiously looking for relief from the burthens and privations of war, and with equal anxiety anticipating retrenchment and retrenchment in the national expenditure, would, in the opinion of this Court, be highly irritating, and no less dangerous to the State than harassing and oppressive to the people.

Resolved unanimously, That a Petition be presented to the Hon. the House of Commons, praying them to reject any proposition that may be introduced for the purpose of continuing or renewing, under any modification, the said Tax on Property.

Resolved unanimously, That this Court do earnestly recommend that Meetings be held in the several Wards throughout this city, for the purpose of petitioning Parliament against the continuance or renewal of the said Tax.

Resolved unanimously, That this Court do also recommend that Meetings be held in all the different counties, cities, and towns throughout the kingdom, for the same purpose.

And a draft of a Petition, prepared agreeably to the foregoing Resolutions, was read, agreed to, and ordered to be fairly transcribed, and

signed by the Town Clerk, and presented to the Honourable House of Commons by the Sheriff, attended by the Remembrancer.

Resolved unanimously, That this Court doth request the Representatives of this City, and such other Members of this Court as have seats in Parliament, to support the prayer of the said Petition in the Honourable House of Commons.

WOODTHORPE.

#### LETTER IV.

##### TO THE EARL OF LIVERPOOL,

ON THE AMERICAN WAR.

MY LORD,—The Resolutions in the Common Council were moved by Mr. Waithman, who, in a very clear and strong manner, described the principle and practice of the *Property Tax*, and Mr. Alderman Wood gave a horrid instance of its operation. But it was not 'till Mr. Alderman Heygate spoke that the right string was touched. He said that the *American war* was the cause of the continuation of the tax, and that the people ought to *petition against that continuation*. He was deceived as to the *new objects* of the war. He does not appear to know any thing about those "*maritime rights*," of which he talked. The Americans have denied us *no maritime right*; that is to say, nothing that any writer on public law, nothing that any usage of nations; nothing that any principle, any maxim, any practice even of *our own*, at any former period, has held forth as a *right*. Therefore, the *object* of the war is, now as good, at least, as it ever was; and, indeed, it is now *not* in opposition to any principle of public law, it being clear, that we have a *right* to make conquests in America, if we have but the *might*. The "*Whigs*," then, must not think to shuffle off to the other side, and to be thought consistent in opposing the war (which they at first pledged themselves to support), upon the ground, that its *object has been changed*. It it has been changed, it has been changed for the *better*; from the right of *impressment* to the right of *conquest*.

But, my Lord, the speech, in this debate, which is most worthy of notice, is that of Sir William Curtis, Knight and Alderman. I believe, faith, a Baronet. He said, that he wished for peace with the Americans, but not 'till they had been "*confoundedly well FLOGGED*." This sentiment of Sir William has given rise to a *jeu d'esprit* of a correspondent,

which *jeu d'esprit* exhibits pretty correctly the view which the Americans will take of the matter, I will, therefore, though no admirer of doggerel, insert it by way of note\*. Rut, my Lord, this was no act of *folly* in the Baronet. He knew well what he was about. Sir William Curtis is *no fool*. He is, perhaps, as much the *opposite* of a fool as any man in England. He knew, that this seemingly-blundering phrase was the very thing to hit the taste of the far greater part of his audience; and, while they were "*laughing*" (as it is said) at it, he was, in his sleeve, laughing at *them*. He sees, as clearly as you and I, that there is very little chance of our beating the Yankees, but he sees, that it is the folly of the day, to speak of them with contempt, and it answers his purpose to indulge the sentiment as much as he can without prejudice to his future election. That man, who gives his support to the Property Tax, even at this day, and yet contrives, that those who so bitterly complain of it, shall call him "*honest Will Curtis*," is *no fool*, my Lord; but, on the contrary, an uncommonly discerning and adroit fellow.

It is now said, that we have *relaxed* in our demands on America, and that *peace* is at hand. I hope it is, with all my heart, but we must not only *relax*, we must give up *all* demands, before we shall have peace. I foresee the likelihood of our attempting to claim the *accomplishment of the object* of the war, if peace be made without our *formally* giving up our claim of *right* to *impress people on board of American ships on the high seas*. Our putting this claimed right into practice was the sole cause of the war; and, therefore, if peace be made, and this question be passed

#### \* "THE MICE IN COUNCIL"

The Council of Mice (to know what to be at) Resolv'd that a bell should be put on the Cat; But, when come to the pinch, there was no one could tell

How to *beat out* the heroes to put on the bell. So, when *ASHMAN WILL* (while his neighbour he jugg'd)

Made a *move to resolve*, "That the Yankees be flogg'd,"

All those look'd about them, who relish'd the dash,

To seek for the floggers to lay on the lash;

But, looking in vain, in a short time the whole Of the Council broke up and skipt to their hole.

PUSS.





over in *shall* we shall, as to the result of the war, claim unqualified success; and, I think I shall hear those same venal writers, who have long told us, that the war was, on our part, a war for reducing the Americans to *unconditional submission*, for *deposing Mr. Madison*; for *extinguishing anarchical Government*. I think, I shall hear these same writers assert, that *all we wanted* was to maintain this *maritime right*, and that as the Americans had made peace, without our making any stipulation on the subject, we had *won the object of the war*; and, of course, that the war had been just, necessary, and successful.

Foreseeing this, foreseeing that they will attempt to creep on this way, I, as is the custom with vermin-catchers, shall now beforehand, stop up their hole. The case is this, we stopped American ships on the high seas, in order, as we alleged, to impress our seamen from on board of them, and we not only impressed British subjects but many Republicans along with them. Mr. Madison said we had no right to take *any persons whatever* out of American ships on the high seas, and, after complaining, for years, in vain, he declared war against us, in order to compel us to *cease this our practice*. We were then *at war* with France, and he was a *neutral*. Our war with France has since *ceased*; and, of course, our *impressments* would now have ceased, though he had not gone to war. Our character of *belligerent* and his character of *neutral* ceasing with our war against France, our impressments would also have ceased. If we make peace with him now, and are at war with nobody else, we shall, of course, not impress. The *practice will have ceased*. That is all that he wants. That is *all that he went to war for*. He needs no *stipulation* upon the subject. He has *resisted the practice by force of arms*. The practice *ceases*, and he makes *peace*. It may be said, that we shall, under like circumstances, *revive the practice*; and, if we do, he will *revive his resistance*. He is not *at war* to obtain from us any *acknowledgment* that *our practice* was unjust; for he does not admit the point to be matter of doubt; and, besides, he knows, that such acknowledgment would be of no use. So that, if we had made peace with him, the moment the French peace had caused the excuse for impressments to cease, the matter would have stood just as it will now stand

without any stipulation on the subject.—Neither party will have given up the point, and yet the war will be at an end, the European peace having *taken out of existence the ground of quarrel*.

What a pity, then, my Lord, that you and your master had not followed my advice, and made peace the moment the European war was at an end! Come, my Lord, be candid towards me, and confess, that, for once, I gave you good advice. By not following that advice, you have got into what is vulgarly called a *hobble*. You now perceive clearly, that to continue the war, is to incur a certain enormous expence, and to expose the country to great danger of further disgrace; while to make peace, as the conflict now stands, is really to be *beaten*; and, what is still worse, to have created, by this very war, a most formidable *naval rival*.

Let me now take another article from the *Times* newspaper, that oracle of all the fools in England, whether high or low. It is full of matter for observation, refutation, or ridicule. It is a complete picture of the mass of the public mind upon this subject. A mixture of folly, spite, error, and falsehood; and is well worthy of close attention.

"If we could give credit to reports circulated yesterday with much confidence, we should believe that Ministers had sacrificed the glory and the best interests of the country by a premature peace with the Americans, at the moment when the latter are on the very verge of bankruptcy. Unfortunately, however, for the credit of this assertion, we at the same time learn, that most active measures are pursuing for detaching from the dominion of the enemy an important part of his territory. Accounts from Bermuda to the 11th ult. inform us, that all the disposable shipping in that quarter have been sent off to the Mississippi. Sir Alexander Cochrane left Halifax at the latter end of October for the same destination and a large body of troops from Jamaica was expected to assemble at the same point. The American Government has openly manifested such extravagant views of aggrandisement, that our eyes ought to be opened to its measureless ambition, and we ought to curb its excesses in time. It is doubtless with a view to this just and necessary policy, that Government has incurred the expence of such extensive



“ military and naval preparations and it  
 “ can hardly be supposed, that whilst they  
 “ are so largely sacrificing the national re-  
 “ sources with one hand, they will render  
 “ the object of the sacrifice altogether  
 “ with the other. Nevertheless, policies,  
 “ that peace with America would be signed  
 “ before the end of the current month, were  
 “ yesterday done in the city so high as 30  
 “ guineas to return 100. It was even as-  
 “ serted, though without foundation, that  
 “ the Preliminaries had been already dis-  
 “ gested, and received the signatures of  
 “ the Commissioners on the 3d instant.  
 “ We have, however, *some reason* to be-  
 “ lieve that the speculations on this sub-  
 “ ject are influenced, in some measure, by  
 “ secret information, issued for the most  
 “ unworthy purposes, from the hotel of the  
 “ American Legation at Ghent. After  
 “ what has been seen of the total want of  
 “ principle in American statesmen of the  
 “ Jeffersonian school, the world would not  
 “ be much astonished to learn that one of  
 “ the American negotiators had turned his  
 “ situation to a profitable account, by spe-  
 “ culating both at Paris and London on  
 “ the result of the negotiation. Certain it  
 “ is that letters received yesterday from  
 “ the French capital, relative to the pro-  
 “ ceedings at Ghent, contain intimations  
 “ like those which have been circulated  
 “ here on American authority, viz that the  
 “ new proposals of the British will be ac-  
 “ ceded to on or before the beginning of the  
 “ new year, provided that no better terms  
 “ can so then be obtained.—The *Liverpool*  
 “ frigate is arrived at Portsmouth, from  
 “ the coast of America, as is his Majesty’s  
 “ ship *Penelope*, from Halifax. By these  
 “ conveyances various and contradictory  
 “ intelligence has been received. On the  
 “ one hand, it was reported that an armis-  
 “ tice had taken place between the troops on  
 “ both sides in America; on the other, that  
 “ General Drummond had defeated Brown  
 “ and Izard with great loss, and forced  
 “ them to blow up Fort Erie, and retire  
 “ with the shattered remains of their  
 “ forces to Sackett’s Harbour. The first of  
 “ these reports is altogether unfounded;  
 “ the latter is at least premature. At the  
 “ date of the last advices Fort Erie con-  
 “ tinued in possession of the enemy; but  
 “ General Drummond, having received ad-  
 “ ditional reinforcements, was expected  
 “ soon to make an attack on the position.  
 “ Commodore Chauncy’s fleet was still

“ blockaded in Sackett’s Harbour by  
 “ James Yeo, but it was not understood that  
 “ any attack would be made on that place  
 “ by land or water before the winter set in.  
 “ Having mentioned our Naval Com-  
 “ mander on Lake Ontario, it is but right  
 “ to notice that he is to be succeeded in  
 “ command by Commodore Owen, as Sir  
 “ George Prevost is, at the same time, to  
 “ be by Sir George Murray. The com-  
 “ paratively small magnitude of our Lake  
 “ squadrons may, perhaps, afford a reason  
 “ (or at least an official argument) for not  
 “ employing one of our first Admirals on  
 “ that service; but why one of the first  
 “ Generals that we possess is not charged  
 “ with the management of so extremely  
 “ important a land war, it is difficult to  
 “ guess. The Officer thus mentioned may,  
 “ for ought we know, be a person of ability;  
 “ certainly his name, to those who remem-  
 “ ber Ferrol and Tarragona, cannot but be  
 “ rather ominous; but the nation it hurts  
 “ is really indignant at the sort of display  
 “ displayed on this occasion by Generals of  
 “ higher rank and celebrity, who ought  
 “ not to have declined the American com-  
 “ mand, merely because it did not promise  
 “ to be so lucrative as some others. Na-  
 “ tional gratitude has perhaps been displac-  
 “ ed with premature liberality, if those who  
 “ have received honours and rewards for  
 “ former services are to hold back, in  
 “ proud indifference, when their country  
 “ more needs their presence in the  
 “ field of honour. The American navy  
 “ grows under the pressure of a contest  
 “ with the greatest naval power that ex-  
 “ isted! Paradoxical as this appears, it  
 “ is a simple fact; and it proves more  
 “ than a thousand arguments the absolute  
 “ impossibility there is of our concluding a  
 “ peace at the present moment, without  
 “ rendering ourselves the contempt of our  
 “ antagonists, and the ridicule of all the  
 “ world besides. Shall we ALLOW the  
 “ *Guerrrière* to get to sea with impu-  
 “ nity; and to bear to every part of  
 “ the world a visible record of our shame,  
 “ in that defeat, which entailed on us so  
 “ many subsequent disgraces? The new  
 “ frigate of that name, mounting 64 guns,  
 “ is at Philadelphia, nearly ready for sea.  
 “ The *Washington*, another new ship,  
 “ carrying 90 guns, is fitting very fast for  
 “ sea at Boston; and the *Independence*, of  
 “ 98, has been recently constructed at  
 “ Portsmouth, in New Hampshire. The

"last mentioned vessel is considered to be more than a match for the largest man of war ever built in England. She is armed with a full complement of 1,000 prime sailors; and what is also of the utmost consequence, *her weight of metal is far superior to that of any ship in our navy*, since her heaviest shot are not less than 68 pounders. When we have received so many melancholy proofs of the effect produced by this superiority in weight of metal, and when we have had no less than two years and a half to profit by the painful lessons, it must indicate absolute infatuation, if we have not adopted some measures to place our seamen on an equality with those whom they have to oppose."

And now, my Lord, how different is this language from that of the speeches, which the American naval force was declared as consisting of "half a dozen frigates, with bits of ship a-burting at their bows!" I always said, that this way, if continued for any length of time, would create a *Navy, a formidable Navy*, in America, and is not this creation going on at a great rate? Yet, while this empty fool is exciting our alarms about the Yankee Navy, he is crying out against peace, because Mr. Madison's government is on the "very verge of bankruptcy." Without stopping to observe that this is a servile imitation of the language of "the great Statesman now no more," in the year 1794, as to the state of France, just 20 years before the war with her ended, how stupid must the man be to rely upon the financial difficulties of America, one moment, and the next, represent her as creating a great navy quicker than navy was ever before created! Pray mark the fool, my Lord. He says, that "the American navy grows under the pressure of the greatest naval power that existed." Well, and what is his remedy? To remove the cause? To take off that second pressure? No; but precisely the contrary; for, says he, the fact "proves more than a thousand arguments the absolute impossibility there is of our concluding a peace, at the present moment, without rendering ourselves the contempt of our antagonist, and the ridicule of all the world besides," which being interpreted, means, that the American navy having grown hitherto under our pressure, we ought to continue the pressure, in order, to be sure, to make it grow to so

large a size, that we may make peace with it without seeming to yield to an inferior force. If the words have any meaning, this it is.

But, my Lord, the description of the new Yankee ships is false, and wilfully false. It comes, it is said, from Halifax, our great naval rendezvous; and is well calculated to provide beforehand for the result of combat, which may take place, or, perhaps, may not take place, with the *Washington*, the *Independence*, and the *Guerriere*. I told your Lordship, that the American papers said, that the *Washington* was launched at Portsmouth, in New Hampshire; and that she was a 74. Why have these Halifax correspondents swelled her up to a 90 gun ship? I have seen, in the American papers, nothing at all about the *Independence*; but I know, that the official report of the secretary of the American navy, last year, spoke of no larger ships than 74's being on the stocks; and if the American navy-board build 90's and 98's, and charge the people only for 74's, the practice there is widely different from ours. How many guns the *Guerriere* may carry I know not; but I believe the description of her to be as false as that of the other two. But it is but too easy for the world to perceive the motive for these exaggerated descriptions of the force of the American ships; and it cannot fail to produce a very bad impression, with regard to us, amongst the people of America, whose eyes are constantly upon us, and who naturally and justly seize on all attempts of this sort, as subjects of the most poignant ridicule.

As to what this foolish man says about the *future command of our army*, why should he be so very anxious to see "one of our first Generals," in Canada? He, who spoke of the American army with so much contempt? And, besides, how does he know, that we have a better than Sir George Prevost? In a late number of his paper, this man observed, that a more famous commander was necessary to prevent our men from deserting. He said.—"Too deeply have we felt the disgrace of being beaten by land and water in the last campaign, to tolerate the chance of similar indignities in the next. Besides, we daily see stronger reasons for a hot and short war, when we contemplate the wasteful effect of dilatoriness. Our battalions suffer much from disease, but much more from desertion. The temptations to this crime

"which the Americans offer are too strong to be resisted by numbers of our soldiery. We must not shut our eyes to the full-burly of human nature, to the influence of example, to the strength of allurements. The best, the only way to keep the soldier to his colours, is to place him under a commander to whom he can look up with pride and confidence, and who will lead him into active and continuous service throughout a whole campaign."—"So, then, the Americans hold out temptations, do they? And the remedy is to send a commander that the soldiers shall be proud of, and that shall keep them constantly employed! And this will make them not disposed to yield to the Yankee temptations! I could point out a better remedy, my Lord; and if you will engage, that I shall not have my ears cropped off for so doing, you shall have my remedy. As it is, I shall keep it to myself. But what a beast this writer must be, or what beasts must he look upon his readers as being, to talk at this rate! If he were paid by Mr. Madison, he could not serve his cause more effectually than he now does.

I am, &c. &c.

WM. COBBETT.

P. S. The London *Common Hall* have resolved, that they do not like the *Property Tax*; but they seem to like the *American War* very much. I observed to your Lordship before, that this was very unjust. I do not call it foolish; I do not call it stupid; I call it really dishonest. They like the war; they wish to have the war; but they do not like to pay for it. It is paltry shuffling to say, that the tax belonged solely to the war with France. Every man knows, that the American war cannot go on without the tax; and, therefore, to approve of the war is to approve of the tax, as much as the approving of chicken at table is to approve of killing them.

#### FIRE ON MR. COBBETT'S PREMISES.

To the Proprietor of the Times Newspaper.

There is no doubt in my mind, and, I believe, none in that of the public, that the paragraph which you published some time ago, relative to the fire on my premises, and which you took, or pretended to take, out of "a Hampshire Paper," was intended, as it was clearly calculated, to injure me with the Insurance Office. Several of my friends were so fully convinced of this, that

they wrote to me, pressing me to bring an action against you and your associate calumniator of the Hampshire Paper, which I have since heard is published at that sink of servility and corruption, Portsmouth. My answer was, that I scorned a resort to the law against any body, who, however basely, attacked me through the press, and especially against such despicable vermin, and that, besides, I was very sure, that your malignant efforts, if they should have any effect at all with the Insurance Association, would have an effect precisely the contrary of that which it was manifestly your wish to produce. My insurance was with THE UNION LIFE AND FIRE INSURANCE ASSOCIATION, the chief office of which is at NORWICH. I wrote to the Office an exact description of the premises, told them how the fire happened, ascribed it wholly to the erection of a steaming copper on one of the bays subsequent to the making of the insurance, told them, that I was aware that I had a very slender, if any legal claim; but, at the same time, used such arguments as suggested themselves to me in support of an equitable claim, and offered, if they had any objection to grant his claim, to submit entirely to the decision of a sole arbitrator, chosen by themselves, from amongst the gentlemen of the Bar in this or any adjoining county, provided that he came to the spot, and examined into all the circumstances.—I do not know, whether your mean malignity had any weight with the Managers, but the fact is, that they chose no arbitrator; they took my word as to the cause of the fire; and, with a very handsome letter from Mr. T. Bignold, their Secretary, through Mr. Wooldrige, their Agent at Winchester, THEY SENT ME THE AMOUNT OF THE WHOLE OF MY CLAIM.—I am afraid that I have been induced to make this public acknowledgment of the fairness and liberality of this Institution, not so much from the motive of doing it justice, as from that of showing, that your malice is incapable of doing harm, where it has to encounter honesty and good sense. I wish all your readers were like the Managers of this Institution. We should not then have to lament the mischievous effects of your press with regard to the rumours, and, as you now call it, disgraceful, war against the American Republic. We should not, then, have to lament that a great part of this nation has been, and yet are, so besotted as to be-

are, as fitly as they believe in the Incarnation and the Athanasian Creed, that we shall *depose* Mr. Madison, re-colonize the American States, and make them help to pay the National Debt.—Your fellow-labourer at Portsmouth, whose name I have not heard, and the name of whose paper I have forgotten, and all of whose readers have a coarser appetite than some of yours, has gone, in this case, lengths, I am told, to which you, for want of courage and not for want of malignity, have declined to follow him. Not satisfied with giving to be understood, that I would not suffer the "*honest rustics*" to extinguish the flames, he has, I am told, published, that the thing which I had erected, made the premises what is called "*double hazardous*." As it may be of some use (addressing myself now to the reader), to persons disposed to try the effect of feeding cattle with *cooked*, instead of *raw*, roots, to know the facts, as to this point, I will here state them.—All that is necessary is, to erect a boiler in just the same way that a boiler is erected for *drawing* or for *washing*, except that the boiler for steaming has the lid *fastened down*, and has a pipe going out of it, which pipe conducts the steam into the thing containing the roots. The fire-place, the flue, or chimney, every thing else is the same as in the case of a common brewing copper, and, of course, there can be no *more hazard* in a steaming boiler than in a brewing boiler, or copper. The accident in my case arose thus.—In order to have the roots as near to the place of feeding as possible, the boiler was erected in an old barn, from one end of which ran off, at a right angle, an ox-shed of considerable length. The flue, or chimney, ascended through the *side* of the roof of the barn, but was not so high as the *ridge* of the roof. The covering was thatch, the wind blew hard from the chimney towards the ridge, the weather was, and had long been, very dry, a spark of strong wood fire from the top of the chimney was driven against the thatch, which instantly was in a blaze, flaming fragments of it were driven across the yard (about sixty feet) to another barn, to which the ox-shed was joined at one end, and the cart-house at the other end, other fragments dropped on the ox-shed, others on the stable; so that, in less than ten minutes, the whole of the buildings, forming a hollow square, were in a blaze that was seen in the Isle of Wight. Twenty-three oxen,

twenty hogs, four horses, two asses, all the waggons, carts, ploughs, harness, &c. &c. were saved by a degree of activity and presence of mind, and, indeed, of bravery, in my servants, which was never surpassed, and which not only consoled me for the loss of my buildings, but mitigated the vexation which I naturally felt at the attempts of the "*honest rustics*" of the *Times* newspaper to rob me, and which robbery was only prevented by my enforcing my order of dispersion, which, by occasioning the disappointment of thieves, naturally excited their anger, and as naturally drew forth the malice of the Proprietor of the *Times* newspaper, and his fellow-labourer at Portsmouth.—I chose to insure with the *Norwich Office*, because its terms were the *fairest* that I had ever seen; and, more especially, because I had been informed by several persons, that the Office was in the hands of good men, who were not in the habit of dragging unfortunate sufferers by fire into the still more destructive flames of the law. These were the reasons which induced me to insure with this Office, and I now find, by experience, that they were well founded.—Without more experience of another sort I cannot speak confidently as to the effect of feeding oxen with *cooked* roots. People about here ridicule the idea of feeding a score or two of oxen in such a way. They call the food *ox-pap*! And, when we consider, that a score of oxen will eat a *ton* and a *half* of *tata baga* in a day; and that, during their fattening, they will eat, perhaps, *two hundred tons* of even this food, it does, at first sight, seem a wild scheme. But when the reader is informed, that *three* buckets of water will cook a ton; that roots, like mine, from four to fourteen pounds weight each, require *no cutting*; that the thing in which they are cooked holds three tons; that there is not a pound of *waste* in each batch; that the cattle eat them in a fourth part of the time that it would require to eat raw roots; that the labour required is *less* than if the feeding was with raw roots. When these facts are known, the scheme does not appear to be so very wild.—As to whether this mode of fattening cattle will perform the work in *less time*, and with a *smaller quantity* of roots than the *raw* mode, I am not, as yet, able to speak with certainty. If any opinion were asked, I should say, that thought the former mode would save *half the time, half the food, and half the*

*labour*, necessary in the latter mode. If this should be the case, would not the reader think me a very weak man to be detested from the practice by the gunning of philosophers in smock frocks, or by the fool-born jests of the Editor of a country newspaper, who, in the scale of animated nature, is barely one remove from the cattle on whose diet he has the presumption to comment?

## SPAIN

### *In her state of Deliverance.*

It was easy to foresee, that no country in Europe would long have to rejoice at what was called the *Deliverance* of the Continent; but it was hardly to be expected, that, even in Spain, where the worst of all possible Governments has been overthrown, the deliverance would so soon have so many persons to complain of its effects. Amongst these effects the punishment of those whom we called "the Spanish Patriots," is the most striking, though by no means the most important. Some amongst us, and I for one, never called them patriots, because we never thought, that, if they succeeded in restoring Ferdinand they would do their country good. We saw, that, if the Bourbons were restored in Spain, the Monks, the Inquisition, the Mesta, and the rest of the old system would follow. We saw, that there was no middle course to be hoped for; that it must be the Bourbons and the old system entire; or, a new system, and no Bourbons.

By force of our aims and the weight of our purse, the old system entire has been restored. This is nothing to be surprized at. The only wonder is, that there are persons, who supported the war in Spain, impudent enough to assert, or foolish enough to feel, *disappointment* at what has taken place. That which has taken place was the natural, and, indeed, the almost unavoidable, consequence of the restoration of Ferdinand. What! was there any man foolish enough to suppose, that he would become a *constitutional King*? That he would be a *guardian of civil and religious liberty*? That he would be a protector of the *rights of man*? That he would become a disciple of *Sydney, Locke, and Paine*? That he would recognize, in Spain, what the Bourbons and what all our monarchical writers had declared to be abominable in France? And who, without the most flagrant inconsistency, could have censured the French Revolution, and, at the same

time, have approved of the Constitution, which the Cortes had prepared for Ferdinand? It was all scandalous hypocrisy to pretend, that the war in Spain was a war for *freedom*. It was a war for the restoration of the old Government, it has restored that Government, and it has, therefore, been attended with *complete success*.

There are persons, amongst the Opposition to our Ministers, who complain of them for having sanctioned what Ferdinand is now doing. This charge is very foolish and even malicious; because the Opposition expressed *their wishes for the restoration of Ferdinand*. That was the business of the Ministers. They did that, and then, of course, they had *finished their job*. The Spaniards, who acted and fought with us, wanted Ferdinand "the *beloved*" to be restored to them; they wanted to get rid of the *Usurper*, and these things being accomplished, they were, of course, left to themselves. They had then "beloved" restored to them, and then they were left in his "*paternal*" hands.

Our Ministers are blamed for not *interfering* in behalf of these "*Patriots*," whom the "*beloved*" has put in prison, and otherwise punished. But in what way are they to *interfere*? Are they to tell the King of Spain how he is to rule his people? Are they to dictate laws and modes of trial in Spain? Are they to take, in short, the Government of Spain out of the hands of her beloved Monarch, and thus do what Joseph did? If those, who spoke and who fought with us against Joseph find themselves *disappointed*; if they feel the weight of *chains* where they expected the gentle pressure of *ribbons and stars*, they have *themselves* to thank for it. They freely chose Ferdinand in preference to Joseph, who had put down the Inquisition, the Monks and the Mesta. They declared, that Ferdinand was their *lawful sovereign*; that they owed him *unqualified allegiance*; that it was the duty of all Spaniards to fight in the cause of his restoration; that Spain could never be happy without him. And, after all this, shall they *complain* that we do not *interfere in their behalf against him*?

The case of the two persons arrested at Gibraltar, and delivered up to the Spanish Government, has been made ground of complaint here; but, in my opinion, without reason, by those who were for the war against Joseph. The history of this affair

is simply this—Two gentlemen, who had been *writers* in a journal, containing much displeasing to the Government, having its vengeance, go from Cadiz to Gibraltar. Sir James Duff, our Consul at Cadiz, writes to Gen. Smith, Lieutenant-Governor and Commander at Gibraltar, telling him that he suspects that such persons (naming the two in question) will leave Cadiz for Gibraltar; and observes, that he does it, in order that the General may decide what he may judge best with respect to their residence in that garrison. He then describes them as *editors of a journal*. On the same day (the 10th of May, 1814), the Governor of Cadiz, Juan Villavicencio, writes to Gen. Smith, requesting him, in case these persons should go to Gibraltar, to seize them and send them to the Commandant General of the Spanish Camp, near Gibraltar, or to send them, at once, to Cadiz. The two persons, Don Diego Cueva and Don Antonio Purgleno, arrive, and are seized by General Smith. The Spanish Consul at Gibraltar *charged* them as Spanish *subjects*, General Smith *gave* them up to him, and he *packed* them off to Cadiz. General Smith justifies his conduct by an appeal to *precedent*. He says, that, in February last, four Spaniards having come to Gibraltar from Ceuta, and who being demanded as *State prisoners*, were, at once, sent back to Ceuta by General Campbell, then Lieutenant-Governor of Gibraltar.

Now, reader, observe, that this *precedent* took place when Spain was under the government of those whom Ferdinand has put down and is punishing. Is not this *Measure for Measure*? And, was not General Smith to do, at the request of Ferdinand's government, that which his predecessor had done at the request of the government of our friends the Cortes? Surely a better precedent could not have been found. It was doing towards the "*Patriots*," just what the "*Patriots*," had caused to be done towards their opponents. But, it is said, by some, that those persons, whom General Campbell sent back, were "*State Prisoners*." How does that alter the case? They were, in other words, persons accused of *offences against the State*; and so were these two, whom General Smith gave up; only these two had not yet been actually put into prison by Ferdinand, while those who fled from the "*Patriots*," had been put into

were less than the offence of the "*State Prisoners*," they were not sent back to a prison, as the others were. And if their offences were such as to cause them to be put into prison when sent back to Cadiz, surely there was as good reason to send them back as *State Prisoners*, as there was to send back those whom General Campbell sent back? I am not, mind, *justifying* the act, I am only shewing, that, if the "*Patriots*" *felt*, they made others feel in just the same way before. I am only shewing, that the act of General Smith was of exactly the same sort, full as agreeable to the laws of five nations; full as just; full as merciful; full as consistent with the feelings of humanity, as the act of General Campbell; and that, as the conduct of the latter had not been disapproved of, the former might naturally look upon it as quite safe to follow his example.

The *Times* newspaper, edited at the sweet pool which the restoration of Ferdinand has produced of the blessed fruits of the long war in Spain, observes, that we were in February last, in *alliance* with the Government of Spain. And were we not in *May* last? Were we not, at that time, paying subsidies to Ferdinand? Are we not in *alliance* with Ferdinand? Is not the Regent now sending out the *Order of the Garter* to this "*blasted*" Sovereign of the Spaniards?

And what does Lord Bathurst say to General Smith upon the subject? We shall do well to see the whole of his letter. It is as follows—"It has been represented to me, that you have delivered up to the Governor of Cadiz, certain persons, subjects of his Catholic Majesty, on the requisition of the Governor, without any previous communication with his Majesty's Ambassador at the Court of Madrid; it is further stated, that these persons were not charged with having committed murder, or any other atrocious crime; but that the only reason alleged for your being required to give them up, was, that they opposed the political system which the Spanish Government have thought proper to adopt, since the return of King Ferdinand and the VIIth to Madrid.—I am unwilling to believe that this representation is correct. But as there may be some foundation for it, I must desire that you will inform me with any correspondence which may have passed between you and the Governor of Cadiz, or any agent of the Spanish Go-

"vernment, upon this subject.—That you may not be misled at any time by the urgency with which it is possible similar requisitions may be made to you, I have received the commands of his Royal Highness the Prince Regent, that you uniformly decline giving up to the Spanish Government any person who may have taken refuge in Gibraltar, without a previous communication with his Majesty's Ambassador at the Court of Madrid."—What is this? Here is nothing condemning the principle of such seizing and giving up. Here is no representation against it, as hostile to any principle of public law. Here is no censure of the practice generally. But merely an admonition to consult with our Ambassador before any act of the sort is committed in future. Here is, indeed, a tacit acknowledgment, that we have the right to surrender whom we please. The present act is censured merely on the ground of its inexpediency. If the English Ambassador is of opinion, that persons should be given up, it is here plainly meant, that they may be given up, let what consequences will follow.

Besides, how does the *Times* newspaper reconcile its censure of General Smith with its doctrines respecting *Englishmen in America*, or on board of *American ships*? It has called the American Government by all sorts of vile names, because it would not seize and give up deserters from our ships. It justifies the practice of seizing and carrying away by force any British subject, found in an American ship, in time of peace. So that, supposing a "criminal" to be sent from England to America, he can, according to the *Times* newspaper, be lawfully seized, even in the harbour of New York, and brought back to England. If he can be seized and forced away, surely he may be given up, and, if given up in a ship, why not in a fortress?

To return to the situation of the Spaniards, it is stated in the public prints here, that the nation is now most grievously oppressed. But I do not find, that Ferdinand has done any thing more than restore. He has restored every thing. He is going on as fast as he well can to make Spain what it was before Napoleon entered it. He is putting up all that Napoleon pulled down. The Spaniards, Mr. Alden Puch told his fellow-citizens, were fighting with us for their homes and their holy altars. They have got them,

and the Holy Inquisition along with them. And yet, we seem not to be pleased! We are a strange "thinking people."

We are a people very hard to please; for, while we find fault with the King of Spain for having gone too far in the work of counter-revolution, we find fault with the King of France, or with the French people, for not going far enough in the same way. I have we want to see the *Seigneurs*, the *tythes*, and all restored. We want to see restored there every abuse, every oppressive institution and regulation; all the whole of that despotism, for submitting to which we formerly called the French slaves. In short, the writers, who thus meddle with the affairs of France and Spain, wish to see both nations reduced to slavery and misery, and every other nation upon the face of the earth. They are never easy if there be any people enjoying, or likely to enjoy, freedom from plunder and oppression.—Their reasons for this, I love my health too well to state here, but I will find the means of stating them, or causing them to be stated, and in print too, in spite of every thing that can be done to prevent it. The enemies of the happiness of nations, the defenders of plunder and oppression in all countries; these corrupt miscreants are displeased with Ferdinand, because he has not acted the part of a hypocritical despot; because he has, at once, come back plumb to the mark; because he has made even our partizans cry out; because he has given to the world so complete and striking a proof of the difference between his Government and that of Napoleon. This, and this only, is the cause of their displeasure at his acts.

Well! there let the Spaniards remain, let them enjoy all the benefits of having Grandees, Seigniorial Courts, the Mesta, the Monks and the Inquisition. Yet the invasion of Spain by Napoleon, whatever his intentions might have been, has been productive of one great benefit to mankind. It may lead to the emancipation of South America; but it has stocked North America with fine-wooled sheep; it has enabled eight or ten millions of free men not only to make their own woollens, but to export wool, and that, too, as good as ever grew in Spain. This, of itself, is a great revolution in the affairs of the world. It will be a great cause of intercourse with the American Republic; and if that Republic retain the principles on which it was founded, tyranny in no part of Europe is safe.

There will, in spite of every thing that despots of all sorts can do, always be an asylum for the oppressed, always a great and striking example of the happiness enjoyed by those who choose their own rulers, and amongst whom bribery and corruption are unknown.

#### AMERICA.

MR. COBBETT.—It appears from the negotiations at Ghent, that we have demanded a new boundary line; that the Republicans shall give up part of their territory, including those Lakes, whereon, it is said, they have defeated us. As to the Americans having defeated us, I do not believe a word of it; it must be all false; it is impossible that those poor ragged Republicans should defeat a brave, rich, learned people, like us, who live under a Constitution of King, Lords, and Commons. Nobody believes it but the enemies to our Government, the Jacobins and Levellers, who would overturn social order and our holy religion. But it seems these wretched Republicans, these American vermin, are not willing to accept our *readiest* proposals. Nothing will do, I see plainly; nothing will do, but utterly to destroy these rascals; there must not be left a man alive among them; not one, not a single individual; they are not fit to live; not fit to breathe the same air that we breathe; not fit to walk on the same globe. What right have they to property or territory? Are they not *Republicans*? Have they not a pure Representation? And are they not a nest of *Atheists*? Why, the poor wretches have no *established religion*, no bishops, no tythes, and no rates. It is not easy to conceive of a people in a more contemptible condition, and yet they have the *matchless impudence* to refuse to give up a *part only* of their territory, including those Lakes, whereon, it is said, and falsely said, they have defeated us. I expect, then, to see shortly these *infidels* completely annihilated, by the naval and military power of Great Britain, whose cause, as Mr. Ponsonby is reported to have said in the House of Commons, "has always been that of *justice* and of *liberty*"; and thus, I trust, we shall maintain our *noble* character to the very last. That we can easily accomplish this task, no one but an enemy to social order and our holy religion will dare to doubt, or question. I shall rejoice at this event, as being one of the happiest, most reli-

gious, most humane, and most truly moral, that ever took place since the creation of the world. As for you, Mr. Cobbett, though I do not wish to be personal, yet I tell you frankly, that you are not a bit better than Mr. Madison himself, who will shortly be deposed.—Yours, &c.

Dec. 1814.

F.

SIR,—You have probably read, in the *Times* of Saturday, a report of the debates in the Common Council on the subject of the Property Tax; whence we learn, that an Aldermanic orator, adverting to this sanguinary American war, from which flow such quantities of blood and tears, observed, he hoped to see the Americans "*confoundedly flogged*," before the contest should terminate. Now Sir Wm. Curtis acquired his imputed great maritime knowledge, I pretend not to know; probably in his toy-shop of a yacht, so highly celebrated for tittle, and vulgar gormandizing. But I could, in truth, venture to assure this civic Demosthenes, that could his *delicate feelings* but permit him to enter the public-houses, in the immediate vicinage of Wapping docks and the Tower, and ask for a pint of beer, he would hear the expression of sentiments, and "*doctrines*," about being "*confoundedly flogged*," which might, perhaps, at once astound and undeceive him. At least, to my understanding, they appear eminently opposed to those held by our most *eminent* civilians. Whether they are "*sound*," or unsound, is a question I am unequal to discuss.—I am, God knows, Sir, no politician, (though the class is so numerous) but humbly presume this worthy Alderman would acquire a far more *sound* title to the gratitude of his country, and the loud pleadings of suffering humanity, were he to exert his *utility* influence in effecting "a speedy peace, and "*soon*."—I beg you to excuse this intrusion, and am, with very great respect, &c.

A CONSTANT READER.

Westminster, Dec. 12, 1814.

#### CHEAP BREAD AND HIGH TAXES.

SIR,—I have waited with considerable anxiety, in the expectation that some measures would have been taken, at the late Parliamentary Meeting, for the protection, or rather relief, of the farming interests; by which, however, I would be understood to desire the *general good*, rather than the benefit of any particular class. It must be evident to every man in the least com-



versant with farming, that to grow corn, under the present circumstances, is to court certain ruin, for it needs no demonstration to understand, that, with our rents, rates, tythes, and taxes, direct as well as indirect, our raising an immense expence in labour, for we cannot grow it for so little as *double* the price at which it can be grown where there are no tythes, no material rents, or taxes, and where labour is consequently far more reasonable than with us. There are, therefore, evidently only two paths which our Government, under such circumstances, can pursue: the one is to pass a law prohibiting the importation of foreign corn, except at certain high prices, which would be manifestly unjust towards the population of this country: the other to reduce the expences attendant on British agriculture to a level with those of other countries. Now, Sir, it appears to me that for the Government to say to the people of this country, the moment that peace (after a war of long miseries and great deprivations) is attained; to say to them that they shall not buy *cheap Br. ad.*, though it is so eaten over the whole world besides, and though the farmers and governors of those countries are cheerfully so tendering it to us; to say to them that they shall eat it at double or three times the price to enable the farmer to pay his taxes to Government, would be a language that they neither could or would understand. The interests of the belly, Sir, are well known to be far stronger even than Borough interests, and, with the bulk of the people, supersede all other considerations. In this case no doubt justly, for it was not the bulk of the people that made the late war, nor was it made for their benefit, nor have they derived any whatever from it. It was a war for crowns, and kingdoms, nobility, property, and old establishments. Thus it is that the bulk of the people argue, whose labour and whose sweat continue to be taxed, and whose blood has been so severely taxed. The Government is aware of that feeling, and if they attempt a Bill of that sort it will not be without fear and trembling; and, in my opinion, though still strong in regulars and militia, it will not pass. On the other hand, Sir, it is well understood to be the first and most important duty of every Government, if possible, to cause to be raised food within it self sufficient for the consumption of its population; (witness the late fatal case of Norway) other-

wise in times of scarcity in those countries whence the necessary supplies are derived, or in war, we should be entirely at their mercy, and reduced to the most dependant and humiliating condition. It appears to me, then, that ultimately all tythes, taxes, and other expences, including a large portion of present rents, which bear on and oppress agriculture, must be removed, and I am the more confirmed in this opinion, because it is evident that, with the equal skill obtained in manufactures by rival and neighbouring nations, it is necessary our manufacturers should be fed as cheaply as theirs are, or we cannot, by any possible means, compete with them in foreign markets. To depend on our machinery, or superior capital, is manifestly absurd, because the experience of ages, as well as of every hour, teaches us that capital and industry will always study their own interests, and will pass with incredible rapidity to those countries whence most advantage is to be derived from their employment. A little delay will, I think, prove the truth of my assertions. Capital will emigrate as our population, nobles, clergy, and simple, are now doing: depriving the country of their contributions, and leaving to those who remain, the agreeable task of making good the deficit occasioned by their absence. I confess the system difficulties, to withdraw the revenues now raised from the land, will make a great hole in the ways and means, particularly during the continuance of this blessed American war. But to continue them would as evidently, in a very short space of time, make a much greater. Our period of difficulty, long foreseen, and long since, and often foretold, is at length arrived. Our public credit totters; our stock-holders, our dependants on Government, and even our Government itself, may be compared to a huge pyramid reversed, which the lapse of time, and neglect and abuse, has undermined. Skillful hands, may preserve it upright for awhile, but no certainty exists; and when it falls, "great will be the fall thereof" I am, &c.

A. FARVER.

Dec. 3, 1814.

#### LIBERTY OF THE PRESS AND FREE ENQUIRY.

"Sophistry may perplex truth, ingenuity may warp the decrees of justice, and ridicule may raise an undeserved laugh; but where free enquiry prevails, errors will be corrected;

injustice will be reversed; and ridicule will be retorted on those who abuse its influence."

"The first object in a free State is to preserve the liberty of the subject; and the chief security for freedom is the *Liberty of the Press*."

Johnson's "Independent Man"

MR. CORBETT.—I have selected the above quotation, or motto, from a modern work of much celebrity, to give sanction to the subject of this letter, which appears to me of more consequence in proportion as school-craft, state-craft, and priest-craft promoted and extended. I was in hopes, from the public expression which you saw evinced towards Daniel Isaac Eaton, that we should not have had another instance of persecution to have disgraced the history of this thinking and enlightened nation."—But I find that Mr. George Houston is sentenced to two years imprisonment, and a fine of two hundred pounds, for being the author of a book entitled *Eccæ Homo*, which the late Mr. Eaton published. From my personal knowledge of Eaton, and the continual expressions of zeal he always used upon subjects connected with the Liberty of the Press, I was much surprised that he should have given up the author of this work. But when, to my sorrow, I recollect, that he was *eight times ex-officiò*, his age, his infirmities, his poverty, and the times in which he lived, I freely confess there is more cause for my wonder that reason found in him such a bold and steady advocate, and the Press, that engine more powerful than gold, such a firm supporter. Alas, Sir! where shall we now find, in the dominions of the House of Brunswick, another "Rationalist, or Magazine for Truth and Good Sense."—It is ridiculous to boast of the Liberty of the Press, with these instances of punishment upon record for matters of opinion; and it is the height of hypocrisy to hold ourselves forth as the advocates of truth, and as examples of charity and benevolence, whilst we cupiously pass over such events without censure. In vain may we plume ourselves on the refinements of science, "the blessed comforts of social order, and our holy religion," whilst we hourly manifest a disposition to burn unbelievers like straw. It is true the faggot and the stake are laid aside; but banishment, fine, and imprisonment, punishments more revolting, because more cruel and degrading to the human mind, are daily substituted in its place.—Nor will this policy want advocates and sup-

porters, as long as it is thought a duty "to honour and obey the King, and all that are put in authority under him; to submit ourselves to all our governors, teachers, spiritual pastors, and masters, to order ourselves lowly and reverently to all our betters," as well as (a fundamental doctrine in religion) to fear God.—Those whom we choose to call Pagans, knew better, whilst Seneca, and him whose name I assume, taught differently. You have often very properly drawn the attention of your readers to the Liberty of the Press in this country, and you have shewn that, on all other topics but politics and religion, the "two only generally necessary" "to salvation," without baptism or sipping with the Lord, ~~we~~ are very well off. But on these subjects, which ought to be the chief of our thoughts, I do not conceive it possible to be worse. Occasionally we find an individual bold enough to offer to our rigid faculties, ideas calculated to interest our minds, enlighten our understandings, and warm and exhilarate our hearts, but these, like a too early sunshine in the uncertain solstice, only bring forth fruits to be speedily cut off—their beauties, and their qualities wasted, and the spot to be no longer interesting than containing their untimely remains mouldering into dust. A work of this description is now before me, entitled "*Materials for Thinking*," by William Bindon, from which I transcribe part of the last chapter, requesting a speedy insertion. It alludes particularly to this subject. This work ought to be generally circulated and read, for in the short preface we are informed, that "the great purpose of the present undertaking is to lessen the effect of prejudice, diffuse the comfort of society; and, if he should contribute to repel discussion, and induce some few among mankind to adopt more liberal principles of conduct, his intentions will be fully answered."

VARRO.

REMARKS ON THE BIBLE SCIENCE.—

In committing this part of my book to the public, which contains a direct attack upon the divine authority of the Scriptures, I feel that I am liable to some small risk of adding another martyr to the cause of truth, and I have a recent example of persecution before my eyes in the punishment of D. I. Eaton, sufficient to terrify men of stouter nerves than myself, but I cannot, I will not believe, that, at this enlightened period, it can be considered

criminal to discuss the merits of a book by some held sacred, provided the discussion be conducted with decency and moderation; yet even were the utmost sensibility, vulgarity, and abuse employed to render it contemptible, surely they who are convinced of its divine origin, can never fear the use of any *human* means to degrade it in the eyes of the world; for if the arguments by which it is assailed are unsound, they may be repelled by sounder arguments; and as to abuse, if it ever does harm, it can only be for a season, and will ultimately recoil upon those who employ it. At any rate, if the religion I have proposed to examine is from God, no effort of mine, nor of any other man, can destroy it; for God will defend his own with a power which no human efforts can successfully oppose.—Man may be strong, but God must be stronger; and, according to the *Heathen maxim*, *FAITH IS STRONGEST OF ALL*.—A less period than fifty years, I trust, will give to infidels of all descriptions, the utmost liberty to profess their opinions. Religion may suffer from such a toleration, but *morality* can never suffer from the utmost freedom of discussion; for morality is founded on the common interest of mankind, which will always prove its best protection; and even Christianity, so far as it is practicable, whatever may become of its doctrines, will maintain itself as a system, or rule of conduct, while it is found consistent with *general utility*. But to give it a fair trial, it must have no *external* support from *fear* or *interest*. The sole motive by which I have been actuated in this and all other writings against Christianity, is to make men *more reasonable*, and surely no one can be a greater benefactor to his species than he who teaches them to exercise their reason. Implicit belief is the parent and preserver of error, and, what is most extraordinary, it generally assumes the appearance of reason; for men oftener employ that faculty to defend their belief than to examine it, and therefore there can be no greater bar to the improvement of reason, than the restraints laid upon it by religion.”

After a fair and dispassionate review of the various books of the Bible and Testament, and the forms of worship in the prayer book, Mr. Burdon observes, “I believe if the Bible can be read *impartially*, without any preconceived notions, the morality it contains will find its way to the uncorrupted understandings of all men,

while its doctrines will be left only to puzzle divines. Let the Bible, therefore, be disseminated as widely as possible, without gloss or comment, and even if it sometimes does harm, it will do much good; for there is no book extant of its size which contains more entertaining history, or more useful morality. But never let it be *forced* upon any description of people; let all nations have the means of reading it, if they will, but let no *unwise means* be used to put it in the hands of those who have no wish for it. The English nation is the most combustible, the most easily set on fire, of any nation upon earth; and as a proof of this, it is truly ridiculous to see the prevalence of *fashion* in the increase of Bible Societies. I am far from wishing to discountenance or ridicule the Bible; for, when read *without religious bias*, it cannot fail to be useful; but to see men of all ranks and descriptions, of the most opposite habits, sentiments, and persuasions, uniting to crush the Bible down the throats of all nations, people, and languages, with indiscriminating violence; to see men the most prodigal in their private conduct, the most open despisers of religion in their lives and conversation, men who have never read one word of the Bible since they were at school, and hardly know what it contains; to see all these men, and women too, hurrying to subscribe to what in their hearts they care not a farthing about, is just as ridiculous as to see them crowding to a ball or a masquerade.—By those who are unwisely sanguine as to the improvement of human nature, the Lancasterian system of education is held up as the *panacea*, or universal remedy, for all the evils of society; and we are very confidently told, both by christians and philosophers, that when all men are taught to read and write there will be no more crimes, no more vice, no more misery in the world! Believing, as I firmly do, that these things are inherent in the system, as correctives of the great original defect, I am not so earnest in my hopes of general melioration, or so sanguine as many of my friends in believing that we have arrived at the commencement of a *new era*; for I do believe, that, even after all men, women, and children are taught to write, there will still be much vice and misery in the world. Nevertheless I will cheerfully contribute my mite towards the expence of educating the children of the

poor, and also my opinion as to further improvement in educating the rich, for all the *rices of society* are not to be found in the *lower ranks.*"—*Materials for Thinking*, 1 Edit.

## ON RELIGIOUS PERSECUTION.

### LETTER II.

' Religion by compulsion is no longer religion  
' it must be by persuasion, and not by con-  
' straint Religion is under no controul, and  
' cannot be directed by power "

#### LITERARIUS Lib 3

SIR,—BURNES, in his admirable chapter on *Liberty of Sentiment*, says, "The experience of the world sufficiently proves, that there are hardly any opinions in themselves destructive of the peace of society, it is not opinions which do harm, but the *opposition* to them, many errors, which would have withered away before the light of time and reason, have grown strong and vigorous by being encountered, and the very force by which they were opposed has destroyed many thousand lives, and left the opinions which it meant to root out confirmed and strengthened."—Every person of common observation and reflection must, in my humble opinion, feel the propriety of these remarks. Suppose, for instance, that our Civil or Ecclesiastical Governors were to consider the venerable Mrs. Joanna Southcott an Impostor, whose pretensions and doctrines were derogatory to the honour of our holy religion; and were prompted, under that idea, to persecute her and her followers, would not that circumstance, I ask, be the means of extending her fame, causing her numerous writings, both in poetry and prose, to be more generally read; and, as they have already gained her many thousand adherents; be productive of as many thousand more; who, being excited by curiosity, and the love of novelty, so predominant in the human breast, might perhaps, like the early Christians and many of their posterity, deem the scorn and mockery of the world an infallible test of the Truth of her mission? And might not those who have been many years true believers in her doctrine, be induced to strengthen the bonds of friendship among themselves, to keep more steadfast in their faith, and adhere more strictly to the particular notions or prejudices to which they had been so long accustomed? Those who are of all acquainted with the history of past ages, or with human nature in general, must acknowledge this a reasonable calculation, as they will be well aware that persecution very rarely gains its ends; whether against political, philosophical, or religious opinions; on the contrary, it generally makes its objects more inveterate and determined

in their course. But, on the other hand, if we were to admit, for the sake of argument, that the new Millennial System of this Lady, is, in reality, a delusion, a hoax upon the public, or a cunningly devised fable like many others in days of yore, invented to betray and rob mankind, then I would ask, whether by treating it with perfect indifference, or passing it over with silent contempt, as being too ridiculous and despicable to merit their notice, and suffering it ultimately to mar itself by its own absurdity, (with the full confidence that every species of imposture must in the end shrink before the touch of time, the impartial trier of all things) instead of giving it into unreserved importance by a passionate opposition,—it would not be likely to sink into that oblivion they wished?—I think I shall have the assent of most well informed people, to the deductions I have drawn, because their memory will remind them that no system of error or superstition, has ever existed long when neither persecuted nor supported by the civil or ecclesiastical power. Though I would by no means infer from this, that the Christian religion itself might not have been in existence at this day, if the zeal and enthusiasm of its first founders had not been stimulated and strengthened by the hardships they had to undergo, and the example of their founder; nor, on the other hand, would I argue that it owes its continuance, and its present prosperity, to its being protected by monarchical and aristocratical Governments, or, what some would profanely call, the *adulterous* union of Church and State, though John Bigland, a very able modern writer, and a sincere Christian, when endeavouring to prove the advantages of a State Religion, and to apologise for the enormous patronage and ecclesiastical emoluments possessed by the priesthood of this country, has not hesitated to say, "That if the Church establishment had not been put upon a respectable footing, by judiciously assigning a part of the landed property of every country for its support, the Christian Religion, degraded and rendered contemptible by the abject situation of its Ministers, would, before this day, have either been totally extinguished, or have degenerated into a mass of superstitions and absurdities, which would have reduced it nearly to the level of Paganism." These extraordinary sentiments from so serious and respectable an author, present a wide scope for comment, but I should be digressing too far from my subject, I shall leave the reader to make his own reflections, and be content with saying for myself, that I would be extremely sorry to speak thus of a religion which I believed to be of *divine origin*. No! I will never enter into such

degrading an idea that is essential to the existence and credit of our holy faith, that it should be amalgamated with the inventions of men. It is a libel upon the great Author of Nature, to suppose our religion a revelation from him for our salvation, and yet that it need man's assistance to keep it from perishing. If I believe it an emanation from the Almighty, it will be much more consistent for me to agree with some Jews, "That pure and genuine Christianity never was, nor ever can be, the national religion of any country up on earth. It is a gold too refined to be worked up with any human institutions without a large portion of alloy, for no sooner is the small quantity of unadulterated watered with the terrible drosses of civil institutions than it grows up to a large and spreading tree, under the shelter of whose branches, the bulwarks of prey and plunder will not fail to make for themselves conspicuous habitations, and thence deface its beauty and destroy its fruits." What a contrast is here, between the sentiments of the defenders of Priests, and all the appendages with which they have loaded religion, and those of the advocate of Christianity in the purity and simplicity in which it is represented to have been first propagated; and how much more concerned the opinions of the latter with the idea of a system instituted by a Supreme Being—in which light, in the present instance, I mean to consider that which was taught by Jesus as the will of his Father.

If all good Christians admit the Divine origin of their religion, (and, I believe, there are none that dispute it) they must, at the same time, acknowledge that their religion is capable of protecting and supporting the revelation of his command, in whatever manner his infinite wisdom deems best, because they ascribe to the Deity, among various other attributes, those of Omnipotence, Omniscience, and Foreknowledge. How absurd, then, by their general conduct to belie the profession of belief; for, if God is all-powerful, all-wise, and fore-knowing, how is he capable of receiving an injury? How can he want the assistance of such pious men? Or when and where did he ever appoint any of us his counsellors, that we should presume to know his mind, requiring us to be arbiters between him and our neighbours, or executioners to destroy each other for offending him? I am aware that the learned and elegant Dr. Blackstone, in his ingenious *Spoils for the Laws of England*, divides a chapter in *Offences against God and Religion*, and enumerates the various punishments which the Legislature, in behalf of our Almighty, law thought expedient to inflict for the commission of them. But he does not state from what part of the Sacred Writ they derive their authority for so doing. When we execute a murderer, or a house-breaker, we do not pretend it is because he has

offended God. We do not take his life as an atonement for his crime. Nor we are taught by our religion that he will be tormented hereafter for that. We only, from necessity, remove him from society, as a dangerous member of it, upon the same principle that we would amputate a mortified limb, and hang him up as an example of terror, to prevent the malice of men as a necessary agent, that he may be excited to obey the Laws, and deterr'd from the transgression of them. How presumptuous and how arrogant then are we, if we persecute a person on the score of his religion, when every precept of Christ is diametrically opposed to such conduct. Does not the Almighty act as a Father over all? Does he deal out the bounties of Nature with a more miserably him to the Jew, the Turk, the Persian, or the Indian, than he does to the Christian? And among the innumerable sects of Christianity, has ever existed a partiality for any one in particular? Are they not all satisfied that he is on them peculiar marks of his favour? Do not our Saviour tell us, that God maketh his sun to shine on the evil and on the good, and to send the rain on the just and on the unjust. Let us ask the furious bigot whether faith is not a gift of heaven? And if so, whether the want of it can be a vice? We did not frame our intellectual faculties, nor can we command the decision of our understanding, which is completely passive, and motioned entirely by the impressions we receive from external objects. If our friends or neighbours have the misfortune to err in judgment through their confused views on prejudices, we ought gently to argue the matter with them, using mild persuasion, and the best reason we are possessed in, instead of rancor, abuse and virulent declamation. But should our charitable uncle the good of their souls ultimately prove about us, ought then, if we are real Christians, and have a greater respect for Jesus than for Calvin, Luther, or Arminius, to pity and pity to do it, that God might give them grace, faith, and divine light, to comprehend his instructions by their senses, which too often confound the fallible reason of us short-sighted mortals.

"Opinions," says the author of *Materials for Thinking*, "are only of consequence as they lead to actions." And it appears that many of the most learned and pious Divines have been decidedly in mortal to persons being persecuted for their religious opinions. Dr. Watson, the venerable Bishop of Landaff, who, like Dr. Blackstone, wrote a very ingenious *Apology*, declares to Mr. Gibbon;—"I would give me much unbusiness to be reputed an enemy to free enquiry into religious matters, or capable of being animated into any degree of personal malevolence against those who differ from me in opinion. On the contrary, I look upon the right of private judgment in every concern respecting God and ourselves, as superior to the control of human authority, and have ever regarded free discussion as the best means of illustrating the doctrine, and establishing the truth of Christianity. Let the followers of Mahomet and the sects of the Church of Rome, support their several religious systems by damping every effort of the human intellect to pry into the foundations of their faith; but never can it become a Christian to be afraid of being asked a reason of the faith that is in him" and a Protestant to be conscious of enveloping his religion in mystery and ignorance."

Reserving my further remarks for a future opportunity, I beg leave to subscribe myself your obliged friend,

LRASMUS PERKINS.

London, 16th Dec 1814

## LETTER V.

## TO THE EARL OF LIVERPOOL,

## ON THE AMERICAN WAR.

MY LORD,—The nation begin to suspect, at least, that this American War may prove an unfortunate thing. If your Lordship recollects, I wanted Johnny Bull, floundered and gibed, when, at the out set of this war, he crowed and cocked a yard, at the idea of giving the Yankees a good drubbing. If your Lordship recollects that I flouted w<sup>th</sup> John, and told him, that, at any rate, I hoped, if he was resolved to enjoy this sport, he would never let me hear him say a word about the *Property Tax*, or, what he vulgarly calls the *Income Tax*. I know, from the beginning, that I should see him galled here. I knew that I should have him upon this hip; and here I have him; for he is now crying, not against the *Tax*, as loud as a pig under the knife of a butcher, though he, at the same time, seems to have no objection to the work of slaughtering going on. In short, so that he is safe him self, and pays nothing, his delight is in seeing war decolate the rest of the world. But he does not like to *pay*. Rather than pay, he would give the world a chance of being at peace, and of ceasing to bleed.

That so amiable a personage should meet with any rubs or crosses in life must, of course, be matter of regret with his friends, and must remind them of the maxim, that, as virtue alone is not, in all cases, sufficient to insure happiness in this world, the virtuous afflicted ought chiefly to rely on the world to come. This sort of reliance is very suitable to Johnny, at this time, for he has not given the Yankees a drubbing; and yet the *Income Tax* sticks to him like bird-lime. The *Times* newspapers cheer him, indeed, by telling him, that he is *causing* the Yankees to *pay taxes*; that, though he so sorely feels himself, he does not suffer *in vain*; for that he is *making others suffer too*. To be sure, this is a consoling reflection; but still it is not quite sufficient to reconcile him to the

continuation of the *Income Tax*, seeing that, when called on for the money, he sometimes forgets the delight of seeing others suffer, which he has enjoyed for his money.

But now, my Lord, leaving wise Johnny, amiable and honest Johnny, to his taxes and his hopes of giving the Yankees a drubbing, permit me to remind your Lordship, briefly, of the origin of this war; for, if I have led to the end of it, this origin shall not be forgotten. It is necessary, at every stage, to keep it steadily in view, for, unless we do this, we shall be wholly "bothered" out of it, at last, as we were in the case of the French war.

The war against France was a war against *principles* at first, it then became a war of *conquest*, and it ended in being a war for *deliverance*. We set out with accusing our enemy with being dangerous, as *disorganizers of ancient Governments*, and we ended with accusing them of being dangerous, as *despots*. The French were too free for us at the beginning, and too much enslaved for us at the end; and it was so contrived as to make more than half the world believe, that the *Césars* were the great champions of *civil and political liberty*. So, that, when we came to the close, leaving the French nearly as we found them, not seeing tythes, neither game-laws, gabelles, *encomres*, *hautes*, or seigneurial courts re-established, we had spent more than a thousand millions of pounds in a war, of the last object of which we had wholly lost sight. We will not have it thus, my Lord, with regard to the American war. We will not suffer its first object to be lost sight of. Nobody, as to this point, shall be able to "bother" any historian, who is disposed to speak the truth.

The war with America arose thus—We were at war with France, America was neutral. We not only exercised our known right of stopping American merchant ships at sea, to search them for *enemy's goods*, for *enemy's treasure*, and for *enemy's contraband of war*

which species of seizure, and of seizure, in case of detection, Mr. Madison did not oppose either by word or deed. This was *not* a *right*, sometimes disputed by Russia, Holland, Denmark, and Sweden, but never given up by us, except for awhile, at a time of great danger. This right was never disputed by Mr. Madison during the French war. The exercise of it he submitted to without complaint. This was our "*right of search*," and this right was enjoyed by us, without any complaint on his part; and this is the right which many people think he opposed, and upon that ground they have approved of the war.

But the war had nothing to do with this right, any more than it had to do with our right of burning coals from Newcastle to London. The war was declared by Mr. Madison against us, because we stopped American merchant ships upon the high seas, and impressed people out of them. We said, that we did this in order to recover our own seamen, who were frequently found serving in these American ships, but it was notorious, the fact was never denied, and never can be denied, that we impressed thus great numbers of native Americans, forced them on board of our ships of war, and compelled them to submit to our discipline, and to risk their lives in fighting for us. These are facts, which can never be denied. Mr. Madison, for years, called upon us to cease this practice. We did not cease. He repeatedly threatened war, if we persisted. We did persist; and, after years of remonstrance, he, or rather the two Houses of Congress, the real Representatives of the people of America, declared war against us.

Then, then, is the cause of the war; the sole cause of the war; war, long threatened, and, at last, frankly declared, previous to any hostile act or movement on the part of Mr. Madison, or rather the Congress. For, my Lord, though John Jay, wise John Jay, whose generosity would put all other notions into his own happy mind, though wise and generous John Jay, about Mr. Madison's hostility, it is, in fact, the hostility of the Congress; that is to say, the hostility of the people; because the Congress are the real, and not the *de jure*, Representatives of the people, and it is the Congress, who declared, and who supported the war, have been the cause of the war, and just before it.

The Members of the Congress do not purchase their seats, no seats can be bought or sold, none of the Members can get any thing for themselves, or families, by their votes. So that, when they decide, it is, in reality, a majority of the people who decide, and, the people did decide, that they would resist, by force of arms, the impressment of their seamen.

The people here generally believe what that infamous print, the *Times* newspaper, tell them, that the people of America never complained of such impressments, but the truth is, that, long before, years before, the war was declared, complaints, and most bitter complaints, had rung through the country, against those impressments. Letters from the impressed persons were published without end. Affidavits proving the facts. Representations enough to make a nation mad with resentment, enough to drive even Quakers to arms. None of these have our newspapers ever copied. None of these have they ever made known to their readers. They have published the harangues of Goodloe Harper, H. C. Otis, poor Timothy Pickens, and other would-be Noblesse. They have given us every thing from the free press of America, it will calculate to cause it to be believed, that the war is unpopular there, but not a word on the other side, not a word to let us see what were the real sentiments of the majority of the Republic. I will now lay before your Lordship some of the complaints of the impressed Americans, as published in the American newspapers, for, I am convinced, that even you are not acquainted fully of the nature and tone of these complaints; and, at any rate, the publications should, if possible, be rebutted on our part, seeing, that they must produce such a hatred of us in the minds of the people of America, as will, if not, by some means, mollified, lead to a never-ceasing hostility. Your Lordship will perceive, that these statements are sent forth with all the forms of judicial acts, that they consist of statements made on oath, that these statements are certified by legal magistrates, whose names are affixed to them; and that, of course, they are calculated to have great weight with the public. It is not a bad way to make the case our own, to suppose such complaints to be made in our papers against America, or any other nation, and, then, to judge of the effect that those complaints would make on the



people of Turhand, recollecting that the Americans are not back and cowardly mortals are.

*From the Salem Register of Jan. 9, 1813*  
IMPRESSION.

"The following deposition of Mr. Isaac Clark, of this town, who has been torn from his family and country, and for three years compelled to serve on board his Britannic Majesty's ships at war, is entitled to an attentive perusal. Those Americans, who read this narrative without the strongest emotions of indignation and with towards the insolent and haughty oppressors of our brave and honest sufferers, and commiseration for their sufferings, or who can attempt to justify and palliate the atrocious conduct of our ministerial counsels, can be fit only for slaves to the \* \* \* Court of St. James', and had better take refuge with their favourite "*Bulwark*," they are unworthy to breathe the pure air of Liberty. — This narrative affords a most striking and affecting view of the suffering, which not only our townsmen Mr. Clark, but *thousands* of American seamen have endured, and which all have been *liable* to endure, by this infernal practice of impressment on the high seas from our vessels. But the day of retribution will come, and it ought to be the determination of every patriotic American to compel the enemy to abandon this most insufferable and degrading practice, or, in the language of the Hon. Mr. Mason, 'to nail our colours to the mast, and sink in the shore'."

"I, Isaac Clark, of Salem, in the county of Essex, and Commonwealth of Massachusetts, on solemn oath declare, that I was born in the town of Randolph, in the county of Norfolk; have sailed out of Salem aforesaid about seven years; that, on the 14th day of June, 1809, I was impressed and forcibly taken from the ship *Jane*, of Norfolk, by the sailing-master (his name was *Err*) of his Majesty's ship *Porcupine*, Robert Elliot, commander. — I had a protection from the custom-house in Salem, which I shewed to Captain Elliot; he swore I was an Englishman, tore my protection to pieces before my eyes, and threw it overboard, and ordered me to go to work. — I told him I did not belong to his flag, and I would do no work under it. — He then ordered my legs to be put in irons, and the next morning ordered the

master-at-arms to take me on deck and give me two dozen lashes; after receiving them, he ordered him to keep me in irons, and give me one biscuit and a pint of water for 24 hours. After keeping me in this situation one week, I was brought on deck, and asked by Captain Elliot if I would go to my duty—on my refusing, he ordered me to strip, tied me up a second time and gave me two dozen more, and kept me on the same allowance another week—then ordered me on deck again, and asked if I would go to work; I still persisted that I was in American, and that he had no right to demand my services, and I would do no work on board his ship. He told me he would punish me until I was willing to work; and then gave me the third two dozen of lashes, ordered a very heavy chain to be put round my neck, (such as they had used to sling the lower yard) fastened to a ringbolt in the deck, and that no person except the master-at-arms should speak to me, but give me any thing to eat or drink, but my one biscuit and a pint of water for twenty-four hours, until I would go to work. I was kept in this situation nine weeks, when, being exhausted by hunger and thirst, I was obliged to yield. After being on board the ship more than two years and a half, and being wounded in an action with a French frigate, I was sent to the hospital. When partially recovered, I was sent on board the *Impregnable*, a 98 gun ship. My wound growing worse, I was returned to the hospital, when the American Consul received a copy of my protection from Salem, and procured my discharge on the 29th day of April last. There were seven impressed Americans on board the *Porcupine*, three of whom had entered."

IMPRESSION.

*From the National Advocate, May 4th, 1813.*

"The following documents are worthy of attention, as illustrating practically the subject of impressment —  
"I, *Hickman Ver Plank Hoffman*, of the town of Poughkeepsie, do certify that I am a lieutenant in the United States navy, that I was a lieutenant on board the *Constitution* frigate in the action and capture of the *Guerricke*; that, after her surrender, I was sent on board, and after taking out the crew, fired and blew up the ship. The eight



"impressed American seamen were among the crew of the Guerriere, who were liberated at Boston. I was also on board the Constitution in the action and capture of the Java, and was sent on board that vessel, and after the crew were removed, set her on fire and blew her up. Amongst the crew of the Java, thirteen impressed American seamen were found, three of whom had entered the British service and were left, the other ten were liberated as Americans."

"Dated Poughkeepsie, April 16, 1813."  
"B. V. HOERMAN."

*Dutchess County, ss.*

"Richard Tompkins, being sworn, saith, that he is a native of New Paltz, opposite Poughkeepsie, that he sailed from Wilmington, about the 28th of April 1810, on board the brig Warren, W. Key, captain, for Cork. On the homeward passage, in September following, he was impressed and taken on board the Peacock, a British sloop of war, and compelled to do duty. That while on board that vessel he made many unsuccessful attempts to write to his friends, informing them of his situation. He further saith, that after he had heard of the way, himself and two other impressed American seamen, who were on board the Peacock, went aft to the captain, claimed to be considered as American prisoners of war, and refused to do duty any longer. They were ordered off the quarter-deck, and the captain called for the master-at-arms, and ordered us to be put in irons; we were then kept in irons about twenty-four hours, when we were taken out, brought to the gangway, stripped of our clothes, tied and whipped, each one dozen and a half lashes, and put to duty. He further saith, that he was kept on board the Peacock, and did duty, till the action with the Hornet—after the Hornet hoisted American colours, he and the other impressed Americans again went to the captain of the Peacock, asked to be sent below, and it was an American ship, and that they did not wish to fight against their country. The captain ordered Ades to call quarters; called midshipman Stone to call his lot; and if we did not bloom, to blow our brains out—we were all ordered by Stone, who then held a council of war, and ordered us to be sent below. We continued in irons, and were compelled to fight until the Peacock struck, and we were

"liberated after an imprisonment of about two years and eight months."

—

"RICHARD A. TOMPKINS,"  
milk

"Poughkeepsie, April 17, 1813."

"Read over and signed in the presence of  
"Joseph Hopkins,  
"John S. Treat."

*Dutchess County, ss.*

"James Tompkins, being sworn, saith, that he is a native of Ulster county, opposite Poughkeepsie, that he sailed out of New York in the month of April, 1812, in the ship Minerva, bound to Ireland; that on the homeward-bound passage, in July after, this deponent, with three other American seamen, Samuel Davis, Wm. Young, and John Brown, were impressed and taken on board of the British ship Acteon, David Smith, captain. We were taken on Saturday evening; on Monday morning we were brought to the gangway, and informed we must enter on board ship, and live as other seamen, or we should live on oatmeal and water, and receive five dozen lashes. This deponent saw him self, and the other three impressed with him, did refuse to enter, and each of them were then whipped five dozen lashes. On Wednesday following we were again all brought up and had the same offer made to us to enter, which we refused, and we were again whipped four dozen lashes each. On Saturday after the like offer was made to us, and on our refusal we were again whipped three dozen lashes each. On Monday following, still refusing to enter, we were again whipped two dozen each. On Wednesday following we were again whipped one dozen each, and ordered to be taken below and put in irons till we did enter, and the captain said he would punish the damn'd Yankee rascals till they did enter. We were then put in irons, and laid in irons three months. During the time of our imprisonment the ship had an action, and captured a French ship. Before this action we were taken out of irons, and asked to fight, but we refused; and after the action we were again ordered, where we remained till the ship arrived at London. After arriving there we first heard of the war with America, and that the Guerriere was taken. This deponent took his shirt, Samuel Davis and Wm. Young took their handker-

"chiefs, made stripes and stars for the American colours, and hung it over a cross; and gave three cheers for the victory. The next morning, at six o'clock, we were brought up and whipped two dozen lashes each for *being zealous for the United States*. Should after this we were all released by the assistance of the American Consul, and Captain Hall, who knew us.—This deponent further saith that they all had protections, and showed them, and claimed to be Americans, at the time they were impressed.

— "JAMES TOMPKINS"

"Sworn before me this 17th day of April, 1813, at which time the said James Tompkins showed me his wrists, which at his request I examined, and there appeared to be marks and scars on both of them, occasioned, as I supposed, from his having been in prison.

"Wm W. BOWMAN"

"Justice of the Peace."

Now, my Lord, I do not say that these statements are true. In spite of all the particular detail of names, dates, and places. In spite of oaths and certificates, they may be true; but as it is to such statements that we owe this unfortunate war, we surely ought to endeavour to prove, that at least, of these statements are false. The Republican newspapers term, and termed long before the war, with publications of this sort. The blood of America was set boiling by such publications. The vote of Congress for the war was the most popular vote ever given by that body. It is, therefore, of vast importance that these publications should be counteracted if possible. They are either true, or false; if the latter, as I would temerely hope, they can be easily refuted, if true, which it would be shocking to believe, certainly we ought to be very ready and forward to make atonement to the Americans for what they have suffered.

These statements have, too, produced another most serious effect. They have filled the crews of the American ships with implacable revenge. To the usual motives of patriotism and glory, they have added the still more powerful motive of vengeance. Against crews, thus animated, men under the influence of the mere ordinary motives to bravery, really cannot be expected to succeed, without a great superiority of force. I leave your Lordship to suppose what would be the effect of statements like these, if the case were OURS.

If we were at peace with all the world, and were carrying on our commerce agreeably to the laws of *neutrality*, while the Americans were at war, with some other power; and if the Americans were to impress *Englishmen* from on board English ships, bringing up coals from Newcastle to London; were to force them into their ships of war, compel them to fight for America, and, in short, to occasion, in the English papers, statements such as I have above quoted. If this were the case, does your Lordship think, that we should be very quiet? And if such statements would be likely to set us in a flame, are we to suppose, that they have had no effect on the Americans?

Here, my Lord, as you well know, we have the real cause of that war, which, it is said, is now to engage a *hundred thousand men, two hundred ships of war*, and which cannot cost less than twenty millions a year. It has been asserted, that the Congress declared war against us to assist Napoleon on the Continent. This is so foolish, that the writers must think that they are addressing it to men little superior to brutes. It was impossible that the Americans could know where Napoleon was, when they declared war. It was impossible that their war should really aid him in his designs against Russia. It was against their interest that Russia should be crushed by any power, and especially by France. The other charge, that America, "like an assassin, attacked us in the dark," is equally false and foolish. How could an open declaration of war by a Legislative Assembly, after repeated discussion, be an act deserving such a description? How could that be called an attack in the dark, especially when it had been threatened for years, and when it was followed immediately by an offer for a truce, in order again to negotiate for peace?

Here we have the real origin of the war. Terminate as it will, this was its origin. This origin must not be forgotten, whatever efforts are made to put it out of our heads. When the war shall have ended, and we shall sit down to count the cost, this origin must be kept steadily before us.

The *Times* and *Courier* are still labouring to persuade us, that there will be a separation of the American States; that the four New England States will declare themselves independent of the General Government, and will form an alliance

with Old England. Now, my Lord, mind, I pledge myself, that, if any such proposition be seriously made by the friends of the famous Captain HENRY, by the would-be Noble set of Massachusetts, they will very quickly be decorated, not with coats of arms, but with coats of tar and feathers. The people of New England are "essentially Republicans." They have been, on, at least, a part of them, stimulated by very cunning men, to a violent opposition against Mr Madison and the war. But only let them see the real objects of the Pickering, the Otis, the Quincy, &c. and the fall of these pygmies is certain is the return of Spring after Winter. It is not by a large majority that even the New England States oppose the war. It is barely "touch-and-go" with the Opposition, *even there*. What man in his senses, then, can place a moment's reliance on it? And, indeed, the only purpose that it is likely to answer, is, that of *accusing*, and inducing us to leave the New England sea ports *safe places for the building of ships of war and the fitting out of privateers*. The leaving of that port of the Union unmolested, while we attack the Southern States, is just what *our America* (blessed be New England) unmolested ports and harbours, out of which to send forth ships of war to annoy our fleet and engage our navy, and into which to carry her with prizes. The Pickering, the Otis, &c. I really believe to be traitors to their country; or, at least, that they would sell their lives, if you and your master were not too honest to buy them. But, hang them! my Lord, they are not worth your notice. They tell big, and haul themselves out as of great consequence, but they are poor things. Indeed, my Lord, they are.—Timothy Pickering used to be thought a very honest man; but, after he was put out of office, he seems to have abandoned himself to the revenge, which his disappointment created. He had not the virtue to follow the example of his venerable employer, Mr. Adams, who, upon being discharged as President, by Mr. Jefferson, said, "I only wished to obtain a majority of voices, that I might serve my country; and now I shall endeavour to serve it by supporting him, who has that majority." — Timothy Pickering, who had been, to the astonishment of all the world, his *Secretary of State*, who was no more fit for the office than your coachman would be fit for yours,

and who, of course, was inordinately proud of his sudden and unexpected elevation, became furious at the election of Mr. Jefferson, and has, ever since, been in a sort of mad fit, doing a hundred things, for either of which, in England, he would be sent to jail for a year or two at least. The truth is, that Mr. Adams had the *public* *not* solely in view, and that Timothy had an eye solely to his *private interest*. Hence the exactly opposite conduct of the two men, when the voice of the country put them both out of power. I am sure that your Lordship and your colleagues, especially your distinguished colleague now at Vienna, would scorn to purchase traitors in any country, but, if you were so disposed, if such men as the famous Captain HENRY could possibly prevail on you to lay out any eloquent man, in this way, on the other side of the Atlantic, Timothy, though so much applauded in the *Times* newspaper, would not be worth your purchasing. This is the sort of stuff, this is the rubbish, which the *Times* would have us rely upon for success against the Republic! I beg your Lordship to consider it, as it is the grossest deception that ever was attempted to be played upon an individual. Mr. Madison cannot *smother* these men. He has no sop. He has none of that potent *of the possession* such Smollett tells us Sir Robert Walpole used to do so. They will, therefore, *keep on harrying*, but, my Lord, be assured, that they are wholly unable to bite. I am, &c. &c.

WM. COBBETT.

LI FILII.

TO THE

# COSSACK FRIENDSHIP

OF THE STATE OF MASSACHUSETTS,

Portly, England, Dec. 22, 1814.

GENTLEMEN.—Without any ceremony, and without giving myself the trouble of an introduction, I insert, for your perusal, the following two articles from a London paper, called the *Chronicle*, of the 21st instant.

## First Extract.

"Lynn, Dec. 18.

"Sir,—In the *Chronicle* of 1st Thursday I noticed a paragraph containing a description of the *Execution* in this town, and as it is very accurate, I wish you, for the sake of undeceiving the minds of those readers who are at a distance from

"the scene, to contradict it.—The facts of  
"the case are these:—The merchants had  
"resolved to lower the seamen's wages,  
"and on Thursday's night, a ship being  
"ready for sea, manned with apprentices,  
"the mate had ordered to go at the reduced  
"wages, which irritated those who had  
"refused, that they went on board and li-  
"terally dragged him ashore. The Cap-  
"tain sent for the Mayor, and requested  
"him to exert his authority, which he did,  
"and succeeded in releasing the poor fel-  
"low, but not till he (the Mayor) had been  
"greatly insulted, and one of them even  
"threatened to knock him down, they  
"next went and took the men from all the  
"ships, and swore they should not get till  
"the wages were again advanced. The  
"next morning a warrant was issued, and  
"five of them conveyed to gaol, where a  
"great number immediately assembled op-  
"posite the gaol door, and swore they  
"would not only have their wages ad-  
"vanced, but also the prisoners set at li-  
"berty. The Mayor and other Aldermen  
"were immediately sent for, but when  
"they came the sailors began to be most  
"tumultuous, and even struck some of  
"the Aldermen.—Finding no argument  
"would avail, the Mayor read the Riot  
"Act, but so far from appeasing them,  
"a party went to the Boat Quay, and  
"having obtained a pole, with which  
"the lightermen struck their gangs, they  
"battered the gaol's outer door, broke  
"open some of the inner ones, broke the  
"windows, tore out the frames, and libe-  
"rated those five who had just before been  
"confined.—The Magistrates then called  
"to their assistance the inhabitants, and  
"swore in a great number as special con-  
"stable. The town cavalry were assem-  
"bled, and an express sent to Norwich for  
"further military aid: the next morning  
"a troop of *German Hussars* arrived,  
"when two of the ringleaders surrendered  
"themselves, and since then several others  
"have been taken. On Monday two  
"troops of the 5th Dragoon Guards ar-  
"rived from Ipswich, and a part of the  
"Bedford Militia from Colchester, by or-  
"der of the Secretary of State, but I hope  
"their assistance will not be required, as  
"the poor deluded fellows appear now to  
"be quiet, three have been committed  
"and conveyed to Norwich Castle, under  
"an escort of dragoons, to take their  
"trial for the capital part of the offence  
"at the next Norfolk assizes. No dwell-

ing-house was destroyed, nor even at-  
"tempted, and I am happy to say no per-  
"son received any material injury.—It  
"may not be improper here to observe that  
"the Mayor and other Magistrates de-  
"serve, from every peaceable and *well-dis-*  
"posed inhabitant, the most sincere thanks,  
"as their conduct was greatly to be ad-  
"mired."

*Second Extract.*

"The *Morning Chronicle*, of yesterday,  
"says that it will become a subject of Par-  
"liamentary inquiry, why the *foreign*  
"troops (*Brannock Hussars*) were called  
"in to quell a riot at Lynn. The facts  
"are these, viz.—When the riot took  
"place, the Mayor of *HIMSLIE* sent an  
"express to Norwich, the nearest place  
"for cavalry, and the *Brannock Hus-*  
"sars were the only cavalry there, conse-  
"quently they marched on the Mayor's  
"requisition. When the Mayor's requi-  
"sition was received at the Horse Guards,  
"an order was sent by express for a squa-  
"dron of the 5th Dragoon Guards to  
"march from Ipswich; and on their arrival  
"at Lynn to send back the German troops,  
"which was duly executed, a detachment  
"of the Bedford Militia was also sent in  
"wagons. From this it will appear that  
"the Germans were called in by the civil  
"authority of the town, and were relieved  
"by their own troops as soon as was prac-  
"ticable."

"Well," say you, screwing up your  
"sour phizzes, "and what of that?"  
"Why, I want you to join me in asserting,  
"that this *Morning Chronicle* is as great a  
"hypocrite as any of you. That is one  
"thing; and, then, another is, that I had  
"a mind to treat you to a bit of news, and  
"that I did not think of any other for you  
"just at this time. While I have my pen in  
"hand, pray let me ask you, whether you  
"now get your *dus* that the Democrats en-  
"deavour to deprive you of? whether you  
"receive them in the way of *composition*, or  
"take them up in *kind*? No, no—you coun-  
"taining old foxes, I will not say a word about  
"the news itself. I leave comments to you,  
"and shall be glad to hear what you have to  
"say about it."

WM. LOBELTT.



"war, for the purpose of distinctly stating to the American people, that the allies of Europe the great and good Alexander the Deliverer, among the rest, all so consider it; nay, more, Sir, they believe your administration only a branch of the power the late imperial, fallen, tyrant which power they are determined to destroy root and branch."

Nay, Sir, all not occupy your valuable columns with attempting to shew, what must be apparent to every man, that it is incumbent upon this Mr. Kine, and all who think as he does, to bring forward the proofs upon which they rest the charge against Mr. Madison. It might be sufficient to rest the point upon his own admissions, that "direct evidence of their guilt cannot be produced," and to plead the well known maxim, that a party accused must be held innocent until guilt is established. But the groundless nature of the accusation is not merely apparent from the total absence of proof on the part of the accusers. There is incontrovertible evidence of the fact, which even the most consummate adept in sophistry will find it difficult to impair.

In the instructions given by Mr. Madison to Mr. Pinkney, and to General Armstrong, in the year 1808, there was no distinction made between our aggressions and those of Napoleon. The Decrees of both were termed *unjust*, and hostilities threatened against both, if a felony should not speedily take place. On the 22d of July the President wrote to Gen. Armstrong—"If France does not wish to throw the United States into the *war* against her, for which it is impossible to find a rational or plausible inducement, she ought not to hesitate a moment in revoking, at least so much of her Decrees as violate the rights of the sea, and furnish to her adversaries the pretext for his retaliating measures." To this may be added what Mr. Eschwe wrote to Mr. Canning on 25th March, 1809—"I continue (said Mr. E.) to be firmly persuaded that Mr. Madison would most willingly seize the first opportunity of recommending to the new Congress to assert the neutral right, against France, should his Majesty deem it to be just or expedient to cease his Orders in Council to be withheld, as he has frequently in conversation said to me, that no hesitation would be felt in this country (America) of entering upon

"hostilities with France, if she did not repeal her Decrees."

Perhaps it will be thought that the evidence arising from the above official documents, requires neither comment nor illustration—I am exactly of that opinion, but I cannot permit myself to close this letter, without citing the following short article, upon the same subject, from the *National Intelligencer* of the 4th August, 1812, which it is well known speaks the sentiments of the American Government—"We state, with pleasure, a fact, which we know to be true, that our Government will not, under any circumstances that may occur, form a political connection with France. To the injuries received from her, a just sensibility has always been felt. The war with England has not abated it, nor has it diminished the zeal or weakened the effort to obtain redress. The idea of a political connection with France, as a expedient to extort justice from England, is treated with disdain by every person connected with the Government. It is not deniable to enter the lists with the two great belligerents at once, but if England acts with wisdom, and France perseveres in her career of injustice and folly, we should not be surprised to see the attitude of the United States change towards these Powers. We are now at war with England. Let her Government do us justice; let the other continue to refuse it; and from that moment we have no doubt that the United States will assume a correspondent relation with both." Yours, &c.

PACIFICATOR.

#### LIBERTY OF THE PRESS AND FREE ENQUIRY.

MR. CORBETT,—In my list I ventured to make some remarks on the policy of State Prosecutions, for matters of opinion, and also on the Bible Societies. I now propose to shew the station to which the Republic of Letters is thrown respecting the Bible itself. In doing this I am well aware of the censures that will be cast upon me: but feeling convinced that much good arises from discussions of this nature, I take pleasure in exposing the clamours of those whose interest it is to take advantage of the ignorance and credulity of the low-creatures. No other subject will not stand the test of the most severe

tion must be bad, and those who *press* *liberty* such caprices have their own interest and selfishness more at heart than the subject itself, or the good of mankind. We live in an age, in which we daily hear and see many efforts to promote learning. Fearful from men to discount those who really have in view the benefits that may arise from such laudable pursuit. But learning, without the ability and disposition to detect and appears to me useless. As, as I am fearful is often the case, we engage in a study to *ok* *care*, and *be* *under* the multitude, it is highly criminal.

In the year 1811, Sir W. Drummond wrote a book, entitled *Christ's* *Judas*, and had printed about 250 copies for private circulation among his friends. He throws some ridicule upon the *liberal* interpretation of the scriptures, and sneers at the bigots of the present times. He says, that by the *allegorical* interpretation, the Scriptures are *allegorical*, as containing a kind of science, as well as being of divine origin; and, holding that opinion, he laughs at the *liberal* interpretation, because it must happen that to him who believed the one mode of interpretation to be true, the other must appear not only false but ridiculous. The rest of the work is occupied in discussing the nature and object of the allegories introduced by the sacred writers for the wise purpose. The work is written with great liberty, and displays a fund of *profane* *condemnation*. It has been attacked by the Rev. G. D. O'Leary, B. D. Christian Advocate of the University of Cambridge, and Chaplain to his Grace the Archbishop of Canterbury, who says, it is the production of a *crayon* *deceit*, and treats the author as an *infidel*, a *blasphemer*, a *fool*. Three anonymous writers have started up in its favour, who shew, by sound argument and much learning, the justice of the work, and the ignorance and malice of the accuser.—*Find* *the* *by* *the* *Advocate*, that a person who does not exercise the reason which God has given him in the guidance of his faith, will be a Pagan, a Mahometan, Christian. Luther, or a Calvinist, as chance may direct, or a example may determine. The party hold that the book of *Josiah* is not a true history, but a collection of *the* *the*. The second party devote the truth to both sides, and maintain, and aut and that every

churchman is bound to consider it as such. The third, and smallest party, deny the *the* *Christian* is bound to receive the book is in authentic history, admit that some of the narrative is absurd and incredible if literally understood, but a set it to be chiefly allegorical, and should not be interpreted according to the letter. *Viney* says, "you contrived (you best know how) to get possession of a copy of the *Christ's* *Judas*, and your selfish policy soon pointed out to you the advantages which you might obtain for your own private a priest, by raising the howl of bigotry against a man who possessed some share of reputation in the literary world. You accuse the author of *libelling* the clergy, and teaching the same doctrines as Dupuis and Volney, who deny that Jesus Christ ever existed. Your object was to destroy the character of Sir W. Drummond, as a man who possessed no principle either of religion or of common honesty; and in so doing to obtain credit to you, either by being so generous in individual before the bar of the public. But happily for him and some others, the power in you is not wanting the will to do mischief. I, therefore, deem it expedient to rebuke the spirit of malice which lies lurking under the hypocritical count of the Christian Advocate. For philosophy, you and many others seem to have an *innate* *allegory*, and, therefore, no man who knows you will expect you to discourse with him upon general principles of reason. Your views are all partial and limited. You see the little you'd about you, and you are satisfied with your own knowledge. You sway the opinions of the vulgar, and *proscription* awaits the rash man who dares to call philosophy his counsellor, and reason his guide. With respect to the sciences, no bigot ever really loved them. To *school learning* you render due homage. *It keeps the mind off* from *speculation*, which you fear and abhor. I see in your writings abundant evidence of an overbearing dogmatism, and priestly pride, but little of the candour which might influence, or the justice which ought to guide, the pen of a Christian Advocate. You would be a persecutor like *Gard*. If you possessed his power; and a high priest, like *Loud*, if you could obtain his dignity. You have all the intolerance of *Warton* without his genius, and all the intolerance of *Murphy* without his learning." *Blacus* tells the Archbishop's Chaplain,

that his book does him no credit either as a gentleman, or scholar, or a Christian; that it has had either grace in his heart, or the manners of a gentleman, "shame would have his cheeks to render" for his unparalleled assurance for which he accuses his adversary of *he* *actual* opinion; he is guilty of the same crime himself. Thus, in the character of a supporter, he denies the prophecies, and is sapping the foundation of the Christian religion. *Candidi* who appears still to prefer the old version, and writes the most like a mild, moral man, thus observes:—"I abhor persecution in all its shapes. The Romish Inquisition tortures its victims. Is it less than torture to an enlightened man, who has acquired a reputation for learning and talents, to hear himself charged with gross stupidity and ignorance, while such a clamour is raised against him that he cannot be heard in his own defence? Is it no torture to be driven from the Republic of Letters by an accuser, who is scarcely ever in the pit through the long catalogue of his specific charges? Our holy religion wants no such auxiliary as persecution—and it is persecution, cruel persecution, unjustly to take away the moral and literary reputation even of an infidel. But the author of the *Offences* is *not* an infidel; and if he were, I should be slow to accuse a man of being an infidel because his method of understanding the books of Moses and Joshua were not mine. Archbishop Tillotson, and other excellent divines, have rendered the interpretation of the Roman Catholics here given of some most important texts in the New Testament, which the Romanists have chosen to understand according to the letter. These Romanists accuse the Protestants of *blasphemy*; but we reply that, in ridiculing their interpretation of the Scriptures, we respect the word of God as well as they do."

I find that two Gentlemen, I believe both members of the Church of England, a Dr. Maltby, and a Mr. Cunningham, have also been busily engaged upon this subject. The Doctor contends, that the use of an established Church consists in expounding those passages of the Bible which require the aid of human learning and good sense to understand. Now his opponent says; there can be no use for any Church at all, because the aid of the Spirit is vouchsafed to all

those who sincerely ask it, the Bible may be spiritually understood; therefore a scholar may be as good a teacher as a Doctor of Divinity. The Doctor has shown us, that an establishment is requisite to make Christianity seem a rational system of belief, and Mr. Cunningham has shown us there is no such necessity; and as much as Christianity cannot be comprehended merely by human reason, but requires the aid of inspiration. The Doctor seems to place the whole merit of Christianity in its moral precepts, and uses the name of God very sparingly. Mr. Cunningham shews, that moral precepts are *nothing* without doctrines, and talks of God as familiarly as if he were his next door neighbour. The Rev. Richard Wainwright, in one of his sermons, observes, "Whatever wild enthusiasts, on the one hand, or worldly Divines on the other, may assert, conceit, or write to the contrary, this I must continue to think, as long as my faculty of *ratiocination* remains unclouded, that Christianity, according to the spirit and letter of the Gospel, is a system neither veiled in mystery, nor involved in difficulty, as the former would lead mankind to imagine, nor is it essentially and exclusively associated with any particular form of surgery, system of establishment, or modification of government, as the latter would suggest. Its real doctrines display, in language level to the lowest intellect, mercy to the contrite, aid to the humble, and eternal happiness to all good Christians, whether they be of Paul, or Apollon, of Luther, Calvin, or Arminius, of the Romish pale, or the Reformed Church, followers of Presbyterianism, or advocates of Episcopacy. To place these simple, but interesting, doctrines in an affecting and impressive point of view, and to urge upon mankind the steady observance of them, is, if I do not greatly err, genuine evangelical preaching: and the teacher who leads his hearers into the mazes of *mystery*, bewildering them with *insensible* *graces*, *imputed righteousness*, *positive predestination*, *particular redemption*, the *perseverance of the saints*, or such like incomprehensible jargon, and the divine who deludes them by accommodating his discourses to the popular errors, the reigning prejudices, or the fashionable habits of thinking, which characterise these times, the spirit of party, or the suggestions of secular interest, ap-



pear to be alike unworthy of the office they assume, and traitors to the cause they profess."

I shall leave your readers to form their own opinions, on the different points of controversy here introduced. But I cannot help observe, that though the promulgation of these opinions may be considered by many as the proof of too much liberty of the press being now allowed, and that by the generality of your admirers it may appear to them quite enough, it seems to me no proof, at all upon the subject. It is, too often the case, that it is the man who falls the victim, instead of his measures or opinions, and it always will be so while we have a corrupt press, *freedom* without a previous censorship. A free press can do harm only to those who wish to live like devils, by any means that craft and villainy can devise, on the industry of others. It ought always to be borne in mind, that in America they have a press really free, a population of 7,000,000 of human beings, generous, brave, and free; without either a capricious, or a despotic establishment. If ever there was a cause worthy of martyrdom, and a victim would do good to so noble a cause, is that cause, and no other, might my countrymen demand the life of

VARRO. &

#### UNIVERSITY OF OXFORD.

SIR,—In the letter which lately appeared in your REGISTER, on the severity that has been frequently exercised by the Proctors of the University of Oxford on certain unfortunate females, it is stated that, in the city-prison, to which they are generally committed, "in damp weather, the cells in which they sleep literally run down with water; that there is no glass in the windows, and only a sliding board to exclude the wind and rain." To the truth of this statement, any person seeing them at the present season can fully testify; to which might have been added, that were the sliding board well adapted for the purpose of excluding the wind and rain, which is by no means the case, it must necessarily at the same time exclude the light.—The writer of this letter, together with some friends, lately saw almost every part of this prison.—Amongst the female prisoners, there were two ill of the venereal disease, who, during the whole time of their confinement (and it had then been for many days), slept in these wretched cells.—The city magistrates,

who have the immediate superintendence of the prison, were informed of this circumstance, and, as it appeared to the writer, that no time was to be lost in obtaining some relief to these prisoners, he addressed the following letter to the Rev. Dr. Lee, the Vice-Chancellor:—

"This letter is most respectfully addressed to the Vice-Chancellor by one who entertains hopes that it will be received with his usual consideration, and not be hastily thrown aside or disregarded. The Vice-Chancellor is acquainted with the structure, as well as the management of the city-prison, to which he has the power of commitment. He must know the damp state of the walls of that prison, arising from the nature of the stone with which it is built, and that there are merely sliding-boards, and no glass, to the windows, of the cells in which the prisoners sleep, a severity which, as it was never in the contemplation of the law, will, it is hoped, be speedily obviated; for, under these circumstances, imprisonment, in the winter, is a punishment of the severest kind, and most destructive to the health and constitution of those who are not very robust, and more particularly of females. The Vice-Chancellor, however, may possibly not be aware (as he may never have been informed of the fact) that two of the females, whom he committed a short time ago, were ill of the venereal disease, and that since their commitment, they have been under a course of medicine for that disease, administered by the apothecary of the establishment; and that these females have always been obliged to sleep in the common cells, though they might have been accommodated with a warmer apartment in the prison. The Vice-Chancellor is humbly requested to make some inquiry into the circumstances of this case; and always to ask those women who are likely to be ill of this disease when brought before him, whether they are or not; and to issue his orders, or adopt some method by which women so diseased, may not be obliged to pass the long winter nights in the above-mentioned cold and damp cells, then taking a medicine that requires particular care and attention.—The writer of this appeals to the humanity of the Vice-Chancellor, most sincerely hopes that it will not have been made in vain!"

Oxford, Dec. 5, 1814.

The writer of the above letter to the Vice-Chancellor has reason to think, that

it was favourably received. The Vice-Chancellor's interference, however, in the present case was quite unnecessary, as it was anticipated by the kindness and liberality of the Mayor and City Magistrates, to whom application had been previously made on the subject. The sick-rooms (which have not been used for a long time) are to be immediately repaired, and furnished with beds for the accommodation of those prisoners who are ill, and the writer is convinced, that the humanity of the Magistrates will induce them to order that the windows in the cells be glazed, which, by being made to open, will sufficiently ventilate the prison; and if wire-lattices be placed on the outside, there will be no danger of the glass being broken. This will be an example worthy to be followed by all who have the management of prisons, for confinement, labour, and spare diet will supply all that the law requires; and these are sufficiently distressing without the addition of cough and rheumatism. It is cruel, unjustifiable, and presumptuous in man to convert the inclemency of the seasons into the means of punishment. It must be observed too, that the prison is used, not merely as a house of correction, but as the place of confinement of those who are committed for trial at the City Quarter Sessions, and who, till convicted, are legally to be considered as innocent. To these prisoners every moderate and reasonable indulgence, consistent with the security of their persons, should be granted. Every magistrate, who has the power of committing persons, should occasionally visit the prison to which they are committed. By making proper inquiries concerning the health and management of the prisoners, and taking care that they have good medical assistance, many unnecessary hardships might be prevented, and much misery alleviated.

Ordered, Dec. 12, 1814.

## IMPORTANT AMERICAN DOCUMENTS.

### HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES.

Washington, Oct. 21.

Mr. Traup of Georgia, from the Military Committee, reported a bill, making further provision for filling the ranks of the regular army, by classifying the free male population of the United States.

Mr. Traup also reported a bill "to authorize the President of the United States to accept the services of volunteers, who may associate and organize themselves, and

offer their services to the Government of the United States."

Mr. Traup also reported a bill "to provide for the further defence of the frontiers of the United States, by authorizing the President to augment the present military establishment."

The bill proposes to provide that, in addition to the present military establishment of the United States, there be immediately raised four regiments, in each regiment of infantry, artillery, engineers, and cavalry, as the President of the United States may deem proper, to be enlisted to serve during the war, unless sooner discharged, and limited as to service to the defence of the frontiers of the United States. Sec. Sec.

The three bills were severally twice read, and referred to a Committee of the whole.

Mr. Traup also laid before the House the following letter from the Secretary at War to the Military Committee:—

Department of War, Oct. 17.

SIR.—The great importance of the subject, and the other duties of the Department which could not fail to be very sensibly felt, at so interesting a period, by a person who had just taken charge of it, are my apology for not answering your letter of the 24th of September; at an earlier day, on the defects of the present military establishment.—One consideration has been bestowed on the subject matter of that letter; and I have now the honour to submit to the Committee the following Report:—1. That the present military establishment, amounting to 62,118 men, be preserved and made complete, and that the most efficient means authorized by the Constitution, and consistent with the general rights of our fellow-citizens be adopted, to fill the ranks, and, with the least possible delay.—2. That a permanent force, consisting of at least 40,000 men, in addition to the present military establishment, be raised for the defence of our cities and frontiers, under an engagement by the Executive with such corps that it shall be employed in that service within certain specified limits, and that a proportionate augmentation of General Officers of each grade and order shall be provided for.—3. That the corps of Engineers be enlarged.—4. That the ordinance department be amended. Respecting the Enlargement of the Corps of Engineers, I shall submit hereafter a more detailed communication. For the proposed Amendment of the Ordinance, I submit a Report of the Senior Officer of that Department, in the City, which is approved. I shall be ready and happy to communicate such further remarks

and details on these subjects as the Committee may desire; and shall request permission to suggest the result of farther attention to, and reflection on, our Military Establishment generally, should any thing occur which may be deemed worthy his attention. I have the honour to be, &c.

JAMES MONROE,  
Hon. Genl. Troop, Chairman, Military  
Committee, House of Representatives.

*Explanatory Observations, accompanying the Letter from the Secretary of War to the Chairman of the Military Committee of the House of Representatives.*

In providing a force necessary to bring this war to a happy termination, the nature of the crisis in which we are involved, and the extent of its dangers, claim particular attention. If the means are not fully adequate to the end, disaster must inevitably ensue. It is confidently presumed, that it is the intention of the British Government, by striking at the principal sources of our prosperity to diminish the importance, if not to destroy the political existence, of the United States. If any doubt remained on this subject, it has been completely removed by the dispatches from our Ministers at Ghent, which were lately laid before Congress. A nation contending for its existence against an enemy powerful by land and sea, favoured in a peculiar manner by extraordinary events, must make great exertions, and suffer great sacrifices. Forced to contend again for our liberties and independence, we are called on for a display of all the patriotism, which distinguished our forefathers in the first great struggle. It may be fairly concluded, that if the United States sacrifice any right, or make any dishonourable concession to the demands of the British Government, the spirit of the nation will be broken, and the foundations of their union and independence shaken. *The United States must relinquish no right, or perish in the struggle. That, as a mediator ground to rest on. A concession on one point, leads directly to the surrender of every other.* The result of the contest cannot be doubtful. The highest confidence is entertained that the stronger the pressure, and the greater the danger, the more firm and vigorous will be the resistance, and the more successful and glorious the result. It is the avowed purpose of the enemy to lay waste and destroy our cities and villages, and to devastate our coast, of which examples have already been afforded. It is widely known his intention to press the war along the whole extent of our seaboard, in the hope of exhausting equally the spirit of the people, and the national resources. There is also reason to pre-

sume, that it is his intention to press the war from Canada, on the adjoining States, while attempts are made on the City of New York, and other important points, with a view to the vast project of dismemberment or subjugation. It may be noticed likewise to be a part of the scheme to continue to invade this part of the Union, while a separate force attacks the State of Louisiana, in the hope of taking possession of the City of New Orleans, and of the mouth of the Mississippi, that great inlet and key to the commerce of that portion of the United States lying westward of the Alleghany mountains. — The peace in Europe, having given to the enemy a large disposable force, has essentially favoured these objects. The advantage which a great naval superiority gives to the enemy, by enabling him to move troops from one quarter to another, from Maine to the Mississippi, a coast of 2600 miles extent, is very considerable. Even a small force, moved in this manner for the purposes avowed by the British command, cannot fail to be equally felt, more especially by those who are exposed to it. It is obvious, if the militia are to be relied on principally for the defence of our cities and coasting against their predatory and devastating incursions, wherever they may be made, that, by interfering with their ordinary pursuits of industry, it must be attended with serious interruption and loss to them, and injury to the public, while it increases the expense. — It is an object of the highest importance, to provide a regular force, with the means of transporting it from one quarter to another along our coast, thereby following the movements of the enemy with the greatest possible rapidity, and repelling the attack wherever it may be made. These remarks are equally true as to the militia service generally under the present organization of the militia, and the short term of service prescribed by law. It may be said with confidence, that at least three times the foreign militia has been employed at our principal cities along the coast, and on the frontier in marching to and returning thence, than would have been necessary in regular troops; and that the expense attending it has been more than proportionably augmented, from the difficulty, if not the impossibility, of preserving the same degree of system in the militia as in the regular service. But it will not be able to repel these predatory and devastating incursions. To bring the war to an honourable termination, we must not be content with defending ourselves. Different feelings must be touched and apprehensions excited in the British Government. By pushing the war into Canada, we secure the friendship of the Indian tribes, and command their ser-

vices, otherwise to be turned by the enemy against us, we relieve the coast from the desolation which is intended for it, and we keep our hands a safe pledge for an honourable peace.—It follows, from this view of the subject that it will be necessary to bring into the field next campaign, not less than 100,000 regular troops. Such a force, aided in extraordinary emergencies by volunteers and militia, will place us above all iniquitude as to the final result of this contest. It will fix, on a solid and imperishable foundation, our union and independence on which the liberties and happiness of our fellow-citizens so essentially depend. It will secure to the United States an early and advantageous peace. It will arrest, in the further prosecution of the war, the desolation of our cities and our coast, by enabling us to resort on the enemy those calamities which our citizens have been already doomed to suffer; a resort which self-defence alone, and a sacred regard for the rights and honour of the nation, could induce the United States to adopt.—The return of the regular force now in service held before you, will shew how many men will be necessary to fill the present corps; and the return of the numerical force of the present military establishment, will shew how many are required to complete it to the number proposed. The next and most important enquiry is, how shall these men be raised? Under existing circumstances, it is evident that the most prompt and efficient mode that can be devised, consistent with the equal right of every citizen, ought to be adopted. The following plans are respectfully submitted to the consideration of the Committee. Being distinct in their nature, I will present each separately with the considerations applicable to it. [Here follow four plans.]—It is not intended by these remarks, should the first plan be adopted, to dispense altogether with the service of the militia. Although the principal burthen of the war may thereby be taken from the militia, reliance must be placed on them for important aids, especially in cases of sudden invasion. For this purpose it will still be advisable that there should be called according to age, and their term of service be prolonged. Even should this plan be attended with all the advantages expected of it, such an arrangement could not fail to produce the happiest effect.—The proof which is now afforded of the impregnable strength of the country, of the patient virtue, and invincible spirit of the people, would admonish the enemy, how vain and fruitless his invasions must be, and might dispose him to a speedy, just, and honourable peace. Of the very important services already rendered

by the militia, even under the present organization, too much cannot be said.—If the United States make the exertion which is proposed, it is probable that the contest will soon be at an end. It cannot be doubted that it is in their power to expel the British forces from this Continent, should the British Government, by persisting in its unjust demands, make that an object with the American people. Against our united and vigorous efforts, the resources of the enemy will soon become light and feeble. Success in every fair and honourable claim, is within our easy grasp. And surely the United States have every possible inducement to make the effort necessary to secure it. I should regret the understanding and wound the feelings of the Committee, if I touched on the probability of defeat.—Dangers which are remote and trip never be realized, except in action with a gallant and generous people. But the advantages of success have a fair claim to their deliberate consideration. This effort we have already made has attracted the attention and excited the praise of other nations. Already have most of the absurd theories and idle speculations on our system of Government been refused and put down. We are now felt and respected as a power, and it is the dread which the enemy entertains of our resources and growing importance, that has induced him to press the war against us after its professed objects had ceased success by decomposition of his schemes, and the attainment of an honourable peace, will place the United States on higher ground, in the opinion of the world, than they have held at any former period. In future wars, their commerce will be permitted to take its lawful range unobscured. Their remonstrances to foreign Governments will not again be put aside, unheard.—Few will be resigned, because there will seldom be occasion for them.—Our Union, founded on internal affection, will have acquired new strength by the proof it will have afforded of the important advantages attending it. Respected abroad, and happy at home, the United States will have accomplished the great objects for which they have so long contended. As a nation that will have little to dread, as a people little to desire.

(From the *National Intelligencer*.)  
THE FOURTEENTH CONGRESS.

Much exultation has been displayed in the Federal prints on the occasion of the acquisition of Federalism, in the recent Congressional Elections in Maryland and Pennsylvania. Without at present examining the causes of the ascendancy of Federalism in Maryland, and proving that it must be temporary,—without deploring the mis-

divided zeal on the one side or the other, of the two sections of the Republican party in Pennsylvania, which has enabled the Federalists to elect members in two or three districts in which they are the minority—we proceed to shew to our readers, not only that the Federalists cannot have a majority in the next Congress, but to shew that their numbers will be far greater in that than in the present. The election in New Hampshire has just terminated, and resulted, in the re-election, by a small majority, of six Federal Representatives to Congress. In Massachusetts, the election takes place this fall, and will give at least the present proportion of Republican members, if not an increased number. In Vermont, though the Congressional Election has taken place, the votes are not yet known to have been counted out, but as there is reason to fear it may be disastrous in the choice of Federalists, we shall estimate it as Rhode Island, always a Federalist, has re-elected two Federal Representatives. This Connecticut will re-elect seven Federal Representatives, there can be no doubt. The powerful State of New York has given her zealous support to the present Administration, and to the war, by choosing twenty Republican and seven Federal members of the last of whom it is said, the most of two will be re-elected in favour of their R. publican opponents. New Jersey has just almost unexpectedly re-elected six decidedly Republican Representatives. From Pennsylvania all the returns have not yet come to hand; but it is believed that six out of her twenty-three Representatives will be Federal. Delaware has chosen, as usual, Federal Representatives. In Maryland, the Federalists have obtained five, the Republicans four members. In Virginia, the election does not take place until April next. We may reckon on her delegation as it now stands, 17 and as 'tho' it will probably not result so favourably to Federalism. The North Carolina election does not take place until next August. Her delegation will probably stand as at present, ten to three; but, making allowance for possible changes, we will set it down at eight to five. In South Carolina the election has taken place so recently, that we have the returns only from one (the most Federalist) district, in which the Republican candidate is chosen. There is no doubt, therefore, that the whole Representation of that State will be democratic. In Georgia it is ascertained that six Republicans are just chosen, to represent that State in the next Congress.—In Tennessee the

elections do not take place until the Spring. There is no doubt, however, that Republicans will be chosen from every district.—Kentucky has already, as usual, chosen a delegation of unmixed Democratic character. The election in Ohio has just ended, and there is little doubt but six Republicans are again chosen for that State. Louisiana has elected her present Republican Representative. It will be seen, then, that though partial changes favourable to Federalism may have taken place in Vermont, Pennsylvania and Maryland, they are infinitely more than counterbalanced by changes in other ways in New York and New Jersey, besides what may be expected even from Massachusetts. The result of our estimate will appear in the following recapitulation—

ELECTIONS ALREADY DECIDED.—New Hampshire, 6 Federalists; Rhode Island, 4 Federalists; New York, 20 Republicans, 7 Federalists; New Jersey, 6 Republicans; Pennsylvania, 17 Republicans, 6 Federalists; Delaware, 2 Federalists; Maryland, 4 Republicans, 5 Federalists; South Carolina, 9; Georgia, 6; Kentucky, 10; Ohio, 6; and Louisiana, 1, Republicans. ELECTIONS OF PRESENT YEAR.—Massachusetts, 4 Republicans, 15 Federalists; Connecticut, 7; Vermont, 6; Federalists; Virginia, 17 Republicans, 3 Federalists; North Carolina, 8 Republicans, 2 Federalists; and Tennessee, 6 Republicans.

ELECTIONS DECIDED—49 Republicans, 23 Federalists.

ELECTIONS ESTIMATED—33 Republicans, 40 Federalists.

TOTAL 114 Republicans, 68 Federalists.

This sort of estimate of party power is rather an ingenious task, particularly at this moment, when we had rather see the two great parties striving which shall most zealously serve and promote the common good, than contending as to ascertain which is the strongest; but as our opponents are already singing triumphs for their vast acquisition of strength, it would be wrong not to expose their unfortunate mistake. We will, therefore, make a slight statement of facts, which cannot but operate as a check to their premature triumph. We need not add, after the above estimate, that the Senate of the United States there must be for two or three years at least a decided Republican majority.

# COMBETT'S WEEKLY POLITICAL REGISTER.

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## LETTER VI.

### THE EARL OF LIVERPOOL ON THE AMERICAN WAR.

MY FRIEND, I have all along been desirous to see England in peace with America. My reasons for this I have often explained; and the mode I have pursued has been this; to endeavour to prove, that the grounds of hope of success, held out to us by such writers as the WALTHER, are fallacious. The *Division of the States*, the *Impeachment of Mr. Lincoln*, the *Renunciation of Texas*, and the various other grounds of hope, I have endeavoured to shew were hollow, as much as was the expectation of sweeping the ocean of the "half a dozen of his frigates, with one or two stiped bunting at their mast heads." The task of counteracting these delusive hopes has increased in arduousness with the progress of the war. Beaten but not one hop, these writers have resorted to others; and, as in the case in the last American war, pride and shame and revenge are mustered up to prolong a war which policy has abandoned.

There is now a new delusion of foot. Mr. Walter, the proprietor of the *Times* newspaper, who, respecting to him, it has been a principal actor in producing this calamitous war, is now endeavouring to persuade the public, that the President of America will be enabled to raise the army of 100,000 men, and to send it to the aid of the Union, or what he calls CONSCRIPTION. Now, therefore, this is a measure very well calculated to excite such a man as Mr. Walter, who knows nothing at all about the people of America, and receives all his information through the worst of all possible channels, who publishes purely for gain; who desires to flatter the follies and prejudices of his readers; and who, finding himself a gainer by being the avowed enemy of freedom, in every part of the world, has become, to say no-

thing of his meddling up, a mortal foe of the American Government and people, that he has had been led to suppose, that the defence of a country, like America, was inconsistent with freedom, naturally relied upon the opposition of the Government, the moment it attempted to take an order to raise the number of such a man would naturally be, to have been, another to the effect of the Government, in seeing a measure, which was proposed by Mr. Moore (now Secretary of War), attentively considered by a committee of Congress, and smoothed into a law, made not to be made by the President, but by the Congress, and not the other way round. This has assumed a different aspect, it has, recently, given his brain a shock too rude for its power of resistance. It has upset all his calculations; and he is now looking out for a rebellion in America, as he is, or he is not, and war for bullets, and shots, and blood, and for the rebels in Ireland, and, never losing sight of his old object, namely, to excite this nation into the hope that the measure must fail, and that, therefore, we ought to continue the war.

Despicable, therefore, is the writer who, by his contemptible use of his stock of understanding; mean and malignant as may be his motives, his efforts merit attention, and call upon us to counteract them, to prevent loss of time. In doing this, I must first take the best account that I can of this grand measure of the American Government, to which has been given the name of *Conscription*. The following is the report of the Bill, as republished by Mr. Walter himself —

"An Act to provide for filling the Ranks of the Regular Army, by classifying the free White Male Population of the United States.  
"Sec. 1. All the white male inhabitants between 18 and 45 to be classed—classes



"of 25 in each, in every Township, Parish, or other Territorial Division, are to be made under the authority of the United States' Assessors where there are no Assessors, under Marshals. Assessors and Marshals bound under penalty to complete the classification in a given time.

"Sec. 2. Each class shall furnish one able-bodied man between 18 and 45, to serve during the war—to be delivered over to the Assessor or Marshals, and by them to be delivered over to the United States' Officers authorized to receive him.

"Sec. 3. Marshals and Assessors are to determine the precincts of territorial divisions of each class, so that the property in each division shall be as nearly equal as possible—and give notice to each resident in the district of the number of the precinct to which he belongs, &c.

"Sec. 4. In case of failure, each class to pay a penalty, which, if not paid in days, shall be collected of the taxable inhabitants of the district, in proportion to property, real and personal, to be decided by the Tax List, or any other just and equitable standard by which the actual wealth of the party may be ascertained.

"Sec. 5. Marshals and Assessors to act under the direction of the President of the United States. The penalties forfeited by each class shall be collected by the Collector of Direct Taxes and internal duties, in the same manner as Direct Tax is collected.

"Sec. 6. Any person aggrieved by excessive valuations may appeal in the same manner as is directed in the Act for assessing Direct Taxes.

"Sec. 7 and 8. Relate to the paying over of the fines and penalties by Marshals and Collectors to the Treasury, &c.

"Sec. 9. Money accruing by penalties to be employed by the Secretary of War to recruit the army.

"Sec. 10. Provides to pay Marshals, &c. for services.

"Sec. 11, 12, 13, 14. Subordinate regulations.

"Sec. 15. Provides that any free white male inhabitant of the United States, being liable to military duty, who shall furnish a soldier, between 18 and 45, during the war, shall be exempt from military duty during the war.

#### "Sec. 16. Unimportant details."

Such is the measure, which Mr. Walter assures us cannot be *carried into effect*; but says, that *if it could be carried into effect*, would deprive us of Canada in a year, unless we sent out our "great National Hero;" and, indeed, that, under the bare possibility of such a measure's succeeding, "we ought to cast aside all *European politics*." What a charge, my Lord! This foolish gentleman used to tell us, that the Americans would be "done," as the old phrase was, in "a few weeks." He has often exhausted all his powers of speech to convince his readers, that this enemy was too *despicable* to be treated with in the same sort of way that we treat with other nations. There is no expression of contempt, contained in our copious language, which he did not use towards America and her President. And this same foolish Mr. Walter now tells us, that so great is this same America, that, in order to be able to meet her with a chance of success, we ought "to cast aside all *European politics*."

I beg your Lordship, now, to have the patience to read Mr. Walter's remarks, at full length, upon this measure of defence in America. The article is of consequence; because, though, coming from such a source, though proceeding from a son, or sons, of OLD WALTER of Regency memory, it is what will give the cue to almost all the rich people in the metropolis, and to set a few of those in the country. After inserting this article, I will endeavour to shew its folly and its malice; and, were the author any other than a Walter, I should not be afraid to promise to make him hide his head for shame.

"No certain or official account of the rupture of the negotiations at Ghent has yet reached this country. Private letters, it is true, have been received, stating that the American Commissioner, Mr. Adams, was about to set off for St. Petersburg, and that Mr. Gallatin had proposed that a single individual on each side should be left at Ghent to take advantage of any opening for renewing the negotiation; but both these statements are at variance with those contained in other letters of the latest date from Ghent, received by the French mail of yesterday, according to which the diplomatic intercourse still continued. We repeat, that we do not think this the point to which the public attention

"ought to be directed. We should look  
 "not to the fallacious terms of an artful  
 "negotiation, but to the infallible cer-  
 "dence of our enemy's mind and inten-  
 "tions displayed in his conduct. The Bill  
 "for a *Conscription* of the whole American  
 "population is a measure that cannot be  
 "the people will submit to its being car-  
 "ried into execution, it would be madness  
 "to expect a peace. It would be madness  
 "to expect a peace with persons who have  
 "made up their minds to propose so despe-  
 "rate a measure to their countrymen. For  
 "either they must succeed, and then the  
 "intoxication of their pride will render  
 "them utterly intractable; or (which  
 "is, indeed, more probable), they must  
 "fail, and their failure must precipitate  
 "them from power, and consequently ren-  
 "der treating with them impossible.—  
 "When an American gentleman of splen-  
 "dour attainments, some years since, com-  
 "posed his celebrated review of the Con-  
 "scription Code of that monster Bona-  
 "parte, he could not possibly foresee that  
 "his own country would, in so short a  
 "time, be subjected to the same barbarous  
 "humiliation. The prime and flower of  
 "the American citizens are to be taken by  
 "lot and delivered over to the Marshals,  
 "who are to deliver them over to the of-  
 "ficers authorised to receive them, who  
 "are to act at the discretion and under  
 "the arbitrary direction of the President.  
 "Thus does Mr. Madison, from a simple  
 "Republican Magistrate, suddenly start  
 "up a *military Despot* of the most san-  
 "guinary character—a double of the  
 "blood-thirsty wretch at Elba. We are  
 "convinced that this sudden and violent  
 "shock to all Republican feelings, to all  
 "the habits of the people in all parts of  
 "the Union, cannot be made with impu-  
 "nity. Certain it is, that this law can-  
 "not stand alone. To give it the least  
 "chance of being put in execution, it  
 "must be accompanied with all the other  
 "chapters of that bloody code by which  
 "France was disgraced, and barbarised,  
 "and demoralised. Who is to hunt down  
 "the refractory conscripts? Who is to  
 "drag them, chained together in rows, to  
 "the head-quarters of the military divi-  
 "sion? Who is to punish them, their pa-  
 "rents, relations, and friends? Even Bo-  
 "naparte was many years in bringing to  
 "its diabolical perfection the machinery of

"his system; and carefully as Mr. Mon-  
 "roe may have studied in that accursed  
 "school, it cannot be supposed that he has  
 "at one slight placed himself on a level  
 "with his great instructor. It is highly  
 "probable that many of the men who have  
 "laboured in the details of oppression and  
 "to receive a cordial welcome from Mr.  
 "Madison, and be set to work to rivet the  
 "collar on the necks of the American citi-  
 "zens; but we own that, with all appli-  
 "ances, and means to boot, the Presi-  
 "dent, in our opinion, must fail. Never-  
 "theless it would be most dangerous to  
 "suffer such an opinion to produce the  
 "slightest relaxation in our efforts. The  
 "British Government should act as if it  
 "saw Mr. Monroe at the head of his hun-  
 "dred thousand regulars, well disciplined,  
 "and equipped, carrying the war, as he  
 "distinctly threatens he will do, into the  
 "very heart of Canada. Late as it is, we  
 "must awake. Eight months ago the  
 "Duke of Wellington with his army might  
 "have fallen like a thunderbolt upon the  
 "Washington Cabinet, leaving them no  
 "time for conscriptions, no means of col-  
 "lecting French officers to discipline their  
 "troops, no opportunity to intrigue for  
 "friendship and support among the Con-  
 "tinental Powers of Europe. It is not  
 "yet too late for striking a decisive blow;  
 "but that blow must be struck with all  
 "our heart and with all our strength.  
 "Let us but conceive the proposed hun-  
 "dred thousand regulars embodied in the  
 "course of the ensuing spring. Does any one  
 "believe that, without a mighty effort on  
 "our part, the Canadas could be re-  
 "tained another year? Would not the ex-  
 "ultation of seeing himself at the head of  
 "such a force urge Mr. Madison, at all  
 "hazards, to complete his often-tried in-  
 "vasion? Even if his scheme should but  
 "partially succeed, and he should be only  
 "able to drag on a defensive war for  
 "another twelvemonth, who knows what  
 "Allies that period may sit up for him,  
 "under the false pretences of regard for  
 "neutral rights, and for the liberty of the  
 "seas? On our side, to conclude a peace  
 "at the present moment would be to con-  
 "fess ourselves intimidated by the warlike  
 "preparations of the enemy. It seems,  
 "therefore, that we have but one path to  
 "follow. Whatever was the force des-



“tined to act against America before this.”  
 “**DARING BILL** of Mr. Monroe’s was  
 “thought of, *let that force instantly be*  
 “*doubled, let us cast aside all European*  
 “*politics that cross this great and para-*  
 “*have often said, and we repeat it, that*  
 “America is a scene on which the Duke  
 “of Wellington’s talents might be dis-  
 “played far more beneficially to his coun-  
 “try, than they can possibly be in the  
 “countly circles of the Thuilleries; but if  
 “his Grace must necessarily be confined  
 “to the dull round of diplomatic business,  
 “at least let some officer be sent, whom  
 “the general voice of the army may de-  
 “signate as most like in skill and enter-  
 “prise to our great National Hero. Fatal  
 “experience has shewn us, that no effort  
 “of such an enemy is to be overlooked.  
 “When the flag of the *Guerriere* was  
 “struck, we saw in it that disastrous omen  
 “which has since been but too sadly ver-  
 “fied on the Ocean and on the Lakes.  
 “The triumphs of the American navy  
 “have inspired even their privateers with  
 “remarkable audacity. The present  
 “papers mention the cruises of the *Pea-*  
 “*cock*, the *Chasseur*, and the *Mammoth*,  
 “all of which were very successful, and all  
 “ventured on the coasts of England and  
 “Ireland. The two latter, being Ameri-  
 “can built, outalled every thing that  
 “gave them chase. This is a circum-  
 “stance requiring strict attention on the  
 “part of our Admiralty. Surely there  
 “must be some discoverable and *inimitable*  
 “cause of a celerity in sailing, which is so  
 “important a point of naval tactics. Mr.  
 “Fulton, of Catamran memory, appears  
 “to have employed himself on a naval ma-  
 “chine of singular powers. It is described  
 “as a Steam Frigate, and is intended to  
 “carry red-hot shot of one hundred pounds  
 “weight. When we remember how con-  
 “trary to expectation was the tremen-  
 “dous effect of the batteries of the Dar-  
 “danelles, we cannot entirely dismiss from  
 “our minds all apprehension of the effect  
 “of this new machine of Mr. Fulton’s.”

Before I proceed to inquire into the  
 justice of these charges against Mr.  
 Monroe’s Bill, I cannot refrain from no-  
 ticing in a particular manner, one phrase  
 of this attack. Mr. Walter (for, here  
 who I shall to write for him, he is the  
 author) calls the Bill “this **DARING**”

“Bill of Mr. Monroe’s.” Mr. Walter is  
 no grammarian, my Lord; nor is it neces-  
 sary that he should, to qualify him for ad-  
 dressing such people as the well-attired  
 rabble of England, who are his readers. But  
 as it appears to this Bill; as  
 if it were a thing which the Republic ought  
 not to think of without our permission; as  
 if it were like the act of a servant taking  
 up a sword, and *challenging his master*;  
 as if it were a trait of insolence unbearable  
 in a nation at war with Big John Bull  
 to take effectual means to resist his attacks  
 on their shores ‘as if it were *didacious*’ in  
 them to provide the means of preventing  
 their cities, and towns, and villages, from  
 being plundered or burnt. This Mr.  
 Walter, only a few days ago, called Mr.  
 Jefferson “*lur* and *shur*.” He has a  
 hundred times called Mr. Madison a *mur-*  
 “*derer*, a *traitor*, a *liar*, a *villain*, and has,

as often, insisted, that no peace ought ever  
 “to be made with him. He has frequently  
 insisted, that Mr. Madison and his *faction*  
 (the majority of Congress) must be *lurked*  
 “from their seats. He has called Mr.  
 Jefferson the *old serpent*. In short, it is  
 next to impossible to think of any vile  
 term or epithet, which this author has not  
 applied to the American President and the  
 majority of that Congress, which is the  
 real representation of the American people.  
 And yet he has the cool impudence to  
 speak of this Bill, this measure of defence,  
 as if it were something insolent towards us.  
 The truth is, my Lord, we have so long  
 had to deal with East Indians and Portu-  
 guese, and Spaniards and Italians, and Ger-  
 mans and Dutchmen and Russians, and Im-  
 perialist Frenchmen, that we are quite spoilt  
 for a dealing with the Americans. We  
 have, at last, arrived at such a pitch, that  
 we regard it as insolence in any people  
 even to talk of resisting us. Mr. Walter is,  
 in this respect, but the mouth-piece of his  
 readers. We must correct ourselves to  
 this way of thinking and talking, if the  
 war with America continue; or we shall  
 be exposed to the decision of the whole  
 world.

Now, then, as to Mr. Monroe’s mea-  
 sure. Mr. Walter describes it as a *Con-*  
 “*scription*; says, that it will subject the  
 people to *barbarous humiliation*, says,  
 “that it makes the President a *military*  
 “*despot* of the most *arbitrary* character;  
 asks, who is to chain the conscripts and

drag them to the head-quarters of the military division; call the raising of the force putting a collar on the necks of the American citizens.

These are the charges which Mr. Walter prefers against this grand measure of the Republic, and he observes, that "when an American gentleman of splendid attainments, some years ago, composed his celebrated review of the *Conscription Code* of that monster Bonaparte, he could not possibly foresee, that his own country would so soon be subjected to the same barbarous humiliation." This gentleman of splendid attainments" was Mr. Walsh, of Philadelphia, who, having been in France, came over to England where, under the patronage of the friends of bribery and corruption, he wrote and published a pamphlet, calculated to aid their views. This pamphlet clearly showed that the author was one of those Americans, who, by the vain splendour that they here behold, and by the hope of shining in it, have been induced to apostatise from the principles of their own Republican Government. This young man, whose work is really a very poor performance, abounding with inconsistencies, and, indeed, with downright falsehoods, had his head turned by the flatteries of the luring writers and reviewers here, and I should not wonder if his work acquired him the unspeakable felicity of hearing, that even his name was mentioned in a conversation between two Lords. The great recommendation of the work was, that it was not the work of an Englishman. No, it was, it was said, the work of an American, who, of course, was a friend of the French, and not at all disposed to exaggerate in describing their misery. This was the fraudulent colour under which the work got into circulation. Mr. Walsh was a tool in the hands of crafty men, who dazzled him with praises, and, perhaps, did not neglect the use of still more efficacious means.

But now as to the resemblance between Mr. Monroe's measure and the Conscription of Napoleon.

1st. The French Conscription was decreed by an arbitrary despot, assisted by an Assembly whom the people had not chosen. The levy in America is ordered by a law, passed by the Congress, who are the real and not the sham representatives of the people, who have recently been freely chosen by the people; and who, if they decide to be re-elected, must act so as to

please the people, the time of their re-election being near at hand.

2d. The French conscript was called out to fight for the support and aggrandizement of a particular family, and for the support also of nobles in the possession of their titles and estates. It was the honour of the Crown that the Frenchman was called on to fight for, and that, too, in distant lands. The American citizen is called out to defend no sovereign family, no Crown, no nobles, to give no security and to gain no reward for them, or any of them, but to light for the safety, liberty, and honour of a country, where there are no distinctions of rank, and where, of course, every individual fights, when he does fight, in his own cause as much as in the cause of the President himself.

3d. The French Conscription compelled personal service.—The American levy contains no such compulsion. Every twenty-five men, between the ages of 18 and 45, are to furnish one man. If none of the twenty-five will serve in person, the whole twenty-five together are, according to their property, to pay a certain sum of money.

4th. The French conscript, while he lived, perhaps, an aged father or mother at home living in penury, was fighting for an Emperor, whose wife carried about her person, at the nation's expense, decorations, which cost as much as would have fed thousands of families for a year. The American levyman knows, that his Government, all taken together, President, Congress, Judges, Secretaries, Clerks and all, do not cost so much in a year, as is swallowed by an Imperial Family in one single day.

5th. France was not invaded. This is a very material point. America was, and is, invaded. Her villages, towns and cities, have been plundered and burnt. A continuation of this mode of warfare has been distinctly declared by our Admiral to have been resolved on. It is invasion, it is devastation, it is fire, it is the sword, it is plunder, at their very doors, and in their very dwellings on the coast, that the American levy are called forth to repel, to punish or to prevent. It is no possible, no imaginary, no distant danger that has called forth this measure from the Congress. It is a real invasion; it is an enemy in the country, there laying waste, plundering and killing. Lawfully, if you please; but, that is no matter. If Napoleon had landed an army here, he would have been justified in so doing by the laws of war, but, when

we expected him even to make the attempt at invasion, did we confine ourselves to measures like this of Mr. Monroe? Did we not call upon the *whole* of the people to be ready to come out *under martial law*? But I am here anticipating another part of the subject of my letter.

So much, then, for the *resemblance* between the French Conscription and the American Levy; and, I am sure, that your Lordship will allow, that they no more resemble one another than this REGISTER resembles the *Times* newspaper. What, then, becomes of Mr. Walter's bombastical trash about *sanguinary despots* and *chained conscripts*? Yet, he will find dupes! He has found dupes for many years, and he will continue to find them upon this subject, I fear, 'till we shall see an *American fleet* on the coast of Ireland, an occurrence more probable than, at one time, was thought the capture of an English frigate by a Republican thing with a *bit of striped bunting at its mast head*, as Mr. Canmug thought proper to describe the American frigates.

But, my Lord, it is not with the French Conscription alone that I mean to compare the Republican Levy. Let us see (for that will bring the thing home to us) what is the nature of this measure of Mr. Monroe compared with our *Militias*.

We have two or three *Militias*; but there are two clearly distinguished from each other: One is called the *Militia*, and the other the *Local Militia*. The former consists of men called out by **BALLOT, WITHOUT ANY REGARD TO THE AMOUNT OF THEIR PROPERTY**. Each man, so called on, must serve in person, or must, out of his own pocket, find a man to serve in his stead; and, seeing that the service is, in all respects, except that of being sent over sea, the same as that of regular soldiers; seeing that the man may be marched to any part of the kingdom, may be quartered in camps in barracks, and is subjected to all military pains and penalties, the price of substitutes has long been so high, that no labourer or journeyman has, out of his own pocket, been able to procure a substitute. Now, you see, there is a wide difference here. For the man of small means in America has twenty-four others to assist him in paying the money necessary to engage a substitute. Twenty-five men are put into a class. If one of them goes to serve, the others are able to make him a handsome

compensation. If none of them choose to serve, the money in lieu of the service of one man is to be collected from twenty-five men. And, which is the beauty of this admirable scheme, when it comes to the payment of money, each person is to pay, not the same sum, but a sum in proportion to the amount of his means. In England the names of all of certain ages, in each parish, are put into a box, out of which the number wanted are drawn. It happens, of course, that, of four, one is a rich merchant, another a farmer, another a journeyman taylor, and another a labourer. Each is to serve in person, or find a substitute. The price of the substitute is as high for the poor as for the rich. The two latter, therefore, who have no property to defend, must serve, or they must make together the means of paying for the defence of the property of the rich, and thus involve themselves in debt, and expose their families, if they have any, to misery. But, you see, Mr. Monroe's scheme most effectually provides against this. It puts all the male population, between 18 and 45, into classes of twenty-five men. Each class is to send one man. If they agree amongst themselves who shall go, the thing is done. If none of them choose to go, then the twenty-five are to pay a sum of money, but *here* they are not to pay *alike*; the journeyman taylor and the labourer are not to pay like the merchant and the farmer. Every man of the twenty-five is to pay *in proportion to his property*; and thus does the burden of defence fall with arithmetical correctness on the thing to be defended.

And *this*, my Lord, is what Mr. Walter calls a "*Conscription*;" this he calls a measure of "*barbarous humiliation*" to the people of America; for proposing this measure he calls Mr. Madison a "*sanguinary despot*;" this is the measure which he says will *never be submitted to by the Republicans*. "The foolish man will soon have to announce his astonishment at the complete success of the measure - if he has not, I will acknowledge myself to be as great a fool as he.

But, to proceed, our *Local Militia* were to serve only within their several counties, but their service has now been extended; though, except in cases of *urgency*, they are to be called out only a month in the year. Here no man must get the means of hiring a substitute from any *Insurance or Club*. He must make no bargain with his

master to work out the amount of the penalty. He must *succur* that the *ten pounds* comes out of his own present means, or he *must serve in person*. In this case, however, we approach a little nearer to Mr. Monroe's excellent scheme, for, in this *militia*, we proportion the kne, in some measure, to the property of him who refuses to serve; though a rich farmer still pays only about *twenty pounds*; while the poorest of his labourers must pay *ten pounds*, though certainly the property of the former may be estimated at two or three thousand times greater than the property of the latter. Now, according to Mr. Monroe's scheme a couple of farmers would find themselves classed with twenty-three labourers and journeymen blacksmiths, collar-makers, wheelwrights, &c. &c. And of course, the two farmers would pay *21* times of the penalty, or, which would be the natural result, one man out of the twenty five, with a handsome reward from the rest, would cheerfully take up the musket instead of the dung-fork, or the sledge-hammer.

But the most important distinction still remains to be noticed, that is to say, that we have, for twenty years, had a Militia on foot, under *martial law*, under officers *commissioned by the King*, under the *regular discipline*, lodged in *camps or barracks*, marched to *every corner of the kingdom*, without any *actual invasion of the country*. These regiments have been kept up, the balloting has been going on, and no invaders have come to burn our villages, towns, and cities, or, to plunder them, or lay them under contribution. While, in America, we are invading and laying waste; we are taking *permanent possession* of one district, we are compelling the people to *swear allegiance to our king*; we have a mighty naval force continually menacing the sea-coast; we have one army aloft here, another there, more are going out; and like Mr. Walter is calling till he is hoarse for more troops to be sent to devastate and divide the country, to overturn the Republican Government and reduce the people to unconditional submission, all this he is doing, while he is, at the same time, crying out against the "barbarous" scheme of calling upon the people of property to defend their country, either in their person, or with their purses. Alas! my Lord! fool as Mr. Walter is, he perceives, that Mr. Monroe's is an infallible scheme for raising an army in a short time, and for

keeping that army complete. He, fool as he is, smells powder in every line of this scheme. But it is his business to misrepresent to himself, to induce his well-disposed table of readers, and you too, if possible, to believe, that the scheme will *fail*, and that, *therefore*, we ought to carry on the war with all imaginable energy. I trust, however, that you are not to be misled by him, or by any body else. I trust, that you will see the danger which this wise and equitable plan presents to us. I trust, that you will at once abandon all hopes of extorting any concession from a country, which has now shewn, that difficulties and dangers, as they press upon her, only tend to increase her energy, to raise her spirit, and make her more formidable. I have respect enough for the understanding of your Lordship to believe, that you have not read Mr. Monroe's letter to the chairman of the Military Committee with great attention, and not without some degree of alarm. But the conclusion of it is so very important, that I cannot refrain from again calling your attention to it.

"I should," says he, "insult the understanding, and wound the feelings of the Committee, if I touched on the calamitous incident to defeat. Dangers which are remote, and can never be realised, excite no alarm with a gallant and generous people. But the advantages of success have a fair claim to their deliberate consideration. The effort we have already made has attracted the attention, and attracted the praise of other nations. Already have most of the absurd theories and idle speculations on our system of Government been refuted and put down. We are now felt and respected as a power, and it is the dread which the enemy entertain of our resources and growing importance, that has induced him to press the war against us of its professed objects had ceased. Success by the discomfiture of his schemes, and the attainment of an honourable peace, will place the United States on higher grounds, in the opinion of the world, than they have held at any former period. In future wars, their commerce will be permitted to take its lawful range unimpeded. Their remonstrances to foreign Governments will not again be put aside, unheeded.—Few will be presented, because there will seldom be occasion for them. Our Union, founded on internal affection, will have acquired

"new strength by the proof it will have  
 "afforded of the important advantages  
 "attending it. Respected abroad, and  
 "happy at home, the United States will  
 "have accomplished the great objects for  
 "which they have so long contended.  
 "a nation that will have little to dread,  
 "a people little to desire."—I beseech  
 your Lordship's serious attention to these  
 important words. I allow, that peace now  
 made on the basis of the *Status Quo* would  
 be success to America. I have often said  
 this before. To defend herself against us,  
 single handed, will be *most glorious*  
*triumph* to her, and will elevate her in the  
 eyes of all the world. But, then, my  
 Lord, to repeat once more what I have  
 so often said, what will be the consequence  
 of her success at the end of a ten years,  
 or a five years' war? How much greater  
 would then be her triumph? How much  
 greater her weight in the world? How  
 much more proud her defiance of us?  
 How much more powerful her navy?  
 How much more exasperated her people  
 against us?

I confess, that, after all that has been  
 said here about Mr. Madison; after all the  
 threats of our press to *dispose* him; after  
 all the "*hurs, trations, hypocrisies*," &c.  
 that that press has called him; after all the  
 expectations of seeing a *Lucroy* sent out  
 to Washington City, it would sink the heart  
 of John Bull down into his shoes to see a  
 peace made with this same Mr. Madison,  
 without extorting *something* from him. But  
 you and your colleagues ought to despise  
 this national folly, created by the venal  
 men, who live by misrepresentation and  
 falsehood, whose tables are furnished with  
 the fruits of flattering popular prejudices.

I confess, too, that the friends of Cap-  
 tain Henry; that the would-be *Nobles*  
*of Massachusetts*; that the *Federalists*, in  
 general, would be put down for ever by a  
 peace with Mr. Madison, on terms hon-  
 ourable to America, with at this time  
 and which peace would clearly have been  
 obtained by the wisdom of his measures and  
 the bravery of those whom he has im-  
 ployed. But 'hark these stately Nobles—  
 my Lord! They are poor creatures. They  
 cannot assist us. The population of Amer-  
 ica is essentially Republican, from one end  
 to the other. These poor things have  
 tried their utmost, and they have failed.  
 When I was in America, there was a man  
 named Luther Martin, a lawyer of Mary-

land, who wrote, in my paper, under his  
 own name, a series of letters to Mr. Jeff-  
 erson. One day, I said to a friend of Mr.  
 Martin's; "when do you think he means  
 "to close; for, really, I am afraid that  
 "my readers will soon begin to be as  
 "weary as I am." "It," answered he,  
 "I knew the state of his *brandy bottle*.  
 "I could tell you, for he'll stick to  
 "Jefferson as long as *brandy will warm*  
 "*him, and not a moment longer*."—  
 So it will be, my Lord, with the Nobles  
 of Massachusetts. As long as they are  
 stimulated with the hope of forcing open the  
 offices of Government by the misfortunes  
 of their country, they will talk big about a  
*separation of the Union*, but the moment  
 that that hope dies within them, you will  
 see them as quiet as mice. And, really, I  
 do not know of any thing more likely to  
 kill that hope than the scheme of Mr. Mon-  
 roe, which will not only bring forth an effi-  
 cient army *now*, but which will hold an effi-  
 cient army *always in readiness* at a week's  
 notice, while, at the same time, it will obviate  
 the necessity of a *standing* army and of a  
 great *permanent* expense, and will prevent  
 the Executive Government from acquiring a  
 patronage inconsistent with the principles  
 of Republican Government, and dangerous  
 to political and civil liberty.

I confess, moreover, that there is ano-  
 ther class of men, whom you would mortally  
 offend by making a peace that should be  
 honourable to America. I mean, the *haters*  
*of freedom*. I do not mean . . . . .  
 . . . . . This moment has arrived the  
*Courier* newspaper with news of the  
 PEACE.—I do not know how to ex-  
 press the pleasure I feel at this news, or  
 the gratitude, which, for this act, I, in  
 common with my countrymen, owe to your  
 Lordship and your colleagues. Far be it  
 from me to rejoice at what the *Times*  
 calls the *de grace of the navy of England*  
 and the *humiliation of the Crown*; but  
 being fully convinced, the longer the war  
 had continued, the more dangerous and  
 dangerous would have been the result, I  
 do most sincerely rejoice at this auspicious  
 event, and certainly not the less on account  
 of its being calculated to banish the news  
 of that hypocritical faction, who have stud-  
 ied the impudence to call themselves *Whigs*.

I am, &c. &c.

WM. CORBETT.

Bolt y, 28th Dec. 1814.

FRANCE.—Although the affairs of France may have become less interesting than they were previous to the fall of Napoleon, it ought not to be forgotten, that she is still a mighty nation; that she possesses immense resources, capable of enabling her to command respect, that her people enjoy greater freedom than they did under any of her former Kings; and that the long war from which she has just emerged, and which has brought so many calamities on other States, has created in her so efficient a spirit of industry, that she can supply herself with almost every necessary article, equally well manufactured, and at as low a rate, as other nations on which she used to depend for supplies. The only which this prosperous state of things has excited, particularly in this country, has led our base and corrupt press to say all manner of abusive things of the people of France, to reprobate the measures of the new Government, and to foretell the most fearful consequences and frightful convulsions as the result of these measures. Were we to credit the tenth part of what has lately been put forth in our newspapers, about the convulsed and fermented state of the public mind in France, we might be preparing ourselves to witness the revival, almost every hour, of those dreadful and sanguinary scenes that disgraced the early part of the Revolution. Present appearances do not lead me to think there is any cause for these apprehensions; nor does it appear that a change more favourable to liberty is likely soon to take place in France. All the clamour and expectation that has been excited on these topics seem to have originated from mere envy. The renewal of the intercourse with the Continent was looked to as an event that would revive our drooping manufactures, and give life and vigour to our almost expiring commerce. But these hopes have proved fallacious, and every day furnishes us with fresh proof, that the French people consider themselves not only independent of our manufactures, but able to rival us in the different markets of Germany, where nothing but British goods were formerly in request. The former of these facts is established by the testimony of every Englishman who has been in France since the return of peace, and the latter is rendered indisputable by the following official document recently published by the Chamber of Rouen.—

*Copy of a Letter from the Director General of Agriculture, Commerce, Arts, and Manufactures, to the Chamber of Commerce of Rouen.*

CORRESPONDENT.—I have required of the Comptroller of his Majesty in foreign countries to acquaint me with the situation of our commerce in the places of their residence. The information I have already received from the North is satisfactory, and it seems that our trade and industry are fitly appreciated. In the different markets of Germany our manufactures, and particularly those of cotton, have been in great demand this year, and have been preferred to those of England.—This preference conceded by strangers to the produce of our industry ought to be considered as an important victory gained over our rivals in trade. It proves the rapid progress of our manufacturers, and will no doubt be a new ground of encouragement to those who engage in them. They will perceive that, to preserve this superiority, it will be convenient to improve in the quality, and to reduce the prices.—The Consul General of France in Denmark, informs me that little of our merchandise has been sent thither this year, and that our cottons, with the exception of shawls, of which there has been a considerable sale, are very little known in that country.—Although this commodity should be liable to a custom-house duty of 30 per cent, he thinks that if our travelling merchants should make known in the country the new articles manufactured, the taste would be soon adopted, and that they would not regret the trouble they should take in exhibiting samples of the several varieties.—I have thought it might be useful to transmit you this intelligence, that you may disclose it to the commerce of your town, which will perhaps induce the dealers to increase their stock, and in a suitable proportion to augment their exports.—The Director General, Counsellor of State.—(Signed)—BECQUEL.—A true Copy.—RIVET.

To the calumny of those who represent France, as having been utterly ruined by the Emperor Napoleon, the above document is a sufficient reply. It is indeed a pretty clear proof that he must have left it in a flourishing condition, when we hear these unprincipled revilers, although they have got the ports of the Continent open, complaining of the stagnation of trade, and venting all their spleen against

France, which they would see boggled and ruined a thousand times over, even by a Bonaparte, rather than yield a part of that commerce which this country has so long arrogated as its exclusive right.—It is France, these sycophants have always hated, and not her rulers.—Napoleon, it is true, was personally held up as the cause of their hatred, but this was a mask to cover their enmity against the measures he was pursuing to render France what she now is—a successful and powerful rival in commerce and manufactures. This was the true secret of the hostility against the French Emperor. He was the ostensible cause. The real cause was the rivalry he was creating, and that rivalry exists at this moment in as full vigour, though it shews itself with some shades of difference. It was felt that it would have been invidious to *enorm* the conduct of a King, whose restoration they had hailed with so much rapture. But they would be no way displeased to see all France reduced to a state of anarchy and confusion, sufficient to disqualify her from cultivating her soil, improving her manufactures, and extending her commerce.—This envy, and spite, and malice, never had any other source than the rising greatness of France. Our cunning and corrupt priests have always been extremely careful to keep this fact in the back ground, and, instead of attributing the obstructions that now exist to our trade and commerce, to the true cause—the immense load of taxes, and the consequent high price of labour, they have constantly misled the public by idle pretences about the tyranny and ambition of the French rulers, to which they falsely attributed these difficulties that every where counteract the commercial enterprise of our merchants. This deception is still carried on. It may have the desired effect for a time, but it is scarcely possible, now that the channels of accurate information, and the intercourse with the Continent, is, to all appearance, about to be cleared of the rubbish which so long choked them, that the people of this country can remain long in their present state of blindness.

#### UNIVERSITY OF OXFORD.

SIR,—With respect to the city prison at Oxford, on which there are some remarks in your last Register, it may be said, and said with great truth, that that build-

ing was never designed for a receptacle of sick persons, but only as a prison and a house of correction, and that it is not, in its establishment, or in any other way, fit for an hospital. Well adapted as this prison is to receive sick persons, it seems cruel to commit women to it, who, having been guilty of no other offence than that of prostitution, at the time of their commitment are known to be diseased, and who, indeed, have sometimes been apprehended on that very account. Surely, some other place should be found for such women, where they might receive that accommodation which their disease may require. They should not be confined in a building, where an unavoidable exposure to cold and damp prevents the proper and safe operation of the only medicine known to effect a certain cure of their complaint, and consequently, where there is a probability that they will be discharged in a worse state than when admitted. Attention and regard to the health of the students should induce the officers of the University to use their best endeavours to check a disease, which in this place is very common; and of which the ruinous consequences are severely felt. In the sister University when information is received by the proctors of a woman being ill, inquiry is immediately made into the circumstances of the case; and if the charge be true, she is not unfeelingly committed to a damp and cold prison, but sent to an infirmary and cured. This method has been found, by experience, to be the best security of the health of the students, for as no severity is exercised against the woman, they feel no reluctance to lay the information. Hence it is, that, in Cambridge, the disease alluded to is now never known to rage to any extent; an advantage, which, by parents and all persons interested in the welfare of young men, must be duly appreciated. A Ward for venereal patients in the Radcliffe Infirmary, where there is sufficient room for the purpose, would be a most useful and charitable institution. The University would receive much benefit from it, and would doubtless contribute very largely from their fund to effect so humane a purpose. It might otherwise be supported by private subscription; by a subscription separate and distinct from that which is appropriated to support the other objects of the charity, and which there is little doubt would be an ample one. Should any unforeseen circumstances prevent the execution of this plan, a house might be taken



for the purpose in Oxford, or its environs, subject to the controul and inspection of the Vice-Chancellor, and other officers. The expense of this establishment would not be so great but that a sufficient sum might be raised by private subscription, it unfortunately the University (which can scarcely be supposed) should not think proper to support a plan in which the health and constitution of the younger students and inhabitants of Oxford are intimately concerned. Whatever may be the immediate event, it is hoped that the discussion of this business will be ultimately productive of much good; that the health of the students will be less exposed to danger; and that recourse will no longer be had to a cruel and useless severity, as repugnant to our feelings, as it has been found inefficient in producing its intended effects.

Oxford, Dec. 26, 1814.

## ON RELIGIOUS PERSECUTION.

### LATTER III

It is an execrable heresy and crime to endeavour to compel by force, by blows, and by imprisonment, those who cannot be convinced by reason.

*St. AUGUSTINE, Lib. I.*

SIR, — HUMF says; that "the practice of persecution is the scandal of all religion, and the theological animosity, so fierce and violent, far from being an argument of men's conviction in their opposing tenets, is a certain proof of the contrary: they have reached

my serious persuasion with regard to these remote and sublime subjects.

"Even those who are the most impatient of contradiction in other controversies, are mild and moderate in comparison of political divines;" and wherever, a man's knowledge and experience give him perfect conviction of

"opinion, he regards with contempt, rather than anger, the opposition and mistakes of others." — This sentiment, I think,

will bear the test of strict examination, and be found to tally with the observation and experience of all those who have *impartially* noticed the history of religious persecution, both in past and present times.

They will be compelled to acknowledge, that the annals of the world do not present us with examples of domestic strife, or political controversy, ever being carried to that degree of violent acrimony, and unrelenting implacability, with which religious disputes and persecutions have been conducted, whenever the passions of infuriated bigots, or infatuated fanatics, have

been set on fire, and roused to action, by their tenets being disrespected or denied. It must also be readily confessed, that those whose opinions are the result of mature deliberation, after having exercised the most scrupulous reflection and critical inquiry on the notions they have adopted, so as to give them a decided confidence in their mind that they are right, seldom or ever conduct themselves in that *not at all* unbecoming manner towards those who differ from them in speculative points, as the superficial zealot, when the system he has been nursed in is attacked, or as the deluded enthusiast, when the new doctrine is rejected which he has just received, without examination, from some experienced adept in the Trade of Preaching. The industrious searcher after truth knows the pains and difficulty of acquiring it, and can make allowance for the ignorance and prejudices of others; while they who take every thing for granted, and pin their faith implicitly to the sleeve of others, wonder that every body cannot plainly see the merits of what they have so easily embraced.

But perhaps I may be told, that whatever may be urged in favour of toleration, and against persecution upon broad principles, it will by no means quadrate with the narrow scale called *orthodoxy*, by which the servants of the public, in their great wisdom, think fit to rule their masters. I shall be informed, that the national worship ought always to be supported; that the Christian is a part of the common law of this land, and is carefully protected by the statutes of the realm: consequently, that no person should be suffered to approach it. This mode of argument, however ridiculous, is by no means uncommon, nor is it constantly resorted to by weak and ignorant persons, who do not possess sufficient ingenuity to defend our faith against the aspersions of infidels. "Well," they'll exclaim, "if our religion is a *human institution*, and taught with absurdities, it is nevertheless the religion of our fathers, established according to law, the safest to follow, the most generally respected, the easiest road to perfection; it would be dangerous to alter it, and, therefore, it ought not to be abused." This doctrine may suit the taste of tyrants and slavish formalists; but it can never meet the approbation of impartial reason, nor record with the interests of society.

"Should we repent'st thou, before"

"And err because our fathers' err'd before?"

— *On the same*



If we sanction a principle like this, there is an end to all improvement; every invention or discovery, for the benefit of mankind, would be discouraged; and the intellectual faculty, the most glorious ornament with which Nature has endowed man, would be of little use if Priests and Despots were to accomplish their desire in thus attempting to cramp its exertions.

If we admit for one moment so arbitrary a mode of reasoning, we must approve the persecution of the excommunicated *Galla*, who, in consequence of his assertion concerning the earth's motion, was cited to appear before the *Inquisition* at Rome, charged with heresy for maintaining propositions contrary to the astronomical system of the sacred Scripture, thrown into their dungeon for two years; and only escaped with his life by compliance with their decree in abjuring what he believed to be true, promising to perform the penance enjoined as an atonement for his errors, and repeating the seven penitential psalms every week for three years. Thus we see, that what is now universally adopted, was once, as *Helladius* observes of most new truths, "treated as an error, cited as a paradox, and rejected without being understood." How cautious ought this to make us of indulging such a capricious and intolerant disposition, or a method of argument so extremely fallacious, one, indeed, which would oblige us to condemn our blessed Saviour as an infamous demagogue, who broached doctrines contrary to the State, religion of his country, and applauded the Jews for justly executing him as an enthusiastic heretic, whose conduct was calculated to disturb the public peace, subvert Judaism, and ram the priests by bringing their trade into dispute. It would lead us to praise every Heathen Government who had persecuted the first propagators of Christianity, to admire *Nero*, and to reprobate *St. Paul*—How amiable, compared to such a emperor, was the disposition of *Ethelbert*, King of Kent, during the Saxon Heptarchy, when Pope *Griгорy* the First sent the Monk *Austin*, afterwards called *St. Austin*, or *Augustin*, with his 40 missionaries to plant the Gospel in this country. That Prince, though an idolater, went out to meet them with the greatest courtesy, sat in the open air to hear their leader preach, and after listening to them attentively, made the following handsome and liberal reply, which we have preserved by the venerable *Bede*.—"Your proposals

"are noble, your promises inviting; but I cannot resolve upon quitting the religion of my ancestors, for one that appears to me supported only by the testimony of persons that are entire strangers to me. However, since, as I perceive, you have taken a long journey on purpose to impart to us what you deem of great importance and valuable, you shall not be sent away without some satisfaction. I will take care that you are treated civilly in my dominions, and supplied with all things necessary and convenient, and if any of my subjects, convinced by what you shall say to them, desire to embrace your religion, I shall not be against it."

In fact, the enonies of toleration and free discussion have no solid ground to stand upon, for; if they act consistent to their principles, they must, in reading history, find fault with *Edithbert* for his mildness, and deprecate the Christians for coming to interfere with one then practicable heathen worship. When Catholicism became firmly established, they must then approve of their intolerance towards those whom we now revere for lighting the candle of reformation in a dark age, and those who ultimately accomplished it, to the destruction of the former system. They must give their approbation to the tragedies of *Smithfield*, and deny their commiseration to the Protestant Martyrs. They must equally revere the murderers of *Socrates*, *Tamara*, and *St. Felix*. When they turn over the pages of history, and find the reformed system established by law, they must then view with admiration the disgraceful pain and penalties which the mild and amiable Protestants, in their turn, inflicted on the Catholics, and those poor deluded creatures who would have presumed to reform still further the Reformed Church, to improve upon the improved system, and, in short, who have had the impudence, at last, to refuse conformity to all the sublime and useful rites and ceremonies of the Church of England. I will not bring them to the present time, lest they should blame themselves for sending Ministers to India to preach the Gospel, and censure the Blacks for not rejecting the intenders; because it might give some sceptic an opportunity of asking me whether the Blacks were made on purpose to be damned, if they never had an opportunity of believing or rejecting our Revelation? And if so, how I could reconcile it with some of the

attributes which Christians generally give their God? Oh, whether I thought a system, which has split people into thousand sects, embroiled them in doctrinal controversies, divided the father from the son, and the husband from the wife, would in which they are at present all agreed. Such questions, I conceive, would puzzle me exceedingly to answer in a popular manner. I shall say nothing, therefore, here that might lead to their discussion.

But, after all, there is no set of people against whom the Government of this country are so severe, as those wretched prisoners who have been so unfortunate as to have had their hearts hardened by God, or their understandings perverted by the Devil; as the Scriptures tell us, was the case sometimes in days of old, which has rendered them incapable of duly appreciating the divine truths of our holy religion, and induced them to reject the whole as a human invention, set up to terrify and enslave mankind, and monopolise power and profit, to ridicule the idea of Three Gods, and to acknowledge only one supreme Being, whom they designate the great Author of Nature. They admit no other revelation than the volume of the Creation, which they assert speaketh alike to all, and cannot be altered or defaced by man; for no mortal, they say, can darken the sun or the moon, neither can he pluck down the stars. They regulate their conduct by those simple and fundamental principles of morals, which all mankind, both individually and collectively, find essential to their happiness, and which experience necessarily deduces from the order of the universe, and the physical constitution of man. They erroneously conceive that Christian morality is rendered almost, if not quite, nugatory, by what they term, the mass of rubbish with which it is encumbered; assigning as a chief ground of their disbelief, that they deem it a libel upon the Almighty to represent him as revealing his will in so strange and obscure a manner; that those for whom it was intended cannot comprehend it, and quarrel with each other about the construction of it; that he should suffer it to be framed in so elastic and dubious a phraseology, that interested knaves may stretch and interpret it to answer their own purposes; that he should permit it to be handed about, for so many ages, in manuscript, liable to all the blunders of careless or ignorant scribes.

subject to all the variations of language, diversity of idiom, mis-translation, or wilful interpolation; and yet make implicit faith in it indispensable to the salvation of his creature, notwithstanding so many obstacles to perjury and enthusiasm.

I have, then, on the side of candour, endeavoured to give a faint outline of the opinions entertained by those mistaken men; but have forgotten to say, at the outset, that they agree with us in all the grandest titles or qualities which we give to the Deity. They will not, however, allow, that the character of the God of the Jews, whom they are so ready to reflect upon with horror, and to consider the creature of imagination, can be at all consistent with the sublime perfections of the Supreme Being, because they have no other evidence of his existence than what they term the Voice of Nature. I am aware, that many religious people dwell with rapture on the wonders of the universe as a corroborative proof of the being, wisdom, and goodness of its Grand Architect, and of the genuineness and authenticity of the Bible; yet they are orthodox and learned Christians who contend, that when man gives up Divine Revelation as a fable, he can have no certain or infallible demonstration that there exists in all just, merciful, wise, and powerful God, to which opinion I must confess myself a convert.

This numerous body of people are called Theists, or Deists, from their believing in only one God; and, however wrong I may consider them, I am so anxious for the honour of pure and simple Christianity, that I shall consider it my duty to defend them from persecution, and, I hope (God willing) in my subsequent letters, to make an appeal to the earliest Fathers of the Church, and the most respectable Ecclesiastical Historians, such as Tillmont, Dupin, and Mosheim, to shew how grossly inconsistent it is for us to molest or interfere with them on account of opinions which they cannot help entertaining.—Your's, &c.

London, Dec. 28. CRASMUS PERKINS.

PROPERTY TAX.—WESTMINSTER MEETING.—The country has lately been so much occupied with Meetings about the Repeal of the Property Tax, that they have forgot almost every thing else. They seem to think that this is the only obnoxious burden, the only oppressive exaction, of which they have a right to complain, and that deliverance from it

will be a full release from all their sorrows. It remained for the Inhabitants of Westminster, and their undaunted and virtuous Representative Sir Francis Burdett, to dispel this delusion. At a Public Meeting, held in Palace-yard, on Thursday last, the Income Tax, as it is called, was clearly shewn to be only a small part of the grievance of which the public had to complain. For reasons stated in Sir Francis Burdett's Letter, (which, with a copy of the Resolutions and Petition adopted at the Meeting, I have given below) the worthy Baronet could not give his personal attendance, but the distinct, the fearless, and the convincing manner in which he has pointed out, in that Letter, the extent of the evil, and opened the eyes of the public to their true situation, renders his absence less a matter of regret than it would otherwise have been. The worthy Major Cartwright too, who has literally grown grey in the cause of Freedom, was found at his post, endeavouring, with all the zeal and energy for which he is so much characterised, to rouse the nation from its torpid state, and make them acquainted with the dreadful situation into which they had been plunged by the tools of corruption. This staunch Veteran, as appears from the newspaper report, delivered himself to the effect following:—"He apprehended that the cessation of the American war would secure the discontinuance of the tax on property, at least at its present amount. It was not, however, the question as to its amount, or whether the percentage should be increased or diminished, but it was the spirit and character of the imposition which might chiefly attract their consideration. The hon.'s whelp might be a harmless plaything at first, but if suffered to grow, would finally prove himself to be a lion." The purpose for which they were then assembled was threefold: first, to consider of the general state of the national taxation; secondly, of the property tax in particular; and, thirdly, with respect to the proceedings which it was incumbent in them to adopt on this occasion. They ought not to confine themselves to the mere condemnation of a tax which violated property, which oppressed and which invaded domestic privacy, and which was, therefore, obviously inconsistent with every principle of English liberty; but they ought to trace this evil to its true source, to show it in its con-

nection with other public grievances, and to call upon the Legislature for that great and ultimate remedy, which could alone insure them permanent independence and prosperity. The Chancellor of the Exchequer had, in his place in the House, shewn himself not only opposing a renewal of this tax. It was for them, therefore, not to criticise any partial defects, or any apparent inequalities, in the principle or operation of such a measure; because the reply of the Chancellor of the Exchequer would certainly be, that he was much obliged to the persons who suggested these objections, he was anxious to supply defects, and to remedy inequalities; and, therefore, by removing, in some degree, their objections, he trusted that he should receive their unanimous approbation. It was then a part to proclaim their hostility to the entire scheme, as subversive of their native and hereditary rights.—No doubt such a situation of things might arise, that burthens, otherwise intolerable, would be borne by a great and free country with patience and alacrity, but a tax which was utterly irreconcilable to the spirit of a free Constitution, which was no less severe, and oppressive in its administration, than it was inquisitorial and partial in its principle, could be justified in no case, nor under any combination of circumstances. The Chancellor of the Exchequer might, if he pleased, with an insulting-sneer observe, that he feared the gentlemen assembled in Palace-yard had not sufficiently taken into their deep consideration the whole state of public affairs, the foreign relations, the financial difficulties of the country. Miscellaneous, in his opinion, was the fate of a nation, and cheerless its prospects, when a popular meeting should deem it expedient to penetrate the *modus* of Government, or to busy itself with any topic than such a belonged to its province—the assertion of its own inalienable and constitutional rights. These rights they were as capable of understanding and valuing as any lawyer at the bar, or any Minister of the Crown. His worthy friend (Mr. W. Smith) had truly told them, that two thirds of every man's income were now absorbed by a *variety* of taxes before the property tax came into application, and that this tax,

"applying to the nominal whole, was, in practical effect, a tax not of 10 but of 30 per cent. He certainly was not apprehensive that, after the fortunate conclusion of peace with America, the present tax could be any longer continued, but he had his fears that it might be produced in another shape, or in curtailed proportions. He should not be much surprised to see another property tax brought forward, a little property tax, a young cub, which, as he had before observed, might be perfectly innocent in its infant state, but by the time that its claws and teeth should attain their full power, would have grown up into a formidable and ferocious monster, that might devour them and their children. It was then, then, to be vigilant at the outset to crush the evil in its birth, and to set an example to other meetings, which might secure co-operation in the salutary work. In the year 1793, in a memorable petition, it was brought home to the House of Commons, that they did not represent the sense, nor express the voice, of the people, purposes which they were instituted to accomplish, and rights to which the Constitution had given every Englishman a claim. What had been the course of public events and of national suffering since the House thought proper to disregard this important demonstration? The Government of that day had plunged us, under the pretence of a short war, into a contest of twenty years' duration, and for the sake of interfering in the internal regulation of another kingdom, and of extinguishing opinions which were not acceptable to their taste, had entailed on Great Britain *that tremendous load of taxation under which she was now bending*. When James II. adopted unconstitutional measures of taxation, the nation, almost with one voice, stood up against him; yet the country did not then owe a single million, and was now indebted in a thousand. *He repeated it to them, the country now owed a thousand millions*. The condition of France was comparatively happy; she had no such debt; plenty and cultivation reigned over her soil, and the consequence was, that thousands and tens of thousands were repairing to enjoy there what they could not obtain in their native land—an easy and comfortable subsistence. The rich were going to extend their comforts, the poor

to acquire the means of living at all. This was the state to which the country was now reduced, and to restore it to a better condition, it was first necessary to restore purity to their representative system; without this, future wars and future taxes were in store. Was it possible for them to forget that a British Minister had once entertained the project of imposing a tax on capital, and that the petition of the Westminister electors against it had at least been noticeable in saving the country from that infliction? In reference to the general system of taxation, what could be more obnoxious than the measure for redeeming the land tax. That tax took away one fifth of the landed property of the country, and had been sold. Four other such operations would comprehend and vest in the Crown the whole landed property in the realm. He had intended to have offered to them several other objections, but the state of the weather and of his own health induced him to abstain. He had only to thank them for the patience with which they had already heard him."

#### SIR FRANCIS BURDETT'S LETTER.

Minimbury Manor, Dec. 29, 1814.

GENTLEMEN.—I was much disappointed at being prevented, by a heavy fall of snow, attending the Meeting of the Electors of Westminister, advised for the 29th December.

I regret the more, because, I perceive, by the wording of the Advertisement, that a large and enlightened view of the subject is intended to be taken; one worthy the City in which this Meeting is to be held; not confined to the consideration only of an oppressive Tax, but enlarged to a general view of that whole system of Taxation; every stroke of which, like the cat-o'-nine-tails from the backs of our soldiers, brings blood; and which is not more galling in the mode and severity of its collection, than in its profligate, corrupt, and wasteful expenditure. In fact, the Income of Property Tax has no title to that pre-eminence in infamy, it appears in public detestation to possess, nor is it a whit more arbitrary in its execution, cruel in its operation, or ruinous in its consequences, or unconstitutional in its principles, than the Excise, or many other summary, arbitrary, and unconstitutional impositions, established by Act of Parliament, and rooting out the common law of the land; that law is high my Lord Coke truly says, is the best inheritance of the subject: besides the torture of our soldiers, I might add the brutal horrors of the impress, the inhospitable and tyrannical act against Foreigners, with a long string of *et ceteras*, too numerous to insert here, and too palpable to be denied.

The enlightened and patriotic Electors of Westminister, now full well, that there are only a few of the bitter fruits of that baleful tree, which nourisheth its roots in that hot bed of corruption from whence it springs, St. Stephen's Chapel; and though it has struck deep in that consecrated soil, we are instructed by the highest

authority how to judge it, and by the same authority how to deal with it.

They may be able to deal with it according to the whole property of the country is absorbed by Government, before the nation is plunged into fresh wars against human liberty, and before the system of dragging introduced during the last, is irretrievably established, is the fervent prayer of Gentlemen, who ever grateful, sincere, and attached servants.

F. BURDETT

### THE RESOLUTIONS.

Resolved.—That an apprehension being entertained that, on the expiration of the present Property Tax, a new one of the same obnoxious model, (although perhaps for, at first, a less percentage) is intended to be introduced, it is the opinion of this Meeting the bounden duty of every good Citizen to protest against any such intended measure, and to endeavour to prevent it by all Constitutional means.

That, in the dejected condition of the National Representation, as set forth in a Petition entered in the Journals of the Commons House on the 7th day of May, 1793, it cannot be maintained, that any part of the present National Taxation had the People's consent in the manner required by the Constitution, which manner is essential to Public Liberty, and to the Security of Property.

That the inquisitorial, arbitrary, vexatious and cruel mode in which the Property Tax is carried into execution, and the natural consequences of the People, having ceased to be respected, or to hold the guardianship of their own Liberty and Property, because of having lost the sacred Rights of TAXING THEMSELVES through civil Representatives.

That, although truly grateful to those who have obtained in the blessings of complete Peace, and, of course, a discontinuance of the present Property Tax, a Petition be presented to the House of Commons, that no other Tax, on the same obnoxious model, may on any account be made to supersede the said present unconstitutional Tax.

That a Motion founded on the foregoing Resolutions, be now read.

That the Petition now read be adopted in the name of the Inhabitant Householders of the City and Liberties of Westminster, and signed in their behalf by the High Bailiff and twelve Householders, and presented to the House of Commons, by some Representative Sir Francis Burdett, Bart. and that he be instructed to support the same.

That this Meeting do most cordially agree with the Citizens of London, who, in every County, City, Town and Parish, throughout the Kingdom.

That the Taxpayers sincerely and unanimously give to the Representatives Sir Francis Burdett, Bart. the full and sincere assent on all questions of the Rights and Liberties of his Country, fully assured that when the common sense and generally used to his patriotic voice, the Rights and Liberties will be specially secured.

That our Taxpayers do hereby give to our respected Representatives Lord Cochrane, for his many services in favour of the Rights of the People, and that we look forward with confidence to the time when his endeavours for

a portion of his cruel and unjust sufferings, will enable him to renew those exertions.

That Arthur Morris, Esq. High Bailiff merits our particular Thanks for his untiring attention to the wishes of the Inhabitants, and his impartial conduct of the Court.

### PETITION

To the Honourable the Commons of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, in Parliament assembled,

### THE PETITION

OF THE INHABITANT HOUSEHOLDERS OF the City and Liberties of Westminster.

Sheweth.—That in their sufferings and vexations under the Property Tax, and the means of its execution, your Petitioners have been forcibly drawn to a contemplation of the State of the National Taxation in general; as well as to the facts recorded in a Petition entered on our Journals on the 14th day of May, 1793.

Seeing, those facts, it cannot be maintained that any Taxes are imposed with consent of the People of this Kingdom in the manner which by the Constitution of our Country is indispensably required.

The Nation's long and quiet submission to the Property Tax in particular, must be attributed to an unwillingness to embarrass the Executive Government while engaged in a War of uncommon extent and difficulty. Peace being, however, now completely restored, every pretext for a continuance of that Tax is wholly removed.

Being now alarmed by an apprehension, that when the present Ten per Cent. Property Tax shall in April next have expired, Ministers mean to propose a new Tax on the same model, although in a lighter proportion to Property, your Petitioners are induced to state their objections to several of the features of the present Tax.

1st. The operation of the Tax is necessarily inquisitorial, frequently causing distressing, cruel, and ruinous exposures of private affairs.

2d. The powers of the Commissioners are excessively arbitrary.

3d. The operation of the Tax is oppressive, vexatious, unequal, and degrading.

4th. The granting of this Tax for an indefinite term, a term which has already extended to several years, unconsciously abandoned the control which, by the Constitution, Parliament is bound to hold over the revenue of the Executive Magistrate.

5th. But, above all, in consequence of various corruptions which have in effect admitted the National Representation, the Tax neither had, nor could have had, the People's assent; and it is written in the law of Nature, as a political truth, that a Nation who Tax themselves either by person or by real Representatives, are alone free; but a people who are otherwise taxed are not free.

Your Petitioners, therefore, pray, that when the Statute which established the present Property Tax shall, in April next, expire, no other Statute, and no other Tax, on the same model, may be passed or imposed; and that your Honourable House will also take into its early consideration, what means ought to be adopted for rendering the National Taxation as general as the Constitutional and consistent with the English Liberties.





